

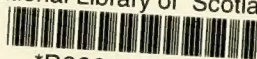
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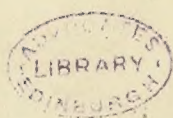
*Erle of Carrick
King of Scots.*


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Family Records

OF THE

BRUCES AND THE CUMYNS

WITH AN

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

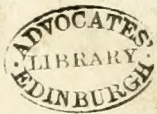
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APPENDIX

FROM AUTHENTIC PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

BY

M. E. CUMMING BRUCE

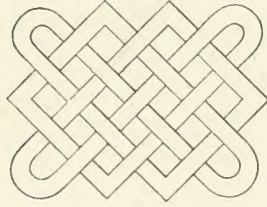


WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

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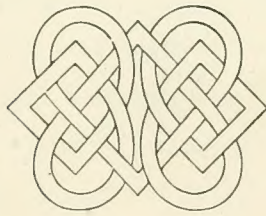
Family Records



TO THE RISING GENERATION OF TWO ANCIENT FAMILIES
WHOSE HISTORIES MAY BEST BE READ IN THE
ANNALS OF THEIR COUNTRY

These Collections

ARE DEDICATED BY ONE WHO FEELS HONOURED
BY BEARING BOTH NAMES



*"Those who on glorious ancestors enlarge,
Produce the debt—we look for the discharge."*

—OLD CHRONICLE.

“ Our ancestors, of whom we should oft read,
And hold in mind their noble worthy deed,
We let o’erslide, through very slothfulness,
And cast us ever to other business.”

—BLIND HARRY’S *Wallace*, A.D. 1361.

P R E F A C E.

It is now many years since, in a conversation at Albury with the late Mr Drummond, whose interesting work on the 'Origin and Genealogies of the most distinguished of the Scottish Families' was then in progress, that he remarked upon the difficulty of obtaining accurate information from private records, and suggested to me collecting all in my power concerning the two families to which we belonged.

Since then many books of "Family Records" have been published, and much light has been thrown upon the history of our ancestors; and I trust this one also may establish some facts not generally known, and overlooked by our best modern historians, regarding even the most illustrious of our ancestors.

I have only to add that it was intended merely for private circulation, but so many friends feel interested in it, and desire its publication, that I have yielded to their wishes, although painfully aware of my own incompetence to execute, unaided, so arduous a task.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

TO

THE FAMILY RECORDS

OF

The Bruces and the Cumpys

THE LAND WE LIVE IN.

CHAPTER I.

SHORTLY before the Christian era, North Britain disputed with Iceland the questionable distinction of being "The Ultima Thule" of geographers.

The campaigns of Agricola in Britain in A.D. 80-84 are recorded by Tacitus, and Adrian threw up the first turf wall across the narrowest part of the island—from the Solway to the Tyne—circa A.D. 123.

Twenty years later another rampart was raised, connecting the forts built 140. by Agricola, and called "*The Wall of Antoninus*;" but this was abandoned by Severus, who built a wall of stone immediately north of Adrian's first work, 208. and thus bounded the Roman province. The forts or stations are about two miles apart. Remains of them were still visible during the present century at Camelon, Rough Castle, Castlecary, &c., and towards the east end, at Kinneil. Almost all the inscriptions that have been found are in the names of "Antoninus," and "Lollius Urbicus," his legate, and the distances between the stations are carefully noted.

Several of these stones are (or were) in the Glasgow College.

Theodosius reconquered from the Scots and Picts the district between the 369. Tyne and the Forth, of which they had possessed themselves. To this province he gave the name of "Valentia," probably in honour of his brother "Valens." The Lothians, Galloway, and various other lands, were included in it, afterwards divided into "Laudonia" or the Lothians, and "Galwidia" or Galloway. The newly-acquired territory was, however, soon relinquished, and Britain finally abandoned by the Romans, circa A.D. 400. Of the wall of Antoninus there are still some well-preserved remains, as in the grounds of Bantaskine, near

Falkirk, where it goes by the name of "Grimesdyke"—from a native warrior, it is said, who in later days broke through and took possession of it. This probably refers to "Grim," who contended with Malcolm II., son of Kenneth III., for the crown, circa 994-7. Malcolm, the heir-apparent or Tanist, had already possession of Cumbria, the ancient Valentia, and assembled an army south of the Forth, as did his opponents, Constantine and Grim, on the north side. The armies met on the river Almond, near Linlithgow, where Constantine was killed. After the battle it was agreed, by the mediation of the Bishops, that Grim should remain for his life King of Scotland, whilst Prince Malcolm should retain possession of the southern territory, this wall being their boundary ; and succeed to the throne on Grim's death. May not the "Cat-Stane," or stone of contention, mark the site of this battle, and perhaps the spot where Constantine fell? Traces of a Roman inscription may remain upon it, from its being taken from the adjacent rampart.

314. There were three British bishops at the Council of Arles, yet in 400 the people were not all Christianised.

370. Regulus, a Roman monk, brought the relics of St Andrew to Fife.

In the following century the infant St Kentigern and his mother were washed on shore on the white sands of the Bay of Culross, where St Servan already led a monastic life. St Kentigern, better known as St Mungo, became the patron saint of Glasgow.

430. Died "Holy Ninian," Bishop and Confessor, "who didst teach the people of the Picts and Britons." St Ninian settled at Whithorn—"Candida Casa."—"Bede."

During the fifth century, Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, from North Germany and the peninsula of Jutland, invaded Britain, and drove the natives to the mountain districts of Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland, "the land of the Cimbri or Celts." These strangers, under the common name of "Anglo-Saxons," continued for many centuries to be the reigning people ; and although divided into tribes and small kingdoms, and often harassed by the ancient Britons, the Saxons successfully continued the progress of civilisation begun by the Romans.

Towards the middle of the sixth century, "Ida," the reputed founder of the Northumbrian kingdom, led his Bernician Angles into the north of England and south of Scotland. His name alone survives, along with that of his forgotten foe, "the dark Lord," "Dhutejern ;" but the precipitate flight of the British Bishop from York, and the sudden extinction of Christianity throughout the diocese, with the ominous name of the Flame-bearer applied to the mighty Angle by hostile bards, attest the ruthless energy with which he extended his sway from Holder-

ness to the Forth. The see of Dôl, in Brittany, dates its rise from the flight of the Bishop, "Sampson," from York. On "Ida's" death, his sons were driven from the land for a time, until "Llovan" of the accursed hand slew the champion of the ancient Britons, and wrested from them the whole of the eastern coast; and again the Northumbrian kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia arose out of the ruins of the conquered principalities.—Robertson's 'Early Kings.'

We learn from the 'Annals of an Irish Abbot' (Tighernach) that a band of 502. Irish Picts from Antrim, under a chieftain, "Fergus Mor MacEarea," crossed over in their leathern coracles, and fixed their abode amongst the lakes and mountains of Loch Linne; and taking possession of Lorn, Cowal, and Kintyre, with some of the adjacent islands, founded the kingdom of the "Dalraida" or Scots (for in those days Ireland was called "Scotia," and Scotland was known as "Albania").

All the northern part of Britain, from the Firth of Forth to the Orkneys, was then inhabited by Caledonians and Picts, who had for their king "Brudeus or Bruidi, son of Meilochon."

Fourth in descent from Fergus Mor was "Conal, son of Comgal," King of the Scots, as he is styled in Latin chronicles of a later date, who received Columba, the exiled Abbot of Durrow, and gave him the Island of Hy, Iy, or Iona, on which he founded a monastery.

Was born in Ireland "Colm or Columba," the son of Fidhlemid M'Fergus, 521. and Æithnea M'Nave. He was afterwards styled, from the number of churches he founded, "Coluimeille,"—*i.e.*, "Columba of the Churches."

He founded the noble Monastery of Dearmuch (Duroch) in King's County, 545. and upwards of 100 abbeys and monasteries in the British Isles owed his sway. One of his friends and disciples having been treacherously slain by Dermot or Diarmid—another great chief—Columba raised the Clan Conal, and, joining with the King of Connaught, inflicted a great defeat, with much slaughter, on Dermot.

By the advice of Finian, Bishop of Clonfert, and of Brendin, Bishop of Birr, 563. Columba left Ireland, to atone, by the converts he should make, for the lives he had sacrificed. He came, accompanied by twelve disciples (of whom "Baithne or Comin" is the first named), to the country of the *Dalraids* or *Scots*, on the west coast. There he was well received by Conal, their king. Probably they were of the same race, for Columba was nearly related by birth to the King of the Clan Conal in Ireland. Having received a gift of the Island of Iona, he there founded the monastery called after him "Icolmkill," where he settled his "Family" of monks in detached cells of wicker-work, thatched with reeds, whence he and those of his followers most suited to the task went forth to

preach, and convert the heathen Picts on the northern side of the Grampians, some of them penetrating as far as Orkney.

565. After two years' residence in Iona, Columba visited "Bruidi or Brudeus, King of the Picts," who held his court, surrounded by his pagan priests, at "Chastel-dun-ri-chun"—"The Strong Castle of the King of the Ocean"—of which some vestiges may still be seen three miles inland from Loch Ness, in the parish of Durris. Here fought the father of Ossian, and here fell the son of the Norwegian King. Piles of stones mark the resting-place of the slain. One larger than the rest rises over the grave of the youthful chief, whose name, "Asshee," still lives in the adjoining hill, "Drum-Asshee;" and "Sheirre-Fiann"—"The Chair of Fingal"—is still shown as the seat to which the hero retired when the roar of battle ceased, and he rested from the strife. Here, in the year of our Lord 565, Columba sought and converted to Christianity the Prince and his people; and for a century and a half Icolmkill continued to be the head of all the Christian churches of the *Picts*, as well as of the Dalraids or Scots.

Columba also visited St Kentigern in Mellindonor (Glasgow), and the establishments of St Servan at Culross, and of St Drostan at Deer.

He inaugurated "Aidan" King of the Scots at Iona, and died there on the 9th day of June, A.D. 597, in the 76th year of his age. Baithne or Comin, son of Brendin, he named to be his successor. Baithne, second Abbot of Icolmkill, died circa 605.

620. Died Fergua, third Abbot. He was succeeded by Segenius, fourth Abbot, who founded a church in the Island of Rachrin in 635.

657. Died Suibne, fifth Abbot, who was succeeded by "Cumaine Ailbe," or "Comin the Fair," biographer of St Columba, and the oldest Scottish writer whose works are known to be extant. He died in 668-9.

Adomnan, who copies from Comin Ailbe, died A.D. 703-4.

Bede, who also writes of the churches, died A.D. 735. The 'Chronicle of Melrose' is supposed to have been written by an abbot of Dundrennan. The 1st part is certainly written by an Englishman, and is a continuation of Bede.

The 2d part seems to be by a Scotchman contemporary with our Stewarts. The Oxford edition sometimes differs from our MS. Adomnan, born about 620, and afterwards Abbot of Icolmkill, twice visited Alfred, King of the Saxons, and afterwards conformed to the rites of the Romish Church—"being," says the venerable Bede, "earnestly admonished by many, who were more learned than himself, not to presume to live contrary to the universal custom of the Church, either in observance of Easter, or in other decrees. Considering the small number of his followers, situated in a distant corner of the world, he changed his mind, and preferred what he had heard and seen in the English

churches to the customs he and his people had hitherto observed." On his return to Iona, where he was now abbot, he attempted to induce his people to adopt his views, but without success.

He visited Ireland, and brought most of the Columbite churches there to Romish practice, but all attempts to do so in Icolmkill were unsuccessful.

He wrote the life of St Columba which is most commonly referred to.—See 'Origines Parochiales,' vol. ii. part i. (Iona).

It is recorded by Bede that "Nectan," King of the Picts, being converted to the doctrines of the Northumbrian Church (*i.e.*, to Romanism), tried to persuade his clergy to conform thereunto; but on their refusal he built a *stone* church at Abernethy (on the Tay), which became for a time the *one see* of his dominions. 717.

In the reign of Constantine I. the erection of Dunkeld was probably occasioned by the destruction of Iona by the Vikings. 864-81.
Of the few monks who escaped, some resorted, with the relics of their founder, to the new establishment, whilst others erected a monastery at Kells, in Ireland. Were these the "Cultores Dei" or "Culdees"—Scottish and Irish monks—who first appeared at St Andrews, and also at St Peters in York, about the middle of the ninth century?

That the original buildings erected in Iona by St Columba and his immediate successors were of wicker-work or wood appears likely, from the ease with which they were erected and destroyed, as well as from the usual practice of those days; and also by the mention of "Nectan's" *first stone* church at Abernethy, where a remarkable tower near the present church, still existing, is supposed to have been built in early days as a place of safety in which valuables and relics might be preserved against pagan foes.

It was not until the twelfth century that the buildings, of which the beautiful ruins still remain, were erected of the granite found on the island, and freestone brought from afar. It was then in the hands of the Benedictines, and before their day the Canonesses of St Augustine had a monastery there dedicated to St Oranus.—'Religious Houses in Scotland,' by John Spottiswood.

It has become the fashion amongst modern historians to be sceptical as to the very existence of our early kings, and to consider all that is recorded of the days previous to Malcolm C  nmohr as belonging to the age of tradition. Yet it appears to me that those sources from which Fordun and Bishop Leslie compiled their histories may have as much foundation in fact as the records of modern writers, not always free from error and prejudice. If, as in the case of Iona and other monasteries, there were fine libraries, which kings and learned men made long journeys to consult, their records probably came down to posterity—although the originals were lost by fire and sword—in the writings of

Bede and other early English authors ; whilst the sagas corroborate and elucidate their assertions by references to the same chiefs with whom they made war or peace—the scalds being intrusted with the duty of writing truthfully the history of the days in which they lived ; and although they might adorn the tale, and add “fregi al ver” to the achievements of their own heroes, there was no reason for their misstating the names or deeds of their contemporaries.

On the succession, too, of each chief, the bards rehearsed their genealogy, as on the coronation of each king. Thus the bard of the M’Gregor sang—

“Ten of thy race did wear the crown
From the time of Malcolm Cænmor up to Alpine ;
Fourteen kings, till we reach Fergus.
Such is thy genealogy to Fergus,
Son of Erc, the prosperous.”

None of these kings or chiefs probably left charters, or could have read them, or signed their names, had they been made for them. Even Malcolm Cænmoir could only admire and adorn the outside of his St Margaret’s precious missals ; and their sons still affixed a cross (†) as their signature. Yet there is no doubt that men and warriors did exist before all men were scribes.

Achais or Eoch, King of the Dalraids or Scots, married, we are told, Urgusia or Fergusia, the daughter of “Fergus,” King of the Picts. Fergus left also two sons, Constantine and Hungus. 1st, Constantine ruled over the Picts from 791-821 ; 2d, Hungus reigned from 821-830.

826. Achais died after a prosperous reign of thirty years.

Alpine, his son, succeeded as King of the Scots ; and on the death of Hungus, his mother’s brother, in 830, claimed the sceptre of the Picts also, in right of heirship to his grandfather Fergus. But the Picts set up “Federeth,” a usurper, and afterwards Beudeus, who killed King Alpine, A.D. 836.

Alpine left two sons, Kenneth and Donald.

Kenneth, second of his name amongst Scottish kings, was the first who reigned over both nations. He avenged his father’s death, and made himself master of all the Pictish territory north of the Forth. He translated the one Episcopal see of his dominions from Abernethy to St Andrews, then the Church of St Ruel or Regulus, A.D. 843.

Kenneth, it is said, brought the famous marble seat from Argyleshire to Scone, as the most central part of his dominions ; and on it the kings of Scotland were ever after seated to be crowned. Kenneth M’Alpine died at Fort-Teviot, leaving two sons, Constantine and Eth ; but, in accordance with the law of tanistry, which preferred the *eldest* living member of a family to the succession in preference to a son, his brother Donald succeeded and reigned as

Ard-righ, or chief king, over Scotland, until A.D. 863. The sagas record that the Danish King Frode's daughter, "Ulfhilde," married the founder of the Scottish kingdom; and that the Danish Prince "Amleth" (Hamlet) married the Scottish Queen Hermantrude (Worsaae); but the Irish were called Scots in those days.

Constantine succeeded his uncle, Donald M'Alpine. In his day Icolmkill and Lindisferne were destroyed by the Danes, and the diocese of Dunkeld was erected. Sigurd, Jarl of Orkney, conquered more than half of Scotland, ruling as king over Caithness and Sutherland, Ross and Moray, until his death in 875-80.

Neither did Galloway or Strathclyde form part of his dominions, as we find British princes of Strathclyde for some time after his days.

Constantine was killed in battle, repelling an invasion of the Danes on the coast of Fife. They were first encouraged to land in Scotland by the discontented Picts, A.D. 870, and were defeated by Constantine on both sides the river Leven in Fife, which, being in flood at the time, the two divisions of their forces were unable to cross to assist each other; but in a subsequent battle Constantine was taken and killed. Eth, however, brought off the army; and the Danes, not choosing to risk another engagement, retired into England. Constantine is said to have been an excellent prince. He punished drunkenness with death. circa 881

His cave, which has been lately examined at "Danes' Dyke" in Fife, has crosses († † †) cut on the rock.—Stewart's 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland.'

Eth, Aodh, or Hugh, second son of Kenneth M'Alpine, succeeded his brother Constantine, and reigned one year, when he was killed in fight near Strathallan by Grig, Gregory, or Cyric, of Dunadeer in the Garioch, who usurped the crown. Eth left two sons, "Constantine and Doir," Thane of Lochaber.

Of Constantine, son of Kenneth in a direct line, descended the royal family of Scotland until Alexander III.; also the Baliols and Bruces, and our present Queen.

Of Eth came four kings whilst the law of tanistry existed, before the succession was settled upon the eldest son or direct heir. The Thanes of Lochaber and Great Stewards of Scotland, whose posterity came to the throne after the death of David Bruce (by marriage with his sister Marjorie), also claim descent from "Eth" through Fleance, son of Bancho.

Gregory or Grig, after killing Eth, assumed as his colleague, to strengthen his title to the crown, "Eocha," grandson of Kenneth M'Alpine by his daughter, who had married "Cu," British Prince of Strathclyde. 882

Gregory and Eocha reigned together until 893, when Eocha died.

893. Donald, son of Constantine II., then took Eocha's place. Gregory died circa 900. In his day St Andrews was erected to the primacy.

Donald outlived Gregory about four years, when he was killed in the town of Forres in a struggle to subdue the province of Moray. He transferred the seat of government from Fort-Teviot to Scone.

904. On the death of Donald, by the law of alternate succession which then prevailed in Scotland, "Constantine," the son of Eth, was raised to the throne, and was known as Constantine III. He soon after achieved a great victory over the Danes in Strathearn, wherein "Ivar-Hy-Ivar" was slain—(see the Hy Ivar).

908. On the death of Donald, Prince of Strathclyde, without heirs, Constantine had little difficulty in establishing his own brother Donald as his successor in that principality; and although for another hundred years the Britons of that district held a nominal independence, they ceased in fact to be a distinct people, Donalds and Eogans succeeding alternately for many generations.

934. The alliance which subsisted between Constantine and Athelstane of England was broken up. An English army appeared on the north side of the Forth, and penetrated as far as Fort-Teviot, whilst a powerful fleet swept the coasts, and prevented any assistance from Ireland; for Constantine had given his daughter in marriage to Olaf Setricson, Danish king in Northumbria and Dublin, and supported his claims to the former against Athelstane. It appears that Athelstane returned to England without obtaining any great results, and remained at peace for three years. It was at the commencement of this expedition that Athelstane is said to have demanded a sign from St John of Beverley, which being granted, the king with his sword was enabled to cleave a rock in twain, as quoted in after days by Edward I. in his letter to the Pope.

937-8. But now, again, the sons of Ivar sought Northumbria. Constantine and Eogan, sons of Donald, Prince of Strathclyde, with other British and Welsh princes, joined them, whilst Athelstane called in the aid of Vikingr and pagans of all nations. The bloody battle of Brunanburgh was the result, in which fell five kings and seven jarls, a son of Constantine, and two brothers of Athelstane. The victory was with the Saxon, and the defeated sons of Lodbrok returned to Dublin, whilst the King of Scotland retired mournfully beyond the Forth.

circa 941. Athelstane died, and two or three years after (A.D. 943) Constantine retired into the Monastery of St Andrews, after a reign of upwards of forty years. But it is asserted that, when Olaf Sitricson returned in 949 to claim the inheritance of his fathers in Northumbria, Constantine, to satisfy at once the ties of blood and the scruples of his successor, left his convent and led his countrymen

against the English. Soon after, returning triumphant, and resuming the character of a churchman, he died at St Andrews, A.D. 952.

Malcolm I., son of Donald II., was crowned king on the retirement of Constantine. He was the faithful ally and fellow-worker of Edmund or Jatmund, King of England (Athelstane's brother), who, having cleared away the Viking who had taken possession of English Cumbria (Cumberland and Westmoreland), made them over to Malcolm, King of Scotland; and they were confirmed to him by Edred, his successor, in 948, on certain conditions of aiding him in his wars against the Danes, whence arose the much-vexed question—the cause of contention and warfare in after times—of *homage* due by the Scottish to the English king. 943-945.

Malcolm I. died, slain by the Moray men at *Uluarn*, two miles from Forres, where his father had been killed more than fifty years before. Malcolm left three sons—Duff, Kenneth, and Mogall, who was the father of Grim. 954.

Indulf, son of Constantine, succeeded. He was the first King of Scotland who took possession of Edinburgh (Edwins-burg), and of the adjacent country as far as the Pentland Hills, which continued to be the boundary of Scotland for the next fifty years. All beyond was Cumbria; and, until his day, the wall of Antonine appears to have been the boundary from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde. After the annexation of Strathclyde or Scottish Cumbria, and the acquisition of English Cumbria from the English king, the title of the “Tanist,” or heir-apparent to the crown, appears to have been “Prince of Cumbria;” and his capital was at Carlisle. 954.

Indulf twice repelled the Norsemen, who attempted to land in Buchan and Banff, but was killed after his last victory at Invercullen, A.D. 962.

Indulf left two sons—Culen or Colin, and Eocha.

Duff or Duffus, eldest son of Malcolm I., succeeded Indulf, but was opposed by Culen or Colin, son of that king, by whose partisans he was murdered at Forres, and his body hid under the bridge at Kinloss. 962.

The tradition of the country is, that the sun refused to shine until the body of the murdered king received Christian burial. Donald, Governor of Forres Castle, it is said, was his murderer. It is not unlikely that Duffus Castle was the king's residence in the north, and called after him. Duffus left no son. Grim was the son of his brother Mogall.

Culen reigned for four or five years, and then fell, together with his brother Eocha, in a battle fought with the Britons of Strathclyde—or, as some assert, murdered in the Lothians by a chief, Anderach M'Donald by name, from private revenge. 967-971.

Kenneth III., brother of Duff, next succeeded. They were both sons of 971.

Malcolm I. Cumberland having ceased to be under the dominion of the Scottish kings, Kenneth invaded it and carried off a captain of high rank called the son of the Saxon king ; but this could scarcely have been the son of Edgar, who then reigned over all England, for he, dying some years after, left only an infant son, Edward, who was murdered soon after by the mother of "Ethelred," his half-uncle. It is therefore likely that it was the son of the so-called "King of Cumbria," as the English chronicles assert that Kenneth afterwards did homage to Edgar for Cumberland and Westmoreland. He also defeated the Danes, who landed in great force near Montrose, and penetrated as far as Bertha or Perth ; but Kenneth drew together a large army, and routed them at Luncarty. (Tradition says, by aid of the "Hays," a father and two sons, who turned the tide of the battle, fighting with the oxen yokes with which they had been ploughing.)

About this time the jarls of Orkney appear upon the stage of Scottish politics. The brothers "Liot and Skule," under the influence of Eric Bloody-axe's wicked daughter Ragnhilda, contended for the possessions of their father, Torphin Haussakliffer, and of their grandfather, Dungal Earl of Caithness ; and Skule sought and obtained the aid of Kenneth (see Jarls of Orkney). Peace being restored, the king next applied himself to settling the succession to the crown in favour of his own posterity, of whatever age, instead of the law of tanistry, which had until then prevailed ; the nearest heir who was of age, and fit to govern, having till then seized and kept the crown through life. Kenneth married a daughter of William Long-épée, Duke of Normandy, by whom he had Malcolm II. and Dunclina, who married Kenneth, Thane of Lochaber, and was mother of Bancho.

985. Iona was laid waste by the Danes, who killed the abbot and fifteen monks.
Christ- It was restored within the next century.
mas eve.

994.

Kenneth was assassinated at Fettercairn by the Lady Fenella, whose son he caused to be put to death. The tradition is that an infernal machine was used to accomplish her purpose. A statue, supposed to be raised in honour of the king's visit, was made to present him with an apple, which, when he took it, made the machine explode, and killed him. Fenella was executed for the crime. Near Fasque there is a ruin which bears the name of Fenella's Castle. "Strathfenella" and "Denfenella" are also called after her. Fenella was the daughter of Cruchne, Earl of Angus, and some writers say that he was killed by Fenella's son, which was the cause of his condemnation by the king, and of the murder of the king by Fenella ; whilst others assert that Kenneth, having abrogated the law of tanistry, and fixed the succession upon children of what-

ever age succeeding their fathers, the Lady of Fettercairn was merely a tool in the hands of some adherents of Constantine and Grim.

Constantine IV., the son of Culin, usurped the throne on the death of 994. Kenneth; and in the absence of Malcolm his heir, he was crowned at Scone. But few nobles assisted at the ceremony, most of them resorting to Prince Malcolm, who assembled a large army south of the Forth. He being in Cumbria (the hereditary appanage of the Tanist) at the time of his father's death, neither party crossed the Forth that season; but next year the armies met on the river Almond in the Lothians, where Constantine fell. It appears to me likely that "the Cat-Stane" (the stone of strife) marks the place of this combat, and of his fall.

Grim, son of Mogall, and nephew of King Duffus, was the next usurper. 996-7. There appears to be little doubt that it was this Grim who was the Scottish hero who broke through the Roman wall, then the southern boundary of his dominions, to meet the army of Malcolm in Scottish Cumbria or Strathclyde; whence that part of the wall received the local name of Græm's Dyke.

By the mediation of the bishops it was arranged that Grim should remain for life King of Scotland north of the Forth, whilst Malcolm should possess all the southern territories, and that he and his posterity *for ever* should succeed on Grim's death. Grim is sometimes styled "Kenneth M'Duff," and it is said that it was his elder brother, "Malcolm M'Duff," who was put to death by King Kenneth III. If so, Fenella must have been his mother.

Malcolm II., son of Kenneth III., quietly assumed the crown on the 1004-5. death of Grim. He frankly forgave all those who had fought against him, and allowed Grim to be buried by his friends in the royal cemetery of Iona.

He then called upon the nobles to meet him at Scone, and telling them that he did not pretend to the throne unless they allowed his title to be unquestionable, he was crowned there, and received by all with great demonstrations of joy.

Malcolm's wars in the north of England were far from successful as long as "Uchtred" ruled Northumbria.

Thrice he was defeated before the gates of Durham (Uchtred having married the daughter of the bishop, and undertaken, during his father "Waltheof's" lifetime, the defence of the territory of St Cuthbert); but against the Danes he was much more successful, defeating them in seven or eight engagements, in one of which his brother-in-law, "the Thane of Lochaber," fell. Crudane or Crushdanes, in Buchan, was the scene of the most famous of these battles, and was so called from Malcolm's victory over them. An old history of Buchan says: "King Malcolm havand his realme in sicker peace, thought nathing sa

gud as to keep the promise made to the Danes, and therefore he biggit a kirk in Buquhan, dedicat in honour of Olavus, patron of Norway and Denmark, to become memorial that sindry nobles of Dane wer sum tyme buryit in the said kirk. In memorie thereof the landis that ar given to this kirk are callit yit 'Croisdane,' quhilk signifies als meikil as the slauchter of Danis. The kirk that was biggit to this effect was o'ercassin be violent blasts of sandis. Sindre of their bones wer seen be us, short tyme afore the making of this buke; mair like giandis than common stature of men."

Abercrombie, p. 210, M.A., tells us that Sweno or Swend Tveskjæg, having been repeatedly repulsed in his attempts to conquer Scotland, resolved to fit out a powerful fleet, and to send it with a large army, under the command of his son Canute (that afterwards mighty King of England, Denmark, and Norway) to the north. Canute landed at the head of his troops in Buchan, where King Malcolm, after various skirmishes, and harassing them by preventing supplies from reaching them, met them in battle at Crudane (as it was ever after called, from the Danes being crushed there), and a terrible fight ensued, in which numbers of the chief men on both sides fell. The Scots had the victory, but there was more grief than joy in the camp from the loss sustained.

By this time many of the Danes and Norwegians had become Christians, and of these the head was Canute himself; so that the priests, who were respected by both sides, mediated between them, and peace was concluded on these terms:—

1st. That the Danes should withdraw from Scotland, and within a set time evacuate those places that they held in Buchan and Moray.

2d. That during the lives of the two kings—Malcolm and Sweno—neither nation should attempt any hostility against the other.

3d. That the field of battle should be consecrated, after the rites then in use, and made a cemetery for the dead.

4th. That the Danes, as well as the Scots, should be decently and honourably interred there.

Malcolm and Canute swore to these articles, and both performed their obligations. Canute, with his men, left Scotland, and Malcolm ordered a chapel to be built on the spot, which he dedicated to St Olaf. Gigantic bones are still to this day dug up on the field of the battle of Cruju-Danes, the modern Crudane. The first-built chapel having been overlaid and buried by the sand, another was afterwards erected in a more convenient position, where it existed for some centuries. As this battle took place during the lifetime of Canute's father, it must have been before 1014, when Swend died. In the beginning of Malcolm's

reign the Danes continually overran England, and at length Swend Tveskjæg drove Ethelred to take refuge in Normandy. Cumbria alone, whilst under the rule of Malcolm, remained free from devastation. 1013.

But now, on the death of Uchtred, son of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, the Danish invaders burst upon Cumbria. Malcolm sent his grandson "Duncan" to oppose them, which he did successfully, and was thereupon nominated "Prince of Cumberland." 1018.

"Eadulf-Cudel," another of Waltheof's sons, purchased an inglorious peace by ceding the Lothians and the whole of the ancient kingdom of Bernicia to the Scottish king. In this same battle of Carham fell the last of the kings of Strathclyde, "Eogan the Bald," and in him the line became extinct, so that "Duncan the Tanist," Prince of Cumberland, was acknowledged "King of the Cumbrians," thus uniting Strathclyde with the southern province, of which Carlisle was the capital.

Canute the Dane, now King of England, Denmark, and Norway (upon his return, it is said, from a pilgrimage to Rome), marched with an army to the north. The two kings met on the frontiers of their respective dominions, with what result does not clearly appear, though a Saxon chronicle asserts that Malcolm did homage for his English territory—and this seems likely, as he and his grandson Duncan had invaded and reconquered Cumbria after the treaty of Crudane; and although Cumberland and Westmoreland were scarcely considered a part of England, still they held of the English king. This may account for the assertion of "Sigvat the scald," when advising Olaf to submit to "Canute the Great":— 1031.

" From the North Land, the midst of Fife,
Two Kings came begging peace and life.
Craving from Canute life and peace;
May Olaf's good luck never cease!"

This, allowing for poetic exaggeration, may refer to the meeting of Canute with the kings Malcolm and Duncan, and their doing homage for Cumbria.

When King Malcolm was about 80 years of age, riding near Glammis, he was attacked and wounded by a band of ruffians, said to be descendants of Constantine and Grim. He died on the third day from loss of blood, to the infinite regret of his people. Malcolm settled his dominions upon his grandson Duncan, and his descendants. 1034.

Prince Duncan,* son of Crynan, Chief of Athol, lay Abbot of Dunkeld, and 1034.

* The scalds in their sagas call Duncan "*Karl Hundison*," or the King of Scotland, who was only an earl's son.

They call Crynan "*Earl Hundi*."

Abthane of the Western Isles, by Beatrix or Bethoc, eldest daughter of King Malcolm II., succeeded his grandfather.

1008. King Malcolm gave in marriage to Sigurd Lödvison, Jarl of Orkney, a younger daughter, Alice or Olith. The great Earl Torphin was her son. To
1014. him King Malcolm gave the county of Caithness, including Sutherland, after his father's death at the battle of Clontarf, on Christmas-day of that year, Torphin being then five years old.

Dovada or Doda, wife of Earl Finlath, and mother of M'Beth, is also said to have been a daughter of King Malcolm.

Duncan was the first king of the house of Athol. The scalds call him "Karl Hundason," or the King of Scotland, who was only an earl's son.

They called Crynan "Earl Hundi."—See notes, p. 13.

In Malcolm II. the male line of Kenneth M'Alpine became extinct. It is said that, to insure Duncan's succession, King Malcolm had caused to be put to death "M'Bæde," "the son of Bæde," "the son of Kenneth," the late king; but this seems foreign to his general character, unless M'Bæde had rebelled. However this may be, the injury was not forgiven by Gruach, Lady M'Beth, his sister, when an opportunity for revenge occurred.

Duncan was a prince endowed with all those qualities which charm and delight good men; but his too easy temper first induced an insurrection amongst his own subjects in the north, and then a foreign invasion.

Macbeth, Thane of Angus (and afterwards of Cromarty), and Bancho, Thane of Lochaber, were instrumental in suppressing the one and repelling the other. They were both, as we are led to suppose, cousins of the king. Earl Torphin meanwhile maintained perfect independence, asserting that he held his earldom of Caithness, including Sutherland and part of Ross,* by the unconditional gift of his grandfather, King Malcolm, and not as a fief from the Crown of Scotland; whilst upon his island territories of Orkney and Shetland, Duncan could pretend no claim, he having succeeded to most of them by the death of his brothers Somerled and Eynor, whilst Brusée held two-thirds.

1040. Duncan sent his kinsman "Madoch," his sister's son, with the title of earl, and a considerable force, to assume possession of Caithness and Sutherland,

* About the year 1008-9 Finlath, Maormer of Moray and Ross, was defeated by Sigurt Lödvinson, Jarl of Orkney, with whom he had marked out a battle-field on Skiddamore. The defeat of the Maormer seems to have been pleasing to King Malcolm, who gave Sigurt his youngest daughter Olith, or Alice, in marriage (whilst another daughter, Donada, is said to have been the wife of Finlath, and the mother of Macbeth). Olith had one son, the famous "Earl Torphin," who was taken by his father to King Malcolm's court before the expedition to Ireland in which he (Sigurt) fell, on Christmas-day, 1014.

Sigurt left his island dominions in the hands of his three elder sons, Somerled, Brusée, and Eynor, whilst "Torphin" was created by his grandfather Earl of Caithness on his father's death, being then four years old.

whilst he went himself to attempt the siege of Durham, with no more success than formerly.

Madoch was equally unsuccessful against Earl Torphin, who was supported by a large body of Orkney men, under Thorkel Fostri (his foster-father); and on Madoch's retreat they overran Ross and Moray.

News of this reaching King Duncan at Berwick, he decided immediately to march towards the north to support Madoch. The sight of the king's ships in the Pentland Firth was the first notice Torphin received of his approach.

Having despatched Madoch to Caithness with the land forces, the king, sailing round Duncansbay Head with eleven ships, interposed himself between Torphin and his island home at Sandwick; and the jarl, finding retreat impossible, was obliged to await the king's attack on the following morning.

His ships were laden with the spoil of all the northern counties, and his men fought well in defence of their booty, so that the king was defeated, and obliged to make sail for the coast of Moray, whither he was soon pursued by the united forces of Torphin and Thorkel Fostri. The latter was soon after despatched to surprise "Madoch" in Thurso, awakening him from his fancied security by setting fire to the house in which he lay, and killing him as he attempted to escape. Duncan remained in Moray, where he assembled a considerable force. Earl Torphin, having crossed the Moray Firth, attacked the king's forces near Burghead, and, following up his successes, defeated Duncan after a severe struggle, and plundered the whole country to the borders of Fife.

That same year King Duncan was murdered at Bothgowannan, "The Smith's Bothy," near Duffus* (the Dufeyras of the sagas), not far from his last battle-field—the Maormer "Macbeth" being the undoubted perpetrator of the deed.† 1040.

* Within a very few years the foundations have been visible of a small building, called the "Armourer's Shop" or "Smith's Bothy," at the corner of a field near the old church of Duffus. There tradition affirms Duncan was murdered by Macbeth. Some years ago the ruins were cleared away, and amongst them a good deal of old iron was found.

Alexander II. caused masses to be performed for the repose of Duncan's soul in Elgin Cathedral.

"His autem pius rex occisus est scelere generis occisorum tam Avi, quam pro Avi, quorum præcipuus erat Machabeda filius Fenele (Finlath?).

"A quo latenter apud 'Bothgofuane'* (the Smith's Bothy).

"Vulneratus ad mortem ed apud Elgin delatus occubuit, et in Insula Iona sepultus est."—T. Fordun, l. iv. p. 234.

† The treaty of peace made at Cruju-Danes was limited to the lives of Malcolm and Canute, and now that both were dead, another Sueno, brother of Harold Harefoot, landed in Moray—at Burghead, it is said—a favourite resort of the Danes, and settled a colony there for upwards of a year, fresh recruits constantly joining them from Denmark and England. At last they were expelled, after a severe conflict, Sueno making his escape with only one of his ships.

The King of England (then also a Dane) invaded Scotland to avenge his brother's defeat; but his army

* In every edition of Fordun this word has undergone some new and strange transformation, being a translation from the Gaelic, as also the name of Macbeth's father. He is sometimes called Luffinleg.

Possibly he may have returned, as tradition asserts, from some successful expedition against the adversaries of the "gracious Duncan;" but that Calder was his castle, and that Duncan was murdered *there*, is simply a poetic fiction. The epithet of the "meek and hoary" Duncan, too, is evidently a mistake. He only outlived his grandfather (who died in 1034) six years, and could not have been much more than forty, supposing him to have been eighteen or twenty in 1018, when he was acknowledged "Tanist, and Prince of Cumbria;" and he may have been much younger, for by the Irish annalist of his own day (Tighernach) he is called "*immatura ætate*."

His cousin Torphin was only in his fourth year in 1014, when left at his grandfather's court by his father Sigurt, on his way to the fatal battle of Clontarf.

King Duncan married "Sybilla," sister of Siward, Earl of Northumberland, by whom he had Malcolm Cænmore and Donald Bane.

Duncan, it appears, had a sister, who probably succeeded to their father Crynan, as "Moddan," her son, was ancestor of the early chiefs of Athol or Maddoch.—See "Earls of Athol."

1040. On the death of Duncan, Macbeth seized the crown. He was the commander of Duncan's army—"duce suo," writes Marianus—and had more than once cleared the coasts from the Danes. He had also conquered and killed the two sons of his uncle "Malbrigid," Maormer of Moray,* who had caused the death

was entirely routed by Bancho and Macbeth, Duncan's generals, which produced a peace, the Danes binding themselves never more to enter Scotland in a hostile manner; and this does appear to have been their last invasion, save one in the reign of Alexander III. "The Lang Stane" of Forres—known by the name, to this day, of "Sueno's Stone" by those who know nothing of Sueno—may very probably be the monument erected on his departure. The characters upon it represent both a defeat and a treaty of peace. After Canute's retreat from Buchan in 1002, it is said that the Danes were forced to evacuate the fortress of Burghead, "The Brough," in Moray, where many remains of their works are still to be seen—if not, as some believe, of still older date. A deep well, solidly built round with freestone, upon which carvings of bulls, &c., may be traced, has been attributed to the Romans or Phœnicians, but is more probably of Danish workmanship. "It is reported that the oppressed inhabitants of Moray were obliged by the Danes to carry oak from the 'Valley of Roseisle' to Burghead for building of their ships. No oaks now exist in the district, but a submarine forest may be seen along the coast."—"Survey of the Province of Moray." A stone marking some battle-field was taken from a farm on Roseisle, called from it, "The Standing Stane," a few miles from Burghead, to the grounds of Altyre, where it now is.

* The first Maormer of Moray and Ross on record is Finlavich, or Finlath, the son of Rudri or Roderick; styled by Irish annalists Ri-Alban, and Maormer of the sons of Croeb; and by Norse scalds, "Finleikr Jarl," the Scot.

1020. Finlath was slain by the sons of his brother "Malbrigid" (Malcolm and Gilcomgain).

Finlath's son was *Macbeth*, styled by Nennius, "The vigorous M'Bretach," and by Wynton, "Thane of Crombauchty."

1040. Macbeth or Macabeda, King of Scotland until 1058, left a son, Malcolm or Gilcolm M'Beth, witness to charters of David I. to the Isle of May and Dryburgh, who had a son, Donald M'Beth, taken prisoner and confined in Roxburgh Castle for conspiring with Somerled, Thane of Argyle. Lulach also left descendants.

of his father "Finlath" in 1020. Moreover, he had married the Lady Gruach, daughter of Bædhe the son of Grim, or Kenneth M'Duff, who would have succeeded to the throne by the law of tanistry and alternate succession, had that law not been abrogated by Malcolm II. in favour of his own heirs. Duncan, his grandson, also succeeding through a female, was perhaps looked upon by many of his subjects "only as the son of an earl," whilst Gruach was the direct lineal descendant of the M'Alpine line. It was in the year 1038 that Macbeth overthrew and killed Gilcomgain, Maormer of Moray, his uncle's son; setting fire to his house, where he was burnt with fifty followers, and marrying Gruach, his widow, at once avenged his father's death, and recovered his lost inheritance of Moray and Ross, whilst through his wife he aspired to the throne of her ancestors. But all this seemed done in the interest of Duncan, who, until the fatal catastrophe in the "Smith's Bothy," probably had no suspicion of his general.

For two years the sons of Duncan, Malcolm Cænmore and Donald Bane, remained in Scotland, trusting in their father's friends to reinstate them; but finding Macbeth's power too firmly fixed, they then retired—Malcolm to his mother's brothers in the north of England, Donald Bane to the Hebrides. 1042.

Some five years after the death of Duncan, his father Crynan made an attempt to rally the adherents of the house of Athol in favour of his grandsons, but this attempt also failed. Crynan, with his "nine times twenty warriors," was defeated and slain. 1045.

For about sixteen years Macbeth's reign was more than usually prosperous for himself and the country.

"All his time was great plenty,
Abounding baith in land and sea;
He was in justice right lawful,
And 'til his lieges all, awful."—WYNTON.

The moral of which would seem to be, that in those days it was better for a ruler to be "awful" than gracious.

Macbeth was religious, too, according to his lights. He and the "Lady Gruach, daughter of Bædhe," are recorded in the chartulary of the Priory of St Andrews as amongst the earliest benefactors of the Culdees of Lochleven; and we are told that Macbeth "distributed much money in Rome." But authors are divided as to the reading of that passage, as there is no record of his having made a pilgrimage to Rome during his reign. He probably only sent money to buy absolution for Duncan's murder.*

Siward and his son invaded Scotland with a large army of Northumbrians 1054.

* The chartulary of the Priory of St Andrews states that "Mathbet, son of Finlath, married Gruach,

to assert the rights of Duncan's sons. They attacked Macbeth on the day of the "Seven Sleepers." 1500 Anglo-Danes fell in the combat, along with Osbert, Siward's son, as did also his nephew; but the day was theirs, and immense booty was taken.

Macbeth fled, and 3000 of his followers fell.

It was not until the 15th December 1056 that he was killed at Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire, by Macduff, who claimed, as his reward for himself and his descendants ever after, to place the crown upon the head of each new king.

Lulach, the son of Gruach by her first marriage, reigned for four months, when he was killed at Essie in Strathbolgie, 3d April 1057.

Macbeth, and Lulach his step-son, were both buried with the kings in Iona.

Of the early years of Malcolm Cænmore little is known. He was probably an infant at the time of his father's murder in 1040, as we are not led to believe that he was an old man in 1093, when he fell. Two years after his father's death, he sought refuge amongst his mother Sybilla's relatives in Northumbria, whilst his brother Donald-bain (the fair) retired to the Western Isles, probably with Crynan their grandfather, who held the chief authority there. In 1045 Crynan made an attempt to restore them to their rights, which failed, and he was killed. From that time until after the death of Macbeth, we know nothing certain of Malcolm's life. The old monkish chroniclers assert that he lived much at the court of Edward the Confessor, and that, "through his means," he was restored to the crown of Scotland; but John Milton, in his 'History of England,' tells a different tale. It was in the days of the famous Earl Godwin, "by whom the ease and simplicity of the king, Edward the Confessor, was made a means of raising himself and his family to the highest pitch of greatness, Syward, Earl of Northumberland, and Leofric, Earl of Hereford, men of spirit and greatness, took notice of his aspiring ambition; and as Godwin sought to greaten himself by the conquest of Wales, so Syward deprived Macbeth, the Scottish usurper, of his life and crown, and restored Malcolm to his just rights."—'History of England to the Norman Conquest.'

Again: "The year ensuing (1054), Siward, Earl of Northumberland, with a great number of horse and foot, attended also by a strong fleet, at the king's daughter of Boede, who had a son, 'Lulach,' killed in Strathbolgie, after having usurped the title of king for three months."

The death of "Maelsnuta" (M'Lulaigh), King of Moray, Lulach's descendant, is commemorated in the 'Annals of Ulster,' A.D. 1085. He rebelled in 1077, but died in peace.—See 'Shires of Aberdeen and Banff,' vol. iv. p. 547.

Lulach left also a daughter, who married "Heth," Earl of Moray, and their sons were Angus and Malcolm M'Heth. "Wimund," an impostor, took the name of M'Heth, and married a daughter of the Thane of Argyle.

M'Beth's descendants were Malcolm or Gilcolm, and Donald Macbeth.

appointment made an expedition into Scotland, vanquished the tyrant Macbeth, slaying many thousands of Scots, with those Normans that went thither, and placed *Malcolm, son of the Cumbrian king*, in his stead ; yet not without the loss of his own son (Osbert), and many others, both English and Danes.”—Mr John Milton, book iv.

Matthew of Westminster writes : “ Edward bestowed the kingdom of Scotland on Malcolm, to be held of him ; ” but it was only *Cumbria* he held of England.

Certain it is that in 1054, Earl Syward and his son, with an army of 10,000 or 12,000 men, invaded Scotland and defeated Macbeth ; and that, two years after, Macbeth was slain at Lumphanan by Macduff ; and that, two years after that 1058. again, Malcolm Cænmore was acknowledged King of Scotland.

“ Tosti,” Earl of Yorkshire and Northumberland, sought his court ; and again, 1061. in 1065, having been twice driven from his earldom to seek succours in Flanders, he came, no doubt, on the same errand to Scotland. Malcolm, however, took no part in the wars of Tosti and Harold Hardrada against England, which terminated in their defeat and death at Stamford Bridge. The two sons of Torphin 1066. were present as co-jarls of Orkney, their father having died in 1064. They were probably very young, as they remained on board ship with Harold Hardrada’s young son, and all three escaped after the battle. At that time it would appear that their mother Ingioborge was Malcolm Cænmore’s wife. He had by her a son, “ Duncan,” who is called illegitimate by all the Romanist chroniclers, friends of the saintly Margaret and her sons, but not so, it appears, by those sons themselves ; which leads disinterested historians to suppose that being within the prohibited degrees, and no dispensation having been obtained for the marriage from the Pope, was the cause of this stigma. In the year 1046 Earl Torphin, Malcolm Cænmore’s cousin, had a severe struggle for his island dominions with his nephew, Ragnvald Bruceon, whose father Brusee had lately died in possession of two-thirds of them ; and after he fancied himself secure in the possession of the whole jarldom, Ragnvald returned with a force from Norway. They came privately to Shetland, and afterwards to Mainland, “ Hrossey,” in Orkney, where Torphin was, and set fire to the house he lived in. Torphin, breaking through a vaulted roof, escaped under cover of the smoke and darkness with his wife Ingioborge in his arms,* and in a boat reached “ Katenes”

* Amongst the inscriptions brought to light by Mr Farrer’s late excavations at the *Maes House*, is one—

“ Ingioborge, the fair, the widow.
Many a proud woman has walked bent here.”

Or—

“ Many a woman has walked stooping here
Who owned great wealth.”

Was the Maes House of Lodbrok’s sons at one time the shelter of Earl Torphin’s widow ? and was Malcolm Cænmore the invader or protector of her rights ?

(Caithness). Torphin lived for eighteen years after that, therefore Malcolm could not have married his widow till 1064.

1068. Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line, with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, with many Saxon lords who supported his claims to the crown of England, now crossed the border.

It was then that William the Conqueror built two castles in York, and filled them with Norman garrisons.

1069. The following year he sent "Robert Comyn," a Norman noble (first of a name in England which was destined to become famous in the neighbouring kingdom), to preserve order amongst the turbulent Northumbrians, with the title of *earl*, and a considerable body of Norman soldiers; but Comyn was
Jan. 28. surprised and killed at Durham, one only of his 700 followers escaping alive (see "Cumyn"). The conspirators afterwards marched upon York, taking with them Edgar the Atheling, who had joined them from Scotland. They were entering into negotiations with the citizens, when discomfited by the sudden arrival of William from the south, who gave the city up to his soldiers to be pillaged.—(*Simeon Dun de Gestis*, 1068-9.)

In autumn another attempt was made by Edgar to recover his throne with the aid of the Danes, who sent 240 ships to the Humber under Jarl Osbern, brother to their king; but William found means of buying them off, and the Danish fleet, after plundering Peterborough, quitted the English coasts, Osbern meeting his just reward by being banished from the court of his indignant brother Sweno. Malcolm in the meanwhile took possession of Cumbria. Cospatrick purchased the earldom of Northumberland from the Conqueror (having claims upon it through his mother's descent from Uchtred); and the other Northumbrian leaders prepared to leave a country in which they could find no safety. At Wearmouth Malcolm found a vessel, with the Atheling, his mother, and sisters on board, awaiting a favourable wind to quit for ever their native shores. He offered them a welcome at his court, and they soon landed in safety on the shores of Fife, in what has since been called St Margaret's "Hope" or "Haven." Meanwhile Cospatrick devastated Cumberland, probably by order of his new liege lord.

Malcolm, indignant at his ingratitude (for but a few months had passed since Cospatrick had sought shelter and protection in Scotland), now carried fire and sword into Northumberland, which hitherto he had carefully guarded from any outrage. The country was completely devastated, and hundreds of the miserable inhabitants were driven before his army into Scotland; and although the walls of Bamborough sheltered Cospatrick and his Cumbrian spoils, "WASTE," in the Domesday Book, is affixed to all the possessions of "Edwin, Morcar, Wal-

theof, and Cospatrick," as well as of "Siward Beorn" and "Merleswayne," who had found an asylum and an adopted home in Scotland along with Edgar Atheling.

Malcolm married the Saxon Princess Margaret, so good and religious a queen that she was canonised as a saint. For some time William was so much occupied in the south that the invasion of Northumberland was unresented; but the Conqueror marched to the north with a formidable army, supported by a numerous fleet, determined to punish his own rebellious subjects, and to exact retribution from Malcolm for the support he had given to them. But he came too late. Edgar was in Flanders, and, as the Saxon chronicle says, "He found nothing there for which he was the better." William penetrated as far as Abernethy on the Tay, where he was met by Malcolm's army, but neither king seemed anxious to proceed to extremities, and soon they came to terms. Malcolm, on receiving a grant of twelve manors in England, with a promise of twelve merks in gold, perhaps as the dower of his queen, performed the usual homage for his English feofs; and giving up his son "Duncan," now mentioned for the first time, as a hostage, the Conqueror retraced his steps to England. 1071-2.
August
1072.

Cospatrick could now with safety be charged by his liege lord with his connivance in the death of Earl Robert Comyn, and his actual presence at the storming of the Castle of York. Cospatrick escaped by a timely flight to Flanders, and his earldom was given to Waltheof, son of Siward, the uncle of Malcolm Cænmoir.

Cospatrick soon joined his countrymen in Scotland, having, it appears, made his peace with Malcolm, who gave him a large district of country in the Lothians to hold against the incursions of the English, with the title of "Earl of Dunbar and Les Marches d'Ecosses," which title afterwards became shortened to "Earl of Dunbar and March." 1073-4.

Soon after the treaty of Abernethy, Edgar too returned to Scotland, where he was affectionately welcomed by his sister and her husband. They pressed him, however, to accept the castle of Montreuil from the King of France, who was anxious to establish William's rival on the borders of Normandy. Edgar sailed, laden with costly gifts from his relatives, but was soon driven back to them by contrary winds and storms, a shipwrecked and homeless wanderer. He was now advised to tender his submission to the English Conqueror, which was most willingly accepted; and he was conducted to the frontier of England, and thence to Normandy, with much ceremony and parade.

England and Scotland were now at peace, and Malcolm had recovered the province of Cumberland, for which he did homage to William.

1077. Malsnechtan, Maormer of Moray and Ross, called the son of Lulach (but more likely his grandson, as it is said Lulach only left a daughter, married to "Heth," Maormer of Moray), revived the claims of his house to the crown ; but a sanguinary and decisive battle, in which Malcolm is said to have "won the mother of Malsnechtan, with all his best men," his "cattle and treasure," put an end to the revolt, and established Malcolm's supremacy over Moray. Malsnechtan, however, survived his defeat to die in peace, A.D. 1085.
1078. Assisted by his good queen, Malcolm now devoted himself to the civilisation and improvement of his people. He founded Dunfermline Abbey (proved by the foundation charter, 'Monasticon Anglican,' vol. iii. ad fin.), and he restored Loch Leven. Surnames now began to be used in Scotland. About this time, we are told by some old chronicle that Queen Margaret clothed her servants in party-coloured garments which she had taught them to weave—perhaps the origin of the tartan.
1079. Malcolm again crossed the southern border with a hostile army. William was then in Normandy, and at variance with his eldest son, in whose favour probably this inroad was made, Malcolm always having had a warm affection for Robert. William, however, was soon reconciled to his son, whom he despatched the following autumn to make reprisals upon the Scots ; but, either from want of ability or want of will, Robert retreated, after a fruitless march, as far as Eggesbreth (Falkirk). On his return he laid the foundations of a new castle on the banks of the Tyne, the first of a line of forts intended to protect the English frontier from the attacks of the Scots.
1087. The two kings never met again. On his deathbed William left directions with his sons to release all the hostages and prisoners of state.
- Duncan*, the son of Malcolm and Ingiborge, and Ulf, the son of Harold, had the good fortune of having Robert of Normandy as the arbiter of their fate, and were dismissed with presents and marks of honour, whilst the other prisoners were detained by Rufus.
1087. Duncan received the honour of knighthood from Robert before leaving him.
1091. Four years after the death of the Conqueror, upon a cessation of hostilities between his sons, Robert and William Rufus, Edgar Atheling was expelled from his lands in Normandy, and once more took refuge in Scotland.

Malcolm again espoused his cause, partly, perhaps, to enforce the restoration of his own English manors, which were withheld by Rufus. With a numerous army he reached Chester-le-Street on his way to Durham, but learning that the whole country was in arms to oppose his progress, he returned at once to Scotland. Rufus was in Normandy. Returning thence with his brother Robert, he despatched a powerful fleet along the coast, and prepared to follow in his father's

footsteps to the north. Michaelmas was past before he reached the Lothians, where Malcolm was ready to confront him. His fleet was dispersed by storms, and his horses perished from cold and hunger. Robert of Normandy, who was with him, prevented a collision, and, sending for Edgar Atheling from the Scottish camp, arranged with his assistance a renewal of the Treaty of Abernethy. Edgar, reconciled to Rufus, returned with him to England; but before Christmas both he and Robert retired in disgust from the English court, as all William's promises remained unfulfilled.

Malcolm, however, continued passive, although Rufus took possession of 1093. Carlisle, and rebuilt and fortified it, his treaty with Malcolm remaining unsatisfied, although the anxiety of many of the leading men in England to see a firm and honourable peace, and the illness of Rufus, which made him seem more willing to listen to his advisers, gave hopes of an equitable arrangement. Malcolm therefore sent to demand the completion of their treaty. William named Gloucester as the place of meeting. He delivered hostages for the safety of the Scottish king, and deputed Edgar to conduct him, with befitting honours, to the English court.

In his progress Malcolm assisted in laying the foundation-stone of a new 1093. church in Durham.

He arrived at Gloucester; but William's good intentions had vanished with Aug. 24. his illness, and Malcolm found him more haughty and exacting than ever. Admission to the royal presence was denied him; and he was commanded to "*do right*" in the English court, and according to the judgment of the English barons only. To have yielded to this would have been to place himself on a footing with them as his peers, and to have acknowledged dependence upon the English crown. Malcolm therefore indignantly refused compliance, replying that "the King of Scotland was wont to '*do right*' to the kings of England upon the frontiers of the two kingdoms, and according to the united judgment of the peers of *both* realms." And having thus maintained his entire independence of the English king, he departed in open hostility from his court.

Hastily collecting an army on his return, Malcolm again crossed the border, Nov. in spite of the forebodings of his anxious queen, which were but too fatally fulfilled.

On the 13th of November 1093 Malcolm was killed (by treachery, it is believed) on the banks of the Alne. "Robert de Mowbray," then Earl of Northumberland, was his opponent, but "Morel of Bamboro'," with whom he had once been in habits of familiar friendship, dealt the blow.

Edward, his eldest son by Margaret his queen, intended by him to be his successor, fell at the same time mortally wounded, and died three days after in Jedwood Forest.

Dismayed by this double loss, the Scottish army returned in confusion, many perishing by the sword, and more by the swollen rivers they attempted to ford.

The body of the king, found upon the field by peasants, was brought to Tynemouth in a cart, and consigned to an obscure tomb, until twenty years later, when it was removed to Dunfermline by Alexander I., and laid beside the
 1093. ashes of his sainted queen, who died on the 16th December, after hearing from her son Edgar the fatal news.—‘Chronicles of Melrose.’ Malcolm had reigned thirty-three years.

Margaret, the consort of Malcolm III., was the daughter of Edward the Outlaw, who was the son of Edmund Ironside, eldest son of Ethelred by his first and Saxon wife.

1017. Her father, having fled from Canute in his infancy—when Queen Emma married the Danish usurper, and *his* father, “Edmund Ironside,” fell a victim to their ambition—lived for nearly forty years in Hungary, where he married the Princess Agatha, a near relative of the Emperor Henry II., by whom he left one son, “Edgar the Atheling,” and two daughters—1st, Margaret, married to Malcolm Cænmore, circa 1070-72; and Christina, a nun.

1057. Edgar the Atheling came to England, with his mother and two sisters, as heir-presumptive to the English throne; but on the death of his uncle, “Edward the Confessor” (his father’s *younger* brother, but the son of Norman
 1066. Emma), first, Harold Godwinson, and soon after, William of Normandy, seized his kingdom, and Edgar and his sister sought refuge in Scotland.

More than once Malcolm Cænmore assisted Edgar, by invasions of the northern counties of England, to regain his rights. At last, giving up all hopes of success, the Atheling and his sisters embarked at Wearmouth, with the intention of returning to Hungary; but by stress of weather they were driven into
 1070. the Firth of Forth, and found refuge in the bay which still bears the name of St Margaret’s Hope or Haven.

On landing, the princess and her party proceeded to walk to Dunfermline, and the king, hearing of their approach, went to meet them, and found Margaret resting on a stone by the wayside (still called by her name). Malcolm kindly welcomed his guests, but it does not appear that his marriage with Margaret could have taken place for a year or two. Probably Ingioborge, his first wife, was still alive. Duncan, her son, was fifteen in 1072, when he was given up as a hostage to William the Conqueror (probably after his mother’s
 1071-2. death); and Malcolm’s marriage with Margaret may have taken place about that time, as we are told that the princess was twenty-four years of age at the time of her marriage, and forty-seven at her death on December 16, 1093.—‘Chronicles of Melrose.’

Queen Margaret was devoted to piety, charity, and virtue, and all good works, and did much to enlighten and civilise her adopted country. She also did much to *Romanise* its Church, which, until her day, had principally held to the primitive rule of Columba and the Culdee establishments. As a reward for her orthodoxy she was canonised in 1251 by Pope Clement IV., and her relics were supposed to work many miracles. Amongst others, they resolutely refused to be removed to a more honourable resting-place without those of her husband, her coffin becoming so heavy as it was being carried past the king's that no number of men could lift it; but when *his* led the way, hers became as light as an infant's. The sarcophagus which is said to have been the first resting-place of her mortal remains still lies, an empty shell, outside the church at Dunfermline. At the time of the Reformation her relics were removed from Scotland to Spain, and deposited (along with the remains of her husband) in a chapel of the Escorial built for them by Philip II. Whoso would make a pilgrimage to her shrine may still read—

“Saint Malcolm King, Saint Margaret Queen. They were lovely in their lives, and in their deaths were not divided.”

“St Margaret's Cove,” or “Oratory in the Rock,” is still shown on the banks of the Ferm in what was *then* the “Foreste of Donnfermelyn,” in whose wilds Sir William Wallace in after days eluded the English invaders; and many other sites bear her name. Perhaps even then the Ferm water was found available for the brilliant dyes of the tartan, as we are told that Queen Margaret clothed her servants in party-coloured raiment, which she taught them to weave.

The children of Malcolm Cænmore by Queen Margaret were—

1st. Edward, killed at Alnwick whilst defending his father.

2d. Ethelred, Earl of Fife, and Abbot of Dunkeld before its erection into a bishopric, and whilst it was still under Columbite rule. He gave the lands of Ardmure to the Culdees of Loch Leven, and was buried at St Andrews.

3d. Edmund, who is said to have shared for a time the throne with his uncle, Donald-bain. He became a monk after Donald's deposition in the Cluniæ Priory of Montague in Somersetshire, and died there in the odour of sanctity. —Sir James Balfour.

4th. Edgar, who brought the news of his father's and brother's death to Queen Margaret at Dunfermline (according to Turgot, her *confessor and biographer*).

5th. Alexander I., surnamed the Fierce. He had the gift of the earldom of Innergoury, from his father's brother (Donald-bain), at his baptism.

6th. David I., the Saint.

The daughters were—

1st. Matilda, Maude, or Mold, queen of Henry I. of England (surnamed Henry Beauclerc, third son of William the Conqueror). Matilda had two sons, both of whom were drowned in the White Ship, along with 140 of the young nobility of England, when crossing from France after the marriage of the young prince. Matilda's only daughter, "Alicia," married to the Emperor of Germany, alone remained to unite in her person the Saxon and Norman lines, assuming the well-loved name of "Matilda," and the title of "Empress-Queen," on her father's death. Her history presents a checkered page in English history.

2d. Mary, married Eustace Count de Bulloigne, brother of the renowned Godfrey King of Jerusalem.

Her daughter "Matilda," the wife of Stephen, King of England, thus became the rival of her cousin the empress. From Mary also descended the Dukes de Bulloigne, of whom was the celebrated Turenne, General of Louis XIV.

1093. Three parties divided Scotland at the time of the death of Malcolm Cænmore.

In the north, the defeat of "Malsnechtan" by the late king had been too recent to admit of any movement on the part of the house of Moray to seize the crown; whilst on the east coast the adherents of the reigning family were divided between the hereditary followers of the house of Athol and the English refugees of the Lothians and Northumbria. A certain jealousy of these last had made the "sainted queen" less popular amongst the native Scots, and the *election* of *Donald-bain* to fill the vacant throne was the natural consequence of this feeling, and of an inclination to return to the ancient usages of the monarchy.

This was followed by the expulsion of the Saxons—Edgar Atheling taking with him to England the children of his sister Margaret, and supporting them on his own slender means, thus returning in some sort the kindness he had uniformly received from their parents.

Meanwhile Donald-bain, brother of the late king, reigned in Scotland. According to Abercrombie, he had resided in the Western Isles since the murder of his father by Macbeth, and probably succeeded to the authority and possessions of his grandfather Crynan there. He was now seated on the throne by the assistance of the Norwegians.

Duncan, eldest son of the late king, resided at the English court, where he had been brought up as a hostage from a very early age—since 1072—and was knighted, and often employed by Robert Duke of Normandy in military affairs. On learning the accession of his uncle, he presented himself before

William Rufus, and requested "the grant of his father's kingdom," promising to hold it in fealty and allegiance to him, in return for the king's assistance.

This demand, united to a condition so much coveted, was of course readily accorded; and on the return of spring, Duncan, placing himself at the head of a band of English and Norman troops, drove out his uncle Donald, and took possession of the kingdom. May 1094.

The Scots appear to have been taken by surprise, for they soon returned to overwhelm the followers of Duncan; but it was only the foreigners they disliked, and Duncan was allowed to retain the crown—which he might possibly have obtained much more easily without the aid of the English king. His nobles made a condition that no foreigners or aliens should be admitted. Donald-bain, in the mean time, was thrown upon the support of the northern faction; and his ally "Malpeter M'Leon," Maormer of the Mearnes, by a successful intrigue, caused the death of Duncan on the banks of the Bervie at Monach-Eden, where a rude stone is said still to mark the place of his death.

After the death of Duncan, Donald-bain again reigned for about three years. 1094. His supporters were mostly of the northern party—Malpeter, Maormer of Merne, and the Norwegians (according to Chalmers's 'Caledonia,' meaning probably the jarls of Orkney).

Edmund, one of the sons of Malcolm and Margaret, it is said shared his throne, and on his deposition retired into a convent in England, where he died in the odour of sanctity; whilst Ethelred probably quietly retained his abbacy of Dunkeld.

Edgar Atheling was sent to Scotland by William Rufus, and after a severe struggle he succeeded in placing his nephew "Edgar" on the throne. 1097.

Donald-bain, falling into the hands of the victor, was condemned to have his eyes put out, and was imprisoned for life in Roscolpie, Forfarshire.

Donald-bain left an only daughter, "Beatrix or Bethoc," who married the Count de St Pol, who, dying without leaving a son, was succeeded by his brother. The only daughter of this marriage, "Hextilda, Countess of Ethol-etela," married Richard Cumyn, from whom descended "John Cumyn," competitor in 1292 in her right.

It seems now to be pretty well recognised by historians that Duncan would have been considered the legitimate son and successor of Malcolm had not the Saxon queen been the firm patroness and supporter of the Roman Catholic Church, which was well skilled in finding out the ever-ready pretext of consanguinity to render a marriage illegal which stood in the way of a more favourite heir. Had Duncan been, as he was afterwards called, a "bastard," he would not, according to the usage of the country, have received the honoured

name of the king his grandfather ; nor would he have been received as the *only* hostage by the English king in 1072. On his return to Scotland after his father's death to claim the throne, Prince Edgar, his half-brother, came with him, and remained at his court during his short reign. Edgar never treated him as a usurper, as appears by various charters. "Ego Duncanis filius Regis Malcolumbi, constans hereditarie Rex Scotiæ, &c. &c. Signed, Crux Dune†cani Regis, Ead†gari, Mal†columb (probably the son of Malsnechtan), Scriptoris Gr†entonis, &c. Hæc Charta, tam signis crucis, quam sigillo appendente corroboratur. In sigillo ceruitur effigies hominis armati equo fidentis, circa quam inscripta hæc est † Sigillum Dunecani Regis Scotorum."—In 'Arch. Eccles. Dunelm.'

King David's confirmation charter to the monastery of Dunfermline—"In nomini Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, &c. &c. Confirmo patris itaque et matris meæ dono subsequentia, dona *Regis Duncani*, fratris mei, dona Regis Edgari, fratris mei, dona Comitæ Ethelredi, fratris mei, dona Alexandri Regis, fratris mei, dona Sybilla Reginae," &c. &c.

Duncan married "Ethelreda," daughter of Cospatrick, son of Maldred, son of *Crinan*, Earl of Northumberland, with whom he got the barony of Atterdale, which her brother Waltheof once had. Duncan left a son, William Fitz-Duncan, who was General-in-Chief of the army of King David I. at the Battle of the Standard, and styled "Nepos Regis Scotiæ" by *Dugdale*, and sometimes "Earl of Moray."

In Chalmers's 'Caledonia' it is said that Duncan was fifteen years of age in 1072. William Fitz-Duncan appears to have left a son to succeed him in his northern possessions and rights, real or supposed, who was the father of a race of M'Williams who troubled Scotland until the days of Alexander II. William married, secondly, Alitz or Alice de Rumeilli, Lady of Skipton, by whom he had one only son, "Duncan," "The Boy of Egremont," whose tragical fate has been the theme of several English poets.—See Rogers.

" Say what remains when hope is fled?
She answered, 'endless weeping ;'
For in the herdsman's eye she read
Who in his shroud lay sleeping.

With hound in leash and hawk in hood
The boy of Egremont was seen,
Blyth was his song, a song of yore ;
But where the rock is rent in two,
And the river rushes through,
His voice was heard no more.
'Twas but a step—it was his last !

The hound drew back, and back he drew
 The master, and his merlin too !
 That narrow place of noise and strife
 Received their little all of life.

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There now the matin bell is rung,
 The *Miserere* daily sung ;
 And holy men, in cowl and hood,
 Are wandering up and down the wood."

Alice de Rumeilli built Bolton Abbey as near as possible to the spot where her son was lost ; it is known by the name of *The Strid*, on the river Wharfe. To this abbey she removed the canons of Empsey Priory, which had been 1121. founded by her father and mother, William and Cecilia de Meschines.

CHAPTER II.

1097. EDGAR, fourth son of Malcolm Cænmore by Margaret his queen, assisted by a large force from England, defeating and killing his uncle, Donald-bain, ascended his father's throne, and reigned prosperously for nine years and six months.

According to Saxon chronicles, William Rufus assisted Edgar by sending a body of troops under the command of his uncle, Edgar the Atheling, on the same terms that had been dictated to his brother Duncan, which were so distasteful to the Scottish nation that they caused the downfall of that prince. According to Fordun, the Banner of St Cuthbert won the day, three knights, by its aid, defeating the whole of Donald's army; the truth being that the Saxon and Roman Catholic party, being assisted by some powerful knights from the north of England, succeeded in overcoming the ancient Scottish party of Athol and the Culdees, and the northern Maormers.

1098. Magnus Bärfoot, sailing with a powerful fleet to the Orkneys, seized the two jarls (Torphin's sons) and sent them to Norway, placing his own son "Sigurd," still a child, over the jarldom. Magnus then sailed for the Hebrides, scattering the population, and destroying everything, with the exception of the church of Iona. He is reported to have landed on the sacred island, and, opening the door of the church, to have looked in; but hastily drawing back, and closing the door after him, he forbade any one to enter, and immediately departed, granting peace and safety to the inhabitants of the island. No one ever knew what vision had appeared to the king, but it did not stay his destroying sword in any other direction. He took possession of the Isle of Man, invaded Anglesea, and killed Hugh Earl of Shrewsbury, who attempted to oppose him.

1099. The ensuing winter he passed amongst the Sudreys or Southern Isles, now represented by "Sodor and Man," claiming all he could sail round as his own; and having his boat drawn across the isthmus of Tarbet, whilst he sat at the helm, he pretended also to include Cantyre.

1102. Magnus returned with his fleet and landed in Ireland, but Murketagh O'Brien made peace with him, and gave his daughter in marriage to the young Jarl Sigurd, A.D. 1103.

Next year Magnus fell into a morass in Ulster and was slain, upon which his fleet, weighing anchor, immediately sailed for Norway, touching at the Orkneys by the way, and carrying off Sigurd, who relinquished his Irish princess, and returned to his Odal rights in Norway. 1103.

With this exception, the nine years of Edgar's reign appear to have passed without incident.

Edgar founded Coldingham, and gave it to the monks of Durham—Turgot, his mother's confessor, being the prior.

On the 8th of January Edgar died unmarried, bequeathing to his youngest brother, David, Scottish Cumbria, in testimony of his recognition of the valuable counsel and assistance he had ever received from him. 1107.

He also gave the "mansion" or "town" of Berwick to Durham, for the salvation of the souls of his brethren *Duncan* and *Edward*.

Alexander I., surnamed the Fierce, fifth son of Malcolm III., succeeded his brother Edgar, whose bequest of Scottish Cumbria to his younger brother David he unwillingly acceded to; but on David's threatening to support his claim by the sword, the fear of David's power and influence at the court of his sister Matilda extorted from Alexander a reluctant acquiescence. The new king was more like his father in his warlike bearing than the peaceful Edgar—and there was need; for the maormers of the north had recovered their resources, and the men of Moray and Mearne marched south in hopes of surprising Alexander, and repeating the catastrophe of Duncan. 1107.

The king held his court at *Innergusonie*, which had been his earldom and residence during Edgar's reign. He immediately marched to meet the insurgents, who turned and fled to the mountains. Alexander pressed after them till he reached the boundaries of Ross, where they were gathering all their forces, on the north side of the Moray Firth, intending to dispute the passage with the king; but it is said that he found a passage at *Stockford* (?), and plunging into the stream (the Beuley?) when it was high water, succeeded in crossing in safety with his horsemen; and so, coming unexpectedly upon the bewildered enemy, took a stern and sanguinary vengeance, which suppressed revolt, and gained for him the name of "the Fierce." Otherwise he was a pious and religious prince. On his return from the north he founded the Monastery of Scone, in the foundation charter of which the names of six earls appear as witnesses—viz., *Heth* or *Beth*, Earl of Moray, Madoch Earl of Athol, Malise Earl of Strathearn, Dufagan Earl of Fife, Gratnach Earl of Marr, and Rory Earl of Angus and Buchan.

He and his successor, David I., both confirmed their brother Ethelred's gift of Admore to the Culdees of Loch Leven, and gave donations to Dunfermline,

Coldingham, and Durham. Alexander also founded Cells or Priors at Loch Tay, where his queen Sybilla, natural daughter of Henry I. of England, died, and was buried, A.D. 1122.

In Alexander's day the Culdees ceased to have power in the Church. The last Gaelic or Culdee bishop died the same year as Malcolm Cænmore. He was Bishop of St Andrews, and the see remained vacant during the two succeeding reigns. Alexander attempted to make Turgot Bishop of St Andrews, but failed, from differences with Rome. Turgot died, A.D. 1115. It appears, from Ethelred's gift of the church of Admore to Loch Leven, that there were schools and colleges of learning at Abernethy, and that Ethelred was under age at the time he made it.

April 25, Alexander I. died without heirs. Had his brother David not been his
1124. successor, his possession of Cumbria would have been a serious evil. As it was, the whole of Scotland became united under David, one of the best of its kings.

April 27, David, sixth son of Malcolm Canmore, was crowned at Scone king of the
1124. reunited kingdom of Scotland. David had married, during his residence in the south, Matilda or Maude, widow of Simon de St Litz, and daughter of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland, by Judith, niece of William the Conqueror. With her he got the honour of Huntingdon, Tottenham, and other possessions, thus becoming an English baron, which often placed him and other Scottish sovereigns, his descendants, in positions of great difficulty.

Judith, his wife's mother, was the daughter of Odo or Eudo, first Earl of Albemarle and Holderness, by Adeliza, half-sister of the Conqueror. Odo, her father, was also Earl of Champagne. He was grandson of Maude, daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy, by her marriage with Eudo Earl of Blois and Chartres.

After the murder of Comes Robertus Comyn and the flight of Cospatrick,
1070. William I., finding it difficult to subdue Northumbria, gave the earldom back to Waltheof, son of the late Earl Siward, and with it bestowed upon him his beautiful but treacherous niece, Judith, to wife, A.D. 1075. Earl Waltheof being one of the guests at a wedding-feast where some malcontents spoke against the Norman rule, entered with them into a bond to resist it. Considering, in a more sober hour, that he had gone too far, he confided this to his wife, who immediately informed her uncle, and Waltheof was taken prisoner and beheaded.

After this, Simon de St Litz was appointed by the king to marry Judith, but she would not have him because "he halted of a leg" (Dugdale); so her young daughter Maude was betrothed to Simon, who got with her the earldom of Northampton and other estates. He died in France, A.D. 1115, leaving to

his son "Simon de St Litz," who died in 1154, his earldom of Northampton. *He* also left a son, who held Northampton until 1184. And when kings opposed to Scotland reigned in England, these two last held Huntingdon also.

Maude's only son by Simon de St Litz was Waltheof or Waldave, who became a monk, and was the second Abbot of Melrose, where he died, and was canonised as St Waldave.—Fordun, &c. Although elected Bishop of St Andrews, he declined the honour.—'Chronicles of Melrose.' See his History in the 'Acta Sanctorum' of the Bolandists, under his day in the Calendar, August 3.

Upon the death of Henry V., Emperor of Germany, the King of England, having lost both his sons in the White Ship, determined upon adopting as his successor his only daughter "Alicia," who had been fifteen years before betrothed to the now deceased emperor. The princess and her adopted country were unwilling to be severed, but her father's will prevailed.

The Scottish king was early sought to join in securing the succession to his sister's child, and at one time he passed a whole year in England concerting measures for this purpose. Alicia now assumed the popular name of her mother, "Matilda," and David was the first English baron to swear fealty to his niece. 1126.

In the seventh year of King David's reign, his queen, Maude, died, leaving him an only son, "Prince Henry." 1130.

That same year, Angus and Malcolm, the sons of Heth, Earl of Moray, again asserted their claims to the crown, as being the descendants of Lulach; and, in the king's absence, Edward the Constable, son of Siward Beorn, leader of the king's forces, encountered and overthrew them at Stickathro, in Forfarshire.

"Angus," the Earl or King of Moray, as he was sometimes called, was slain; and Malcolm, escaping to the mountains, continued the contest until 1134.

Alarmed by the reiterated attempts of the descendants of Kenneth M'Duff, David solicited the aid of his friends the barons of Yorkshire and Northumberland, who speedily answered his summons, under the banner of Walter Espec, at Carlisle, his southern capital; and gathering a formidable fleet, he intended to carry the war into the farthest fastnesses of the Highlands. But, in the mean time, Malcolm M'Heth was given up by his own followers, and sent a prisoner to Roxburgh Castle.

On the 1st December 1135, Henry I. of England died, having bequeathed his dominions to his daughter the Empress-Queen; but no sooner had his spirit fled than Stephen arrived suddenly in England. Gaining over to his cause Roger Bishop of Salisbury, and William Pont de l'Arche, he possessed himself, through them, of the immense wealth of the late king, and before the

year was out, Stephen was crowned King of England. No one, except her uncle, the King of Scotland, seemed mindful of their oaths to the Empress-Queen.

At the moment of Stephen's coronation David led an army across the border, and received the allegiance of the northern barons in behalf of his niece. Carlisle and Norham, Werk, Alnwick, Newcastle, and all the northern fortresses except Bamborough, opened their gates to receive him, but Stephen was before him at Durham.

David retired upon Newcastle, and the two kings remained for a fortnight in a hostile position.

At last peace was agreed upon.

The Scottish king, true to his oath, refused to hold any fiefs from Stephen, but Carlisle and Doncaster were conferred upon his son, Prince Henry, in addition to the honours of Huntingdon, with a promise that his claims through his mother (the daughter of Waltheof) to the earldom of Northumberland should be considered. This peace was made through the influence of another "Matilda," Stephen's queen, another niece of David's, being the daughter of his sister Mary; but the event frustrated the intentions of both parties. Stephen, when he held his court in London, assigned the place of honour on his right hand to his guest, Prince Henry. This excited the jealousy of some of the English barons, especially of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ranulph Earl of Chester, who had claims on Carlisle and Cumberland. After publicly expressing their discontent, they left the court.

Incensed at this unprovoked insult to his son, David recalled him from England; and although Henry was often summoned by Stephen to perform his feudal obligations, he was never again permitted by his father to return to the English court.

1137. The following year the absence of Stephen in Normandy afforded David a favourable opportunity of avenging the indignity offered to his son, and of forwarding the interests of his niece, the Empress Matilda. An army was on the point of crossing the frontier, when the aged "Thorstein," Archbishop of York, obtained from David a promise to abstain from hostilities until Advent, by which time it was expected that Stephen should have returned. An embassy was sent to the English court to declare the truce to be at an end, unless Prince Henry was placed in immediate possession of Northumbria—which was tantamount to a declaration of war.

On the 10th of January 1138, the advance-guard of the Scottish army, under the command of William Fitz-Duncan, the king's nephew, crossed the border, and attempted to surprise Werk Castle, the property of Walter Espec; but

the fortress was too well defended by *his* nephew to be taken. David's army was gathered from every part of his dominions, and had in William Fitz-Duncan an able general; but it was with much difficulty that he restrained the wild men of Galloway.

The Easter festival being over, he led them against Norham, which fell; and, with varied success, the war was carried on till the middle of June.

The barons of Yorkshire, meanwhile, many of them the early friends of David, had looked on without joining either side, not knowing whether to assist the Scots as loyal supporters and friends of the Empress-Queen, or to oppose them as enemies of King Stephen.

But now Archbishop Thorstein preached a holy war, and brought out the banners and relics of St Peter of York, St John of Beverly, and St Wilfrid of Ripon, placing them around the mast of a ship set upon wheels, which bore aloft the consecrated host.

The barons obeyed the call. Ilbert de Lacy and Robert de Bruce, the youthful William of Albemarle and the aged Walter de Ghent, summoned their followers to meet at Thirsk; and even Robert de Mowbray, a young child, appeared at the head of his retainers. Percy and De Courcy, d'Estoteville, Peveril, and Ferrers, from Nottinghamshire and Derby, soon joined them. Stephen was too much occupied to leave the south, but he sent Bernard de Baliol, with a body of chosen knights. King David's forces, now united with those under William Fitz-Duncan, amounted to about 26,000 men. To take the enemy by surprise he knew to be his only chance of victory, and this he had nearly carried into effect, advancing in a thick fog to the banks of Aug. 22, the Tees. He was, however, perceived by a horseman, who gave the alarm 1138. just as his troops were preparing to cross the river.

In hopes of yet averting the conflict, Bernard de Baliol and Robert de Bruce rode forward to hazard a last appeal, pledging themselves to obtain for Prince Henry the grant of Northumberland. Bruce particularly warned his early friend, King David, against making war with those on whose aid he most relied in curbing the refractory Galwegians; and friendship, united with self-interest, had nearly prevailed, when William Fitz-Duncan persuaded his uncle to break off the conference. The two barons then formally renounced their allegiance to the Scottish king, Robert de Bruce resigning his lordship of Annandale in favour of his second son, who, then a youth of fourteen years of age, led his retainers in the service of King David.

On Cutton Moor, near Northallerton, was raised "*the Standard*," which gave its name to the battle. At one time victory favoured the Scots, Prince Henry and his mounted followers carrying all before them; but he pursued the flying

foe, and left those behind him time to rally. Then a cry was raised that David had fallen, and a bloody head on a pike was raised aloft, whilst a voice proclaimed it to be the head of the King of Scotland!

His people were struck with panic, and their opponents rallied at the cry. In vain David, leaping from his horse, placed himself at the head of the reserve, and bravely endeavoured to recover the day. The Scots were driven
 1138. back, the king refusing to quit the field till he was carried off by his body-guard, who, rallying round his banner, still presented a formidable front to the foe, and retreated in perfect order to Carlisle. It was three days ere Prince Henry was able to relieve his father's anxiety by joining him there. On his return from his victorious charge, instead of meeting, as he expected, triumphant friends, he found the enemy in pursuit of his father's slowly-retiring standard, which he saw in the distance; and, comprehending the evil turn of fortune, arranged with his two hundred knights that they should divest themselves of all recognisable ensigns, and, mixing with the pursuers, make their way to join the king.

About 10,000 men are said to have fallen in the battle of Northallerton. After a time David restored order to his diminished forces, and led them anew to invest Wark Castle, which was saved from capitulation at the last moment by arrangements for peace, just as provisions had nearly failed, one horse alive and one in salt being all their store.

Sept. 20. "Alberic," legate from Pope Innocent, arrived at Carlisle, bringing with him the Scottish chancellor, William Comyn, who had been taken prisoner at Northallerton, and whom he had ransomed. Alberic, aided by Matilda, Stephen's queen, who was warmly attached to her uncle David and to Henry his son, brought about a peace, though David was long inexorable. Alberic was so much shocked and impressed by the horrors of war, that it is said he went upon his knees to obtain even a truce until St Martin's Day; and having accomplished so much, he returned to St Stephen's court to mediate a peace.

April
 1139. Matilda went to Durham to meet Prince Henry, who then received investiture of Northumberland, in addition to his other fiefs, the English king retaining the castles of Bamborough and Newcastle, for which an equivalent was to be provided in the south of England; the barons to hold of the Scottish prince, saving their fidelity to Stephen; Henry to respect the laws and customs of the late King Henry, and the rights of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham.*

* Wynton says, book vii. c. 61, p. 241:—

"In swylk dissentyone de King Dawy wan till his crowne, all fra the watter of Tees, of the brede

The barons swore fealty to their new earl, and five sons of the principal nobles of Scotland returned to the south with the queen as hostages. These were the sons of Cospatrick and of Fergus of Galloway, of Hugh de Moreville, and of Mac. and Mel.—viz., Macduff, Earl of Fife, and of Malise, Earl of Strathearn. Stephen confirmed the treaty at Nottingham. 1139.

Prince Henry remained the whole of the following summer in England, popular by his gallant bearing and lavish expenditure; and as he was not bound, like his father, by any special ties to the Empress-Queen, he became ever more attached to his amiable cousin Matilda, Stephen's queen. It was during this period of residence in England that Prince Henry married Ada or Adama de Warrenne, youngest daughter of the great Earl Warrenne, who was a stanch adherent of Stephen's. 1. William de Warine or Warrenne, first Earl of Surrey in England, had married Gundreda, sixth and youngest daughter of William the Conqueror. 2. William, their son, was one of the suitors for the hand of Maude, daughter of Malcolm Cænmore, afterwards queen of Henry I. William subsequently married the sister of Rudolph, Count de Perou, cousin of the King of France, and Ada was their daughter.

"St Pancras Church and Monastery were founded by William de Warine for the health of his soul, and of the soul of Gundred, his wife, and for the souls of King William, and Maud his queen," &c. &c.—Horsfield's 'History of the Antiquities of Surrey,' p. 232.

The remains of both were found, 28th October 1845—by workmen forming a cutting in the Lewes and Brighton Railway through the grounds of St Pancras Priory—in two leaden coffins, with the simple inscriptions on each, "Gundrada," "Wilhelmus." They are now deposited in Southover Church, together with a mutilated tablet, previously discovered, commemorative of Gundreda's virtues.

Next year, Prince Henry and his Countess again visited the court of England, and narrowly escaped being taken by his ancient enemy, Ranulph Earl of Chester, on his way home, the possession of Carlisle being the cause of discord. Ranulph probably hoped to claim that city as their ransom; but the queen, anticipating the intention of Ranulph, warned Stephen of their danger, who himself escorted his guests to the north. Disappointed in this project, Ranulph 1140.

north, on till the watter of Twede; and fra the watter of Esk, the east, till of the Stane Moor, the Rere Cross."

The Esk flows into the sea at Whitby, and the Stane Moor is on the borders of Yorkshire, Durham, and Westmoreland. As late as 1258 a bishop of Glasgow claimed jurisdiction as far as the Rere Cross.—Chron. Lanerc., A.D. 1258.

David made reparation before it was asked for the injuries sustained by Hexham Priory from an unauthorised foray of some of his troops. The offenders, however, were *Saxons*. "Edgar," a natural son of Earl Cospatrick, and "Robert and Uchtrid," sons of Maldred, settled in the Lothians.

seized the castle of Lincoln; and being joined by the Earl of Gloucester, he attacked *Stephen*, and made *him* prisoner.

1141. After the defeat and capture of Stephen at Lincoln, David, who had hitherto refrained from espousing the cause of either party, hastened to join the Empress. He reached London in time to accompany his favourite niece on her entrance; but, failing to inspire her with any of his own sagacity, she was soon driven out of the capital by the hostile citizens, whom she had disgusted by her arrogance, and at Winchester she was met and defeated by the partisans of the imprisoned king, urged on by his queen. David only escaped capture by the devotion of a youthful godson, "David Olifard" (now written "Oliphant"), then serving in the hostile army, who concealed him from pursuit, and enabled him to return in safety to Scotland.

1141-2. On his way to join the Empress, David had left his chancellor, William Cumyn,* at Durham, with instructions to hold that important district in his name, and in hopes that he might be elected to the vacant see.

Cumyn had passed his early years in the household of the late Bishop Gaufrid or Geoffrey, who was chancellor to Henry I. of England; and in 1133 Cumyn became chancellor to David I.

On the death of Bishop Geoffrey, his relatives, wishing to favour the views of Cumyn, kept the event a profound secret; the body of the deceased bishop being embalmed or *salted*, in order that it might be preserved above-ground until the arrival of the Scottish chancellor.

But one point remained to be gained—the consent of the chapter; and this was refused. Escaping from Durham, they chose "William, Dean of York," to be their bishop.

But this was only the beginning of trouble, for in the Scottish chancellor they had to deal with a determined opponent. In vain the Pope deprived him of the archdeaconry of Worcester, and launched anathema at his head. In vain the newly-elected bishop endeavoured to enter the episcopal city by force of arms. Cumyn set at naught the anger of the distant Pope, and drove out the monks, who attempted to give secret admission to his rival; and, converting their monastery into a fortress, filled it with men-at-arms, and thus for three years kept the bishop at bay, being supported by the Earl of Richmond. At length the death of a favourite nephew (also William Cumyn by name) induced him to make arrangements for a compromise. He met the bishop at the gate of the city in the garb of a penitent, and gave him up the undisputed possession of his see, whilst a grant of the honours of Allerton was conferred on another

* Fordun confuses "William Cumyn" the Chancellor with William the *Treasurer*, Archbishop of York, whose death by poisoning in the Eucharist he recounts.

nephew of the chancellor's, "Richard Cumyn," the founder of that name in Scotland.

Henry Fitz-Empress arrived suddenly at Carlisle to receive the honour of 1149. knighthood from his venerable kinsman, Ranulph Earl of Chester, who had purposely repaired to that city, Prince Henry of Scotland assisting at the solemnity. The Earl of Chester now consented to waive all claims upon Carlisle, and performed homage to David, on receiving from him in exchange the fief of Lancaster, with a promise that one of Prince Henry's daughters should be given in marriage to his son.

The real object of this meeting was to cement an alliance which might enable the son of the Empress one day to regain his rights; and he bound himself, should he ever be seated on his grandfather's throne, to confirm to David and his heirs, without let or hindrance, Newcastle and Northumberland, from Tyne to Tweed, with all the other fiefs that belonged to the Prince of Scotland in right of his mother Maude, daughter of Earl Waltheof.

It was proposed that Ranulph should at once concentrate his forces at Lancaster, and that Prince Henry and the Scottish army should advance to meet Stephen, who had already reached York, being suspicious of the proceedings at Carlisle; but Ranulph proved faithless. The youthful Henry returned to Normandy, and the two kings, mutually averse to an open rupture, led back their armies without a conflict.

Scotland was again disturbed by a pretender and impostor, "Wimund," a 1150-1. monk, whom the Manx men chose as their bishop, and who gave himself out to be the son or nephew of Malcolm M'Heth (not Malcolm himself, as most historians state, for he was still a prisoner in Roxburgh Castle, and continued there till 1157). This turbulent monk, supported by the descendants of the Vikings of the Sudreys and Man, gave the king more trouble than all his other enemies. Somerled, Thane of Argyll, who acquired the Western Isles by his marriage with Effrica or Rachel, daughter of Olave the Swarthy, King of Man, gave his daughter in marriage to Wimund, the pretended Earl of Moray. After a time he was bought off by a grant of Furness, in Westmoreland; but his tyranny became so insupportable that he was seized by his own dependants, his eyes put out, his bishopric taken from him, and the Monastery of Biland made his final abode.

Newbridge relates that he had often seen Wimund in his blindness and captivity at Biland, and adds that he was born at some obscure spot in England, and *pretended* to be a son of the Earl of Moray ("Heth," for his children were called M'Heths). He was of great bodily strength and stature. Somerled, with Wimund's children, invaded Scotland in 1153, and again in 1164.—See Malcolm IV.'s reign.

June 12, 1152. Prince Henry died at Kelso, in the flower of his age, to the infinite grief of his father, and the deep regret of England as well as of Scotland; for the whole of the north of England beyond the Tees was now under the authority of the King of Scotland and his son. That part between the Tyne and the Tees was probably held in the name of the Empress, but even beyond the Tees their influence extended; and when William Fitz-Duncan raised a claim in right of his wife, "Alitz de Rumeilli," upon the honour of Skipton, it was *David*, and not *Stephen*, who decided upon its validity. The contrast of the prosperity of that district with the anarchy and confusion of every other part of England naturally inclined the people to his sway.

Prince Henry was buried at Dunfermline.

"A brave and able soldier, he walked like his father in the paths of justice and truth," are the words of St Bernard; whilst contemporary authors speak of him with more elaborate praise.

May 24, 1153. His father only outlived him eleven months, dying at Carlisle, where he had gone to establish "William," second son of Prince Henry, in the feudal possessions of his father in Northumberland; whilst Prince Malcolm, the eldest son, was sent, under the care of "Duncan Earl of Fife," to be acknowledged as heir and successor to his grandfather in all other parts of his dominions.

David was the founder of the feudal system in Scotland. During his dominion over Cumbria in his brother Alexander's lifetime, he had already gathered around him many of the Anglo-Norman barons, whose names afterwards became famous in Scottish history; and when he became king, he gave a ready welcome to all those who came unfettered by any tie to the English king, giving them grants of land, and encouraging them to build castles and towns, and to improve the country south of the Forth. The nobles of his brother Alexander's court had been Gaelic Maormers, or the sons and grandsons of Northumbrian refugees,—such as Cospatrick, Earl of Dunbar et les Marches d'Ecosse; Edward, the first recorded Constable of Scotland, who was the son of Siward Beorn—in short, the nobility of ancient Alban and the Lothians.

Around Earl David in his Cumbrian kingdom were gathered De Morville and Somerville, Lindesay and Umphraville, Bruce and Fitz-Allan—Norman names destined to surround the throne of his descendants, two of them to become royal—for in Allan we recognise the ancestor of the Stewarts. His father, Flahald or Flead, was the son of Bancho, Thane of Lochaber, who married and settled in Wales.*

* The real descent of the Steward was well known as late as the fourteenth century, when Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundell (in 1336), sold the Stewardship of Scotland to Edward III.—a transaction which

To the six bishoprics already erected in Scotland, King David added four more—viz., Ross, Dunkeld, Brechin, and Dunblane. (The former six were—1, St Andrews; 2, Aberdeen; 3, Glasgow; 4, Whitehorn (Candida Casa); 5, Galloway; 6, Moray and Caithness.)

He also founded numerous abbeys, and gave donations to Dunfermline, to St Andrews, and to the Cathedral of Carlisle.

Prince Henry, like his father, made great donations to the Church. He founded the Abbey of Holm Cultram in Cumberland, and gave gifts to various churches in Scotland, as did also Ada, his wife. She also founded a nunnery in Haddington.

Ada died in 1178.

Prince Henry left three sons: 1st, Malcolm, born in 1141; 2d, William, born in 1142; 3d, David, born in 1143. The two first were successive kings of Scotland; whilst from "David Earl of Huntingdon and the Garioch" came the kings of the Baliol and Bruce families, the Stewarts, and our present Queen.

Prince Henry's daughters were—

1st. Margaret, married to Conon, Duke of Brittany, of whom the family of Bourbon. Margaret married, secondly, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford. By her first marriage Margaret had Constance Countess of Brittany, wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet, and mother of Prince Arthur. This Lady Constance married, secondly, Randle de Blondville, Earl of Chester, from whom she was divorced; and, thirdly, Guy Viscount de Thouars, by whom she had two daughters, of whom Alice married Peter de Dreux.

2d. Ada married "Florence Earl of Holland," and had with her the earldom of Ross, and their grandson was a competitor in 1292, of whom the present house of Austria.

3d. Maud or Marjorie, said to have died a nun. Henry de Pinkeney, however, in 1292, claimed as great-grandson of Maud or Marjorie, sister of King William the Lion, who married "Gilchrist Earl of Angus," General of the King's forces, who was accused of having ill-used or murdered her, and was in consequence disgraced for some time, but afterwards restored to favour, on its being proved that the lady was in fault. She may very probably have ended her days in a convent.

Malcolm, eldest son of Prince Henry, succeeded his grandfather when about 1153. twelve years of age.

He was deluded into taking an oath of allegiance to King Henry II. (Fitz-Empress), who, contrary to the oath he had taken to King David at Carlisle

was confirmed by Edward Baliol; a fiction, of course, founded on the assumed forfeiture of the Scottish rights, and the assumption of English relations.

in 1148—"That, if he became King of England, David and his heirs should possess, without reserve, all the lands between Tyne and Tweed"—now intimated that he expected the restoration of all the fiefs in the north of England which had been held by David in the name of the Empress-Queen.

1157. Malcolm met Henry at Chester, and resigned the three northern counties, with the castles of Carlisle, Bamborough, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, receiving from Henry the investment of the honour of Huntingdon and a promise of knighthood. This he went to receive at Carlisle next year, but was disappointed, and induced to accompany Henry to France in 1159, when the coveted ceremony was performed at Tours, after which the young king returned home. His subjects were much discontented with what appeared to be rendering feudal servitude to the English king for what David and his son had held for twenty years without any such requirement. Malcolm acknowledged himself vassal to the crown of England for "*the county of Lothian*." This was the ancient Bernicia; and Malcolm did homage for it as part of *England*, not as any part of Scotland.

Simon of Durham, the Pope's legate, says:—

1160. "Pervenit apud fluvium Tuedam, qui Northumberland et Lodium determinat, in loco qui Rothesburchi vocatur." A great conspiracy was set on foot during Malcolm's absence in France, so that his golden spurs had nearly cost him his crown. Malcolm was holding his court at Perth, when the conspirators suddenly surrounded the city, intending to secure the person of the king, and either dictate their own terms to him or place his brother William on the throne. The young king, however, promptly assumed the offensive, and drove the rebels from the field.

It is not exactly known who these conspirators were, except that "Ferquhard Earl of Strathearn" was at their head, and with him were five other "maister men."

Malcolm M'Heth was liberated from his imprisonment in Roxburgh Castle in 1157, and was probably one of them.

The king immediately assembled an army under "Gilchrist," his brother-in-law, Earl of Angus (and called by Sir J. Dalrymple Earl of Menteith also), and Walter, the High Steward, and followed the rebels into Galloway, determined to crush the insurrection at its source.—Hoveden, A.D. 1160.

1161. Malcolm was twice baffled in his attempts to penetrate into that wild district, but the third time he was successful; and Fergus, reduced to submission, retired to the monastery of Holyrood, where he died next year.

1164. Somerled, Prince of Argyle and the Isles, invaded Scotland, accompanied by his grandson's (Wimund's) children—see King David's reign—claiming to be

earls of Moray. He landed unexpectedly on the coast of Renfrew with a large body of islanders and men of Argyle. Somerled and his eldest son, Gillecolumb, however, were killed, and their followers soon dispersed. Donald M'Heth appears to have been the name assumed by the son of Wimund, who sought refuge in Galloway.

Malcolm's health had been for some years declining, and these campaigns were conducted by his generals, Gilchrist and Walter the Steward.

King Malcolm IV. died at Jedburgh unmarried, *ætat.* 24.

Dec.
1165.

He gave charters and donations to various religious houses.

William, second son of Prince Henry, succeeded his brother Malcolm. He went to England to do homage for the lands he held there, and demanded that Northumberland should be restored to him. But King Henry put him off with fair words, and prevailed upon him to accompany him to France.

On his return home William again demanded Northumberland, going with his younger brother David to assist at the coronation of Henry's son and heir at Westminster; but, getting no satisfaction, he entered into a league with France and the younger Henry against his father, and marched an army into England in 1170.

William was promised the restoration of Northumberland to himself, and the fief of Cambridge to his brother David Earl of Huntingdon, which would have insured the goodwill of both princes. Wark Castle and Carlisle were besieged. The Bishop of Durham allowed them a free passage through his diocese; but before long the approach of a powerful force under Richard de Lacy and Humphrey de Bohun obliged them to raise the siege of Carlisle, and retire across the border.

The English army, however, was soon recalled to the south to oppose the Earl of Leicester. After a truce of some months, William again (A.D. 1174) invaded Northumberland, whilst his brother David went south, having been chosen by the confederates to take the command which the Earl of Leicester held before he was taken prisoner. William made a successful expedition, claiming Northumbria as his own; and having captured Brough and Appleby, and the castles of Liddel, Warkworth, and Harbottle, he returned to Carlisle, and extorted a promise from Robert de Vaux that the castle thereof should be surrendered if no relief arrived before Michaelmas.

He then began to retreat towards Scotland, sending on the greater part of his army under the command of Duncan Earl of Fife, Richard de Moreville, and the Earl of Angus. The Earl of Fife, with the division under his immediate command, entered Warkworth, and burnt the town to the ground.

July 13.

William, with his attendant suite, meanwhile, were at Alnwick. On reaching

Newcastle on the evening of July 12, the Yorkshire barons, of whom Robert d'Estoteville, Bernard de Baliol, and William de Vesci, were the principals, found the Scottish army had retreated. Some of them thought they had done enough, but others were in favour of a pursuit.

Early on the 13th they set forth. A dense fog hung over everything, and seemed to increase as they advanced. Several urged the expediency of returning, but Baliol resolutely declared his intention of proceeding at all risks, and the rest were ashamed to turn back.

Warkworth was swarming with the Scottish forces, but in the mist the barons passed the Coquet unobserved; and as the morning advanced, the fog rolled off, and they saw the walls of Alnwick.

A small body of about sixty knights were tilting in a neighbouring meadow. This tilting-match was composed of William and his attendant knights, who paid little attention to the approach of the band of horsemen from the south, mistaking them for a party of Earl Duncan's cavalry, until a nearer view revealed the cognisances of the English barons.

Without a moment's consideration William dashed against the enemy, with the hasty exclamation, "Now will be seen who is a true knight!" But this was no tilting-match. His horse was instantly slain, and the king's person secured. The nobles, determined to share his fate, gave themselves up to the captors. Richard Cumyn, William Mortimer, William de Lisle, and several other knights, mostly Englishmen, were his companions in bondage. Richard Cumyn, the nephew of the Chancellor and husband of Hextilda the king's cousin, became one of his sureties. He was Great Justiciary of Scotland from 1178-1189.

July 14. Next morning, for greater security, William was removed to Richmond Castle; and on Thursday the 18th the messenger sent by Ranulph de Glanville aroused Henry from a feverish sleep to give him the welcome news. He had crossed from Barfleur in a gale of wind, and had taken no rest after he heard of the threatened invasion until he reached the tomb of the murdered Thomas à Becket, and had performed a penance there, so that by many the capture of his enemy was regarded as the reward of his repentance. Lord Hailes remarks that Henry was scourged on the Thursday, and William captured on the Saturday following. Restored to health by the joyful news, Henry started immediately for the north, and in less than a fortnight William was removed from Richmond Castle and taken to Henry at Northampton, his legs fettered under the body of his horse.

The effects of this calamity were soon felt in Scotland. The king's own army, stunned for a moment, became quite disorganised. Gilbert and Uchtred,

the brother lords of Galloway, hurrying home, destroyed the castles which had been built in their country to secure the authority of the king, drove out the royal office-bearers, and despatched envoys to England with offers of fealty.

The Scottish burghers, mostly of English origin, settled in the royal cities and burghs by David and his successors, were ill used and driven out.

David Earl of Huntingdon, the king's brother, relinquishing his high command under Henry, returned to Scotland; whilst De Mowbray and other north of England barons made their peace as best they might with the English king. In another month the war was ended, and by the request of Louis of France all the prisoners Henry had made, with the exception of the King of Scotland, were set at liberty. William was detained at Falaise *in fetters* until the month of December, before terms were finally arranged. These terms were: "That William should *become* the liegeman of his lord, King Henry, for Scotland, Galloway, and all his other lands.

"That Earl David, his brother, his barons, his clergy, and all his other vassals, should become the liegemen of the British crown, acknowledging that they held their lands of the English king, and swearing to support him, their liege lord, against the King of Scotland, if the latter failed in his fidelity.

"The Scottish Church was to acknowledge the subjection due to the English Church, and the English Church was to possess all those rights over the Scottish Church to which the former was justly entitled."

For the strict observance of this convention, the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were to be made over to Henry, and to receive English garrisons, all expenses being defrayed by the King of Scotland. Such was the treaty of Falaise, which remained in force fifteen years. A comparison between the usual state of Scotland and its condition during these fifteen years is the most convincing proof of her entire freedom from dependence on her southern neighbour at any other period of her history, until the usurpations of Edward I.

Three days after the "Convention of Falaise" William was allowed to leave his Norman prison, and to proceed to England, where he was to remain till the castles were given up. Down to the day of his death, Henry showed the greatest tenacity as to the fulfilment of the treaty. Not a papal legate was allowed to enter Scotland who had not first sworn to do nothing contrary to the interests of the English king, with the additional promise to return through England. William was constantly summoned to attend as a vassal at Henry's court; and at his command he also crossed the sea to Normandy.

During William's absence in Normandy, Donald-bain M'William—a grandson of Duncan, eldest son of Malcolm Cænmore by his Scandinavian wife—again

raised the standard of that branch of the royal family, invited so to do by some of the principal nobility.

William Fitz-Duncan, "Nepos Regis," and General to David I. at the Battle of the Standard, married, as we have seen, about that time (A.D. 1138) Alice de Rumeilli, lady of Skipton, daughter of William and Cecilia de Meschines, by whom he had an only son known as "The Boy of Egremont," who was drowned in the Wharfe, near the spot where Bolton Abbey was erected by his disconsolate mother, and the great estates of the family were carried by the three daughters of that marriage into three of the greatest families in England.

1st. Cicely, the eldest, married William le Gros, third Earl of Albemarle, who got with her Craven in Yorkshire—*obit* 1179.

2d. Hawise married William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex; and, secondly, William de Fortibus.

3d. Amicia married — de Aston.

But it appears that William Fitz-Duncan had been previously married to one of the M'Heth's, and through that alliance had become Earl of Moray—an inheritance which he left to his descendants of that marriage, "The M'Williams," who were constantly in rebellion, claiming sovereign rights. This insurrection of Donald-bain M'William rose to a formidable height. William heard of it on his return to England in July, but it was September ere he was allowed to depart with his brother David to take measures for the defence of his kingdom. Donald M'William retired to the northern Highlands, and the king was forced to content himself with erecting the two castles of "Eddirton" (Redcastle) and "Dunscath," near Cromarty, to overawe the lowlands of Ross-shire.

1184. Gilbert of Galloway invaded the south of Scotland, and William was preparing to meet him, when the return of Henry from Normandy made him alter his intentions. The Duchess of Saxony had arrived in the train of her father, and William was a suitor for the hand of her daughter Matilda.

Simon de St Litz, too, had died without heirs, having held Northumbria, &c., and William looked for the restoration of his fiefs.

Henry promised his consent to the marriage if a papal dispensation could be obtained, for William and Matilda were within eight degrees of consanguinity; but the Pope refused compliance, and the marriage was given up.

1185. The forfeiture of Huntingdon, however, was reversed, and Earl David was reinstated in that earldom by his brother at a council held in London at Mid-Lent. Henry now proposed and carried out the marriage of William of Scotland with Ermengarde de Bellamonte,*—a marriage which did not at first please

* Ermengarde was the daughter of Richard Earl of Beaumont or Belmonte, grandson of William the Conqueror, or, as some called her, "*Aunt to King Henry.*"

the people of Scotland, but they became reconciled by the fortress of Edinburgh Castle being given up as the dowry of the bride.

Henry then deputed William and his brother David to bring Roland of Galloway to his presence, which he accomplished with difficulty, giving hostages for his safety ; and here we must pause to consider who these lords of Galloway were who gave so much trouble to both England and Scotland in early days, and from whom the sovereigns of both countries afterwards descended.

Fergus, sovereign Prince of Galloway, was conquered by Malcolm IV., and, retiring into the Abbey of Holyrood, died there in 1161.

He left two sons : 1st, Gilbert, ancestor of the Earls of Carrick ; and, 2d, Uchtred. They held Galloway (including great part of Ayrshire) conjointly under William the Lion ; but, rebelling during his captivity, offered their homage to Henry of England in 1174.

Uchtred was cruelly murdered by Malcolm, second son of his brother Gilbert ; but on Gilbert's death in 1185, his eldest son " Duncan " being still at the English court, Roland, the eldest son of the murdered Uchtred, who had passed ten years in exile, rose in arms and possessed himself of all Galloway, rebuilding and garrisoning the castles which had been destroyed after the battle of Alnwick. This was not approved of by Henry, and Roland was consequently called upon to appear at his court, when he tendered his allegiance, and promised to abide by the decisions of the English court as to the claims of Duncan, giving his three sons as hostages for his fidelity.

It is impossible to say whether Duncan ever prosecuted his claims upon his paternal inheritance ; but, upon the death of Henry in July 1189, King William conferred the district of *Carrick* upon Duncan as an earldom, on condition that the earl never should make any claim on the lordship of his cousin of Galloway—an arrangement which satisfied all parties, and ended for a time the disturbances in Galloway.

Six years had now elapsed since Donald-bain M'William had been established in Moravia, where his interest had increased to a formidable extent. Most of the barons and thanes of the north were ranged under his banner, whilst the connection of the lords of Argyle and the Isles with the family of Malcolm M'Heth disposed the leaders of the Western Highlands to display coldness to the royal cause ; besides which, M'William had many adherents in the south. Accordingly, in summer, all the military force at the king's disposal was ordered to concentrate at Inverness, and William intended to put himself at the head of his army. His barons, dreading a repetition of some disastrous accident from the fiery courage of the king, vehemently opposed the project, being also somewhat uneasy as to the fidelity of a portion of the royal army, realised by the

positive refusal of some of the principal nobles to march against M'William. No hesitation marked the conduct of Roland of Galloway, who threw the whole weight of his influence upon the side of his royal master, placing himself at the head of 3000 of his own followers on whom he could depend; and leaving the king with the rest of the army at Inverness, he set out in search of M'William. Upon the Muir of Mamgarvy (a now forgotten spot), near Inverness, Roland fell in with a body of the enemy, whose numbers about equalled his own. Neither party shunned the fight, but Roland gained the day, and amongst the slain was discovered the lifeless body of M'William.

The war being thus terminated, the victor returned in triumph to Inverness with the head of his formidable opponent, thus earning the gift of the earldom of Carrick to his cousin Duncan, which secured his own peaceable possession of Galloway.

1189. When Richard Cœur de Lion succeeded to the crown of England, he was bent upon his expedition to the Holy Land. For 10,000 marks of silver William bought back from Richard the independence of his kingdom and the restoration of his castles of Roxburgh and Berwick; and after the coronation, at which David Earl of Huntingdon bore one of the swords of state, William was escorted, with every mark of honour, to Canterbury, where he received from the hands of Richard "a charter," annulling all the concessions extorted by Henry at the time of his unfortunate capture fifteen years before. At the same time the Bishop of Durham bought the earldom of Durham.

1190. Earl David went to the Crusades with 5000 men.

1193. William contributed 200 marks towards Richard's ransom; and upon his release, David of Huntingdon was the first to declare in his favour. Uniting with the Earl of Chester, whose sister he had married, he assisted in besieging Nottingham in behalf of the king. Early in spring, William met Richard at Clipston, and urged his claim on the earldom of Northumberland and the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, as held by his father Prince Henry; but after various negotiations this came to nothing, and in the year 1199 the death of Richard again unsettled the affairs of Scotland with England.

Aug. 24. A son was born to King William, afterwards Alexander II.

1198. The barons assembled at Musselburgh to swear fealty to the heir. David

1201. Earl of Huntingdon did so four years later—a point of considerable importance, as, by the old laws of tanistry, the king's brother, come to years of discretion, would have been preferred to his infant son.

1210. Another of the M'William family appeared in the person of Godfrey, one of the sons of Donald-bain. Ireland had been his land of refuge, until disaffection in various parts of the country seemed to favour his prospects; and then his

partisans in the north invited him to return. Four thousand men, under the Earls of Athol and Buchan, with Malcolm of Marr and Thomas the Durward, were sent to penetrate the recesses of the mountains, and force Godfrey to capitulate. His place of strength was upon an island, where he had collected his treasure and supplies; and here he was discovered and brought to bay by these leaders. The struggle was obstinate, but ended in favour of the royalists. Godfrey, however, with a few of his companions, escaped.

William returned with his army to the south, leaving Earl Malcolm of Fife in charge of Moray; but his departure was the signal for the reappearance of Godfrey, who suddenly presented himself before one of the royal castles, and commenced preparations for a siege.

Alarmed at the prospect of an attack, the garrison offered to capitulate on condition of their lives being spared; and Godfrey willingly agreeing to the terms, the fort was burnt to the ground.

As it was the middle of a very severe winter when these tidings reached the king, it was impossible for him to take the field; but the news made him the more anxious to be on friendly terms with King John of England, whose attempted usurpation during his brother Richard's absence he had resolutely opposed, and against whom he had, in 1199, raised an army to support his claims on the northern counties: but it never came into action, for the kings of France and England made peace. King William thought fit to entertain proposals of peace also, which was concluded by the two kings meeting at Lincoln, King William at the same time (1199) doing homage for his English possessions, with a salvo for his kingdom of Scotland. Ere the winter of 1212 passed the two kings met once more, and for the last time, at Durham, whence they adjourned their conference to Norham, where Ermengarde is said to have exerted her influence to obtain the treaty of alliance which was there concluded.

The kings mutually bound themselves to support the youthful heir of either who should predecease the other, William conceding the marriage of his son Alexander (then fourteen) to King John for the next six years.

The young prince accompanied the king to England, and received the honour of knighthood at St Brides, in Clerkinwall, where King John held high festival at Mid-Lent.

William now turned his attention to the rebellion in the north. About the middle of the month the Prince of Scotland was despatched with a large force to prove his golden spurs. The reserve was to follow, under the king's own command, by easy marches, when its departure was arrested by the welcome intelligence of the capture of Godfrey M'William by William Cumyn, High Justiciar, and Earl of Buchan, during the temporary absence of the Earl of Fife

from his military command. The Earl of Buchan had already reached Kincardine with his prisoner, in order to present him to the king, when an order arrived for his immediate execution, which he had nearly anticipated by an attempt to starve himself to death.

1213. King John again came to the Scottish border to seek a conference with William, who was, however, detained by illness at Haddington. John held out magnificent promises to induce the young Prince Alexander to come in his father's place; but the nobles, fearful that he might be detained as a hostage for the delivery of Eustace de Vesci, who had rebelled against King John, and sought refuge with his father-in-law, the King of Scotland, would not allow him to go, and John was obliged to return disappointed to the south. Hemingsford says that Margaret, the beautiful wife of Eustace de Vesci, was King John's real attraction to the north.

During the greater part of William's reign, Caithness, too, had been in rebellion. In 1137 Harald Maddadson, son of the Earl of Athol by Margaret, daughter of Haco Jarl of Orkney, had by his mother's machinations succeeded his uncle Paul as co-Earl of Orkney and Caithness, when only five years old.

1158. He became sole earl. He first married "Affreca," sister of Duncan Earl of Fife, by whom he had a son "Torphin." Secondly, he married a daughter of M'Heth, in whose right Harald seized upon Moray in 1196.

Soon after, his son Torphin was defeated by the king's army at Thurso, which was burnt, and the country ravaged. Torphin was demanded as a hostage by William, and half the county of Caithness was given to another Harald (Ericson). Earl Harold came to meet King William at Lochloy near Nairn; but failing to bring Torphin and the other hostages, he was himself taken prisoner and carried to the south, until Torphin was sent to relieve him.

William then *sold* Caithness to Reginald King of Man, but Harold drove him out by force; and, ill-using the bishop, obliged William to return at Christmas, first retaliating upon the unfortunate Torphin.

Harald Maddadson escaped to his island jarldom, which he held of Norway, but returned in great force next spring.

1202. Harold terminated the contest by putting himself under the safe-conduct of the Bishop of St Andrews, and tendering his submission to the king at Perth.

For a sum of 2000 lb. of silver he was allowed to enjoy his earldom in peace till his death in 1206, when he left a diminished inheritance to his three surviving sons. Heinrek (Henry) succeeded to his claims on Ross, whilst David and John divided Caithness and the Orkneys—John, the survivor, at last possessing the whole of both.

1214. King William went to Moray, where the Earl of Caithness (John Haraldson),

unwilling to provoke a war, gave up his only daughter and heiress as a hostage. The king then returned by easy journeys to Stirling, where he lingered over the autumn, and died on the 4th of December, in the seventy-third year of his age, and within five days of entering the fiftieth of his eventful reign.

He was buried at Arbroath.

By Ermengarde his queen he left one son, Alexander, his successor (Robert and John died young), and three daughters :—

1st. Margaret, married to Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, who left an only daughter, "Magotta," who died without heirs.

2d. Isabel, married to Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, D.s.p.

3d. Marjorie, married to Gilbert, the Marischal Earl of Pembroke, D.s.p.

Margaret and Isabel had been sent to England contracted to two sons of King John, and were educated there.

By the chartulary of Arbroath it appears there was another daughter, Ermengarde, who died unmarried, and was buried at Arbroath. "Obeiit Queen Ermengarde"—'Chron. de Melros.' Ermengarde was buried in the Abbey of Balmarinnoch, founded by her son Alexander. 1232-3.

Boece mentions a younger son of King William's, who was drowned with his nurse and fourteen other persons by an inundation of the Tay at Bertha or Perth, after which the new town was built, and named by King William, St John's Town, in memory of his infant son ; and it is otherwise recorded that in 1210 there was a great speat in the Tay, at which time the Hill Fort, bridge, and chapel were destroyed. It is also well known that the ancient Roman name of this place was Bertha or Perth ; yet in the days of Wallace and Bruce it was only known as St Johnstown. It is also a fact that the name of *John* was considered so unlucky by the royal family of Scotland that the son of Robert II. gave up that name and reigned as Robert III.—See Sir James Balfour, Anderson's 'Royal Genealogies,' Elphinstone's 'History,' &c. &c.

King William left, of illegitimate children, two sons :—

1st. Henry Galightly, father of Patrick Galightly, competitor in 1292.

2d. Robert, who married the heiress of Lundie, and is called Robert of Loudon in a charter from his father.

Four daughters :—

1st. Isabel, married to Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale, in 1183, who died s.p. Secondly, in 1192 to Robert de Ros of Wark Castle, from whom descended William de Ros, competitor in 1292.

2d. Ada, married to Patrick Earl of Dunbar, of whom the competitor of 1292.

3d. Margaret, married to Eustace de Vesci, of whom William de Vesci competitor.

4th. Aufrick, of whom Roger de Mandeville.

Anno M.C.vxxxiiij. Willelmus, Rex Scottorum, dedit filiam suam "Isabel" (1183), quam genuit ex filiâ Roberti Auenel, Roberto de Brus.

1184. Willelmus, Rex Scottorum, dedit filiam suam "Ada" Patricio Comite (Patrick Earl of Dunbar and March, or "Comes Laodensis," as Fordun calls him).

1191. Rex Scottorum dedit filiam suam Ysembel, qui fuit uxor Roberti de Brus, Roberto de Ros.—*Apud* Haditum.

M.C.xciii. Willelmus, Rex Scottorum, dedit filiam suam "Margaretum," quam genuit de filiâ Adam de Hythusam, Eustatio de Vesci.—'Chronicle de Melros.'

Dec. 5, Prince Alexander was crowned King of Scotland at Scone within twenty-four
1214. hours after his father's death, being then sixteen years of age. Queen Ermen-
garde remained at Stirling, watching by the body of her deceased husband,
until the return of the nobles three days after, when they escorted the remains
of their late king to their last resting-place at Arbroath.

1215. It was at this period that the English barons sought to maintain their rights
to the Great Charter, which King John attempted to elude by the intervention
of the Pope. Eustace de Vesci, envoy of the barons, reached Rome on the
28th of February; but Mauclerk, King John's envoy, had already arrived there
on the 17th, and had succeeded in obtaining a threat of excommunication
against all those barons who should assert their rights.

In October, Alexander joined the English barons, by whom he was promised
the northern counties. He marched into England, and received the homage
of the barons of Northumberland at Felton, Eustace de Vesci formally making
over to him the three northern counties by the presentation of a white wand.*
—'Chron. de Melros,' 1216.

King John, enraged at Alexander's joining his enemies, soon obliged them
to retire. The Yorkshire barons, firing their villages and laying waste their
Jan. lands, tendered *their* allegiance to Alexander on the very day that King John
1216. burnt the town of Werk. Morpeth, Mitford, and Alnwick had been already
destroyed; Berwick and Roxburgh were taken by storm, Haddington and
Dunbar soon sharing the same fate. From Haddington, however, John was
obliged to retrace his steps, all means for the subsistence of an army having
been destroyed.

On the arrival of Lewis of France, who had been crowned King of England,
Alexander again crossed the border, and traversed the whole of England as far

* This wand was carried away from Scotland by Edward I.—Fordun, i. 9. c. 28. John Baliol, we are told, held a white wand in his hand at the time of his abdication, July 1296.

as Dover to do homage to that prince for his English fiefs. Eustace de Vesci was killed *en route*, whilst reconnoitring Bernard Castle.

King John had collected an army to cut off the Scots, but died on the 19th of October, when his camp was taken and plundered by Alexander and the barons. On their return they invested and took Carlisle and the Fort of Tweedmouth.

In May Alexander again entered England and besieged Mitford Castle; but 1217. soon after, a peace being concluded between France and England, in which a clause was inserted extending its provisions to Scotland, a reconciliation between the two young kings was easily effected, Alexander returning all the conquests made during the late war, consisting only of the town and castle of Carlisle—upon which peace was concluded, and the Pope's sentence of excommunication reversed.

David Earl of Huntingdon, uncle of the young king, died. Besides the 1219. honour of Huntingdon, which conferred upon him lands in nine English counties (of which the King of Scotland was tenant-in-chief), David held the lordships of the Garioch and Strathbolgie, with the royal town of Dundee (where his eldest daughter's marriage took place in 1209—"The Lady Margaret" to "Alan Lord of Galloway"), besides various other lands in Scotland, at one time the lordship of the Lennox.

It is said that Earl David followed Richard Cœur de Lion, with 5000 men, to share in the perils of the Second Crusade, and that he founded Lindores Abbey on his return, in gratitude for his escape from storm and shipwreck.

His absence could have been but short, as he married "Matilda of Chester" on the 26th of August 1190, and Acre fell on the 12th July 1191.

His sons Henry, David, and Robert, predeceased their father; but *John*, surnamed *le Scot*, became "Earl Palatine of Chester" on the death of his mother's brother, and married, in 1212, Helene, daughter of "Llewellyn ap Jorwath," Prince of Wales, but died s.p.—poisoned, it was said, by his wife, A.D. 1237. Earl David's four daughters, whose descendants became the nearest heirs to the crown, were:—

1st. Margaret, married to "Alan of Galloway," A.D. 1209.

2d. Isabel, married to Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale.

3d. Maud, died unmarried.

4th. Ada, married to Henry de Hastings, Lord of Bergavenny.

Differences again arose about the restitution of the northern counties, but, by the mediation of the Pope's legate, terms were arranged, and Alexander got an equivalent of 200 pound lands for those counties. He also secured the

independence of the Church of Scotland, which had often been sought to be encroached upon by the English bishops.

1220. The two kings met the legate at York, when it was arranged that Alexander should marry the Princess Johanna of England, eldest sister of Henry III., or her sister Isabel (for Johanna was then in France, with her mother and her second husband, Hugh de Lusignan); also, that Henry should provide suitable alliances for the two princesses of Scotland (Alexander's sisters), then resident in England, within the year.

1221. After some trouble, Henry regained possession of his sister Johanna, and the two courts again meeting at York, Alexander's marriage took place there, whilst his eldest sister Margaret was at the same time given in marriage to Hubert de Burgh, and four years later, the Princess Isabel to Roger Bigod.

To return to the affairs of the north of Scotland, quieted for a time by the capture and execution of Godfrey M'William in 1212, and by the submission of the Earl of Caithness in 1214. Alexander, soon after his accession, was menaced with another insurrection, headed by a brother of Godfrey, who, like his father bore the name of Donald-bain. He was assisted by Kenneth M'Heth, the last of that name who ever appears in history.

Donald M'Bain was, however, at once met and opposed by "Ferquhard Mac-in-Tagert," or the priest's son, Earl of Ross from 1212-1252, and knighted by Alexander II. in 1215 for quelling this insurrection in Moray.

Ferquhard defeated the insurgents, and killed both their chiefs.

There were also troubles in Argyle, where the great chiefs of the Oirer Gael were almost independent of Scotland.

1220-2. Alexander assembled an army at Inverness, which, however, does not appear even to have been actually engaged. The descendants of Somerled of Argyle were probably overawed and made to pay tribute, but they were too powerful for forfeiture, and their *island* territories they held from Norway.

By the Norse writers the sons of Somerled are called "kings of the Sudreys."

At a later period the Earls of Fife, Marr, and Athol, and other nobles, became bound that Ewen of Argyle should pay 320 marks annually for a royal grant, which must have been of large extent, as the sum was more than the annuity for which Alexander resigned his claims on the northern counties in 1237.

1224. About two years later, "Gillespoe," another member of the M'William family, made his appearance in Scotland. This attempt was a complete failure, and Gillespoe and all his family being captured, were all executed at Forfar, not even the infant daughter being allowed to escape the general doom.

1228. Another Gillespoe, however, "Chief of Badenoch," broke out in rebellion,

burning several wooden forts and most part of the town of Inverness, and surprising and killing "Thomas of Thirlestane," a baron in the king's service. Gillespoe held his ground for some months, until he was conquered at last by William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan; and his head, and the heads of his two sons, were sent to Alexander as the surest guarantee that the revolt was at an end.

It was immediately after this transaction that Badenoch came into the possession of the Cumyns.

It was held by this Earl of Buchan's second son, "Walter Cumyn," afterwards Earl of Menteith, as is testified by the 'Regis. Moraviensis,' wherein there is an entry concerning a composition about some disputed lands between "*Walter Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch*," and the Bishop of Moray.—Page 50, i., A.D. 1230.

This Walter Cumyn, in right of his wife, "Earl of Menteith," became one of the most influential men in Scotland. Dying without issue, his lordship of Badenoch went to his nephew, "John the Red Cumyn," second son of his younger brother John; afterwards, by the death without issue of *his* elder brother "William," the head of the family.

Maurice Earl of Angus ruled Caithness. He signs himself, "M. Erl of Oct. 7, Angus and Caithness." He must have held it *in ward* for the daughter of John, the last earl, who was murdered the year before, and who gave up his only daughter and heiress to King William as a hostage in 1214, or perhaps for her son, as in her right. "Magnus," nephew or grandson of Maurice, became "Magnus II.," Earl of Katenes. He is called Magnus, son of Gilbert Earl of Angus. 1236.

Maurice signs himself "Earl of Angus" *only*.—Regis. Dumf. No. 80; Morav. 110.

On his death "John Cumin" became Earl of Angus, in right of "Matildis," Countess of Angus, his wife. Dying in France in 1242 (his only son predeceasing him), Matildis married, secondly, Gilbert de Umphraville, whose son Gilbert succeeded to that earldom, and became well known in Scottish history.

At this period Sutherland was divided from Caithness, and became a separate county.

"All Sutherland, to the boundaries of Ross," was given by Alexander II. to "Hugh, son of Freskin," who was succeeded by his son "William," probably the first who assumed the title of earl, for in 1270 there had certainly been two earls of Sutherland of the name of "William." Willelmum, clare memorie, et Willelmum ejus filium, comites Sutherlandie.—Sutherland case (1270).

Ross, as we have already seen, was in the hands of Ferquhard Mac-in-Tagert, a great supporter of the king's authority, who received from Alexander, besides the honour of knighthood, large grants of land in Argyle. Thus the whole

north of Scotland was, for the first time, completely under the authority of the king.

For the last ten years, Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, had been Justiciary and Guardian of England during the minority of the young king, Henry III.

He was also the brother-in-law of Alexander, having married the Princess Margaret, destined at one time to have been the consort of his sovereign; and for those ten years perfect peace has been maintained between the countries. It was the wish of Henry further to cement the union by his own marriage with the beautiful Princess Marjorie, youngest sister of Alexander; but Richard the Mareschall and other nobles opposed this alliance on the ground of Hubert's marriage with the elder sister, at that time "heiress-presumptive" of her brother.

The Princess Marjorie was afterwards married with great pomp at Berwick to "Gilbert the Mareschall," brother and successor of Richard Earl of Pembroke, who died s. p. 1241.—Fordun, I. 9, c. 49, and 'Chron. de Melros,' A.D. 1234.

For this marriage and other causes Hubert de Burgh became distasteful to Henry; and upon his disgrace, and under the influence of those who had been the advisers of King John, new attempts were made upon the liberties of Scotland.

About the same time the death of "Allan of Galloway" caused disturbances in that district.

Feb. 2, "Obeiit Alan de Galveia."—'Chron de Melros.'

1234. His daughters were his heirs; but he left, besides, a natural son, "Thomas," married to a daughter of "Olave King of Man."

The people of Galloway rebelled against being "divided amongst many lords;" and Thomas, assisted by "Gilroth or Gilderoy," an Irish chief, burst into Scotland with merciless fury.

Alexander led an army against them, and they were defeated and fled back into Ireland, where Hugh de Laci, whose daughter had become the third wife of Alan of Galloway in 1228 (but was drowned in crossing the sea to her new home), was their ally.

Alexander was invited by the Galwegians to assume the lordship himself; but this offer he rejected, and restored the principality to its rightful heirs.—See Galloway.

1235-6. Alexander was at length obliged to take notice of the encroachments of the English Government on the liberties of Church and State in Scotland. The Archbishop of York claimed various privileges—amongst others, the right of officiating at the coronation of the kings of Scotland. On his appeal to Rome, a letter was obtained from the Pope calling upon Alexander "to fulfil the

obligations which bound him to the English king," and confusing the Treaty of Northampton with the Convention of Falaise, where William the Lion was carried a prisoner in his captor's power. Alexander, so far, had taken no advantage of Henry's disputes with his barons ; but now, in his own defence, he was forced to meet these unjust demands with the counter-claim of his own rights on the northern counties, declaring that he could support them not only by charters and other written documents, but also by the testimony of the barons of Northumberland and the best men in England. In truth, the majority of the English barons supported him against Henry, who also feared to provoke a war on his northern border whilst Wales was disturbed and France hostile.

Thomas and Gilroth again returned to Galloway, and so determined were they to succeed that they burnt their ships. The Bishop of Galloway and the Abbot of Melrose, friends of the late Lord Alan, on hearing of this second inroad, went to meet Thomas, whilst the Earl of Dunbar followed with a large force ; and after a time, seeing that resistance was vain, first Gilroth and then Thomas were persuaded to give themselves up. The former was soon set at liberty ; the fate of the other is uncertain. Some say that he was released after a short confinement ; others, that he lingered for fifty years in the dungeons of Barnard Castle. In the 'Chronicle of Lanercost,' and in Robertson's Index (p. xvi. xvii.) there are papers concerning the giving up to the king "of Thomas of Galloway, with his wife and sons," by "John Baliol."

A great council was held at York in presence of Otto, the cardinal legate, when Alexander secured the independence of the Church in Scotland ; and lands to the amount of £200 per annum were confirmed to him in lieu of all his claims upon the territories of his maternal ancestor, Waltheof, on the northern counties.

Johanna, queen-consort of Alexander, returned from York to the south with her brothers, and died there, leaving no heirs.

In March the following year Alexander took for his second wife, by the advice of his subjects, "Mary de Couci," daughter of Ingelram de Couci, a great noble of France,—Walter the Steward and the Bishop of Glasgow being deputed to conduct the queen to Scotland.

Prince Alexander was born.

Sept.
1241.

Until 1244 there was peace between England and Scotland ; and so great reliance had Henry III. on Alexander, that when he went to assist his mother Isabel, and her second husband, Hugh de Lusignan, in their wars with France, he left the care of the English border in the custody of the Scottish king.

He also betrothed his daughter Margaret to the infant prince, and put

Alexander in possession of the lands which had been assigned to him at York four years before.

A private feud in 1241 had nearly lighted up a war between the two kingdoms, but the prudence of Alexander stifled it, and a treaty was entered into at Newcastle which preserved peace with England as long as he lived.

Sir Walter Bisset, a knight of Norman descent, who had vast possessions and a powerful following in Moray and Mar, was unhorsed in a tourney near Haddington by the youthful Patrick Earl of Athol. The king was present, having come from Elgin for the purpose. Soon after, the Earl of Athol was basely murdered in his lodging at Haddington, and the house in which the deed was done burnt to ashes to prevent discovery.

Walter and William Bisset were regarded as the instigators of the deed, and were banished the country.

The Castle of Aboyne, the residence of the latter (at which the king and queen had been entertained on their journey from the north), was forfeited, and remained in the crown until the thirteenth century.

David de Hastings, husband of Fernalith, Patrick's aunt, became Earl of Athol. He raised the country to avenge Patrick's death, assisted by Patrick Earl of March. William Bisset denied the charge, and called upon the queen to testify that he was in attendance upon her at Forfar at the time of the murder, as she was travelling south under his escort after the king; but his cognisances had been seen in the town of Haddington the night of the murder.

"John Bisset," the son of William Lord of Aboyne, and the nephew of Walter, was accused of being the actual perpetrator of the deed, and this was sufficient in the eyes of John the Red Cumyn, and his uncle Walter Earl of Menteith, to justify them in harrying his lands, and obliging him to seek shelter within the walls of Aboyne. Alexander, having already fixed a day for the trial, was incensed at this lawless outrage, and sent a party of his own immediate retainers to forbid the Cumyns to prosecute their private feuds, and to charge the authorities of Marr to conduct the accused safely to the place of trial. On the day appointed, at Forfar, Bisset offered to abide the proof by battle, but *not* to submit to the judgment of his peers.

Alexander postponed his decision till the great meeting in Edinburgh, when the Bissets were forfeited and banished, escaping with their lives only on condition of devoting the remainder of their days to warring against the infidel, for the benefit of Earl Patrick's soul; instead of which, Walter Bisset established himself in England, and got much into the confidence of the king in all Scotch affairs, whilst "John," his nephew, established himself in Ireland.

To extend his dominion towards the west had ever been Alexander's favourite project, and now the time for accomplishing it appeared to be at hand.

The mainland of Argyle already owned his sway, but the Hebrides, or Western Isles, were held of Norway. Various embassies had been sent to represent to the Norwegian court that these islands had been unjustly wrested from his predecessors by Magnus Bärfoot; but this view of the case was not accepted by Haco, who replied that the King of Scotland could have no right to islands which were conquered from *the King of Man*, and which *never* had been subject to Scotland. Alexander then proposed to purchase them; to which Haco replied, "*à plusieurs réprises*,"—"that he was not in want of money."

On the death of Duncan of Argyle, his son "Ewen" was much pressed by 1248. Clement Bishop of Dunblane, and others, to hold "the Sudreys" as a fief from the King of Scotland, and to give up his allegiance to Norway. But Ewen was a man of honour, and a gallant and accomplished knight. He offered to resign his fiefs to Norway, but *not* to break his oath of allegiance by holding them from another over-lord. "*No man can serve two masters*," was the indignant reply of the king, or more probably of the bishop. Ewen did homage for the Sudreys to Haco, King of Norway, in 1248.—Matthew Paris, p. 516.

Alexander then determined to seize upon the islands by force, and Ewen, unwilling to oppose his sovereign in arms, fled to Lewis. No resistance therefore was offered to the fleet as it sailed amongst the Western Isles, and arrived off the coast of Lorn early in July; and everything seemed to favour the king's design, when illness obliged him to land on the little island of Berneraa, where he died on or about the 8th of July, in his fifty-first year—the population of the 1249. islands fully believing that his death was a judgment of Providence on the only action of his life bordering upon injustice.

Alexander was buried in Melrose Abbey.

On the 8th day of July, ann. reg. '35, he gave a charter of the church of Kilbride, in Lorn, to the bishopric of Argyle, dated *apud Berneraa*.

This was confirmed by charter by King Robert Bruce, wherein it is said that it was given by charter by Alexander II., King of Scots, "*who died* in the island of *Berneræa*."—'Haddington Collections,' p. 408.

Alexander II. founded Pluscardine Abbey.

He elevated Argyle into a separate bishopric, with the consent of the Earl of Strathearn.

Dunblane, Dunkeld, Moray, Aberdeen, and Caithness, were also provided for. Ross was not yet settled as a bishopric.

Alexander was the first Scottish king who is observed to have made use of the plural number "*nos, nostrum*," &c., in his charters.

Sealing is supposed to have been brought in by the Normans; but before Malcolm Cænmore's time grants of land given to churchmen and others were verbal, in presence of honourable witnesses. Afterwards, when charters began to be given, the granter and witnesses generally signed with a †, and the clerk wrote above each † whose it was, as seen in King Duncan's charter.

Alexander II. had a natural daughter, "Marjorie," married to "Alan le Huissier" or "Alan Durward," whose first wife having been one of the heiresses of Athol, he was during her lifetime "Earl of Athol."

This Marjorie was legitimised during the minority of Alexander III. by Robert, Abbot of Dunfermline and Chancellor of Scotland, which so displeased the king that Robert was dismissed from the chancellorship.

"Nicholas de Soulis" was a competitor in 1292, in her right, as the son of her daughter Ermengarde.

By his second wife, Mary de Couci, King Alexander left an only son and heir, "Alexander."

July 1249. Prince Alexander, born in September 1241, was not eight years of age when his father died. Nevertheless his father's personal friends, at the head of whom was "Walter Cumyn, Earl of Menteith," determined that, to prevent the encroachments of Henry of England, he should be crowned without delay.

The Estates of the realm were called upon by Menteith, as guardian, to assemble at Scone; and all pretended difficulties being overcome, Alexander was girded with the sword of state, and knighted by the Bishop of St Andrews; and then being crowned, was conducted to the churchyard, where, beside the cross, stood "the Stone of Destiny," covered for the occasion with cloth-of-gold. Placed on this seat in his royal robes, and bearing his crown and sceptre, the child-king received the homage of his subjects, on their bended knees, ranged in a circle around him.

An ancient bard next made his appearance, robed in scarlet, and, kneeling before the throne, recited in Gaelic the royal genealogy from the ancient line of Alban's kings—a custom by which the descent of many Gaelic chiefs has been brought down, by tradition, to the present time. Thus five days after his father's death Alexander III. was crowned King of Scotland.—Fordun, i. 10, c. 11.

1251-2 . The days of peace with England had nearly been brought to a termination by the intrigues of Henry. However, war was averted by a discreet ambassador, John Maunsell by name, who was deputed to negotiate the marriage of

the Princess Margaret with the young king. The marriage was arranged to take place at Christmas, York to be the place of meeting.

Henry came to York with his queen and a numerous and brilliant retinue. Scotland sent her barons and her clergy to attend their king, and Mary de Couci, the queen-mother, brought from France a gallant company to grace the marriage of her son. Christ-
mas,
1251-2.

On Christmas-day Alexander was girded with the belt of knighthood by his intended father-in-law, along with twenty other youths, and on the following day he received the hand of his infantine bride. The festivities are described by Matthew Paris as unexampled. The two kings vied in alternate banquets and entertainments; but their magnificence was surpassed by the regal hospitality of the Archbishop of York, who is said to have expended at this time a sum equal to the whole annual income of the Queen-dowager of Scotland—about 7000 marks. The wealth of the churchmen of those days was great in comparison of that of crowned heads. The Bishop of St Andrews' revenue amounted to about 12,000 marks—about equal to the yearly income of the king.

After the marriage, Henry pressed his claim for homage for the kingdom of Scotland, to which the boy-king replied, "That he had come, at the request of the English king, to marry the Princess Margaret, and *not* to treat of affairs of state." Another attempt was made to establish his vassalage by the Earl-Mareschall putting forth a claim to his palfrey, with its caparisons, after the ceremony of knighthood, which was also effectually resisted and discountenanced by King Henry as an occasion of feud.

It was at this time, before their return from York, that Alan Durward the Steward attempted to obtain the legitimation of his wife Marjorie, daughter of Alexander II., so that, in case of the death of the young king without issue, Alan's daughter might be heiress of the crown. But Henry having received information that this request had been laid before the Pope, the conspirators, including Robert the Chancellor (who was accused of using the Great Seal in furtherance of the scheme), made their escape from York. Robert soon after gave up the custody of the Great Seal, which was thereupon broken in pieces in the presence of the nobles of Scotland, and he afterwards resigned also the abbacy of Dunfermline.

Alexander III. had not, like his father, any pretenders of the rival houses of Moray or M'William to contend with, but two adverse factions divided the state.

At the head of the first or national party was Walter Cumyn of Badenoch, Earl of Menteith, leader of the Cumyn family, at that time the most powerful

in Scotland. He was the principal guardian and adviser of the young king, as he had been of his father, with whom he had been at York when *his* marriage was arranged with the Princess Johanna of England. His name appears as one of the witnesses, along with his father "the Earl of Buchan" (A.D. 1221).

Foremost of the opposite party was Alan Durward, son-in-law of the late king; and along with him were the Earls of Dunbar and Strathearn, Bruce, Lord of Annandale, the Steward, and other nobles, principally of the south of Scotland.

1252. The Cumyns being the dominant party, and very powerful, gave laws to the king and the kingdom.

The Earls of Menteith and Buchan, the Lord of Badenoch, with thirty-two knights of their name, all men of considerable estate, with their relatives and friends, the Earls of Athol and Marr, the Lord of Strathbolgie, Hugh de Abernethy, and many others, surrounded the king; whilst Henry appointed Matilda de Cantelupe to the guardianship of the infant queen, and promised to send a trusty councillor to assist his son-in-law. He soon appeared in the person of "Geoffrey de Langley" (too much hated in England as the keeper of the royal forests to be able to remain there), but his career was short, and his presence soon dispensed with.

1254. During the next three years Henry was too much engaged with foreign affairs to interfere with Scotland. However, he found time to obtain from the new Pope (Alexander IV.) a grant of the tenth of the revenues of the Church of Scotland; or rather, having obtained for his projected crusade a grant of a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of England and Ireland, he endeavoured to include Scotland within the limits of the papal gift, a pretence which the Pope would not support.

During his French campaigns Henry derived considerable assistance from Alan Durward, who rose high in his favour and confidence, and from his insinuations he became gradually irritated against the Scottish regents.* Bitter complaints, too, reached him from his daughter, "the young queen," of her enforced residence in Edinburgh Castle, "a dismal, solitary fortress, exposed to the unhealthy air of the sea"—deprived of her proper attendants, and even denied the society of her own husband. A physician, too, sent by her mother, sickened and died, protesting his belief that he had been inhumanly poisoned

* The regents were—the Bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Dunblane; the Earls of Menteith, Buchan, and Marr; John de Baliol, Robert de Ros, Aymer de Maxwell, and "Mary, his wife," John Cumyn, Nicholas de Soulis, Thomas de Normanville, Alexander Vinet, John de Dundemore, David de Graham, John de Blun, Thomas Fitz-Randolph, Hugh and William Gourlay, William Wisheart, Archdeacon of St Andrews, Brother Richard, Almoner of the Temple, David de Lochore, John Wisheart, William de Canerhon, and William, formerly the king's chaplain.

by those unworthy Scots. Henry therefore began to look with displeasure upon the regents he had himself approved of, and everything tended to advance the projects of Durward.

Simon de Montfort was despatched on a secret mission to Scotland, and in 1255. August of the same year Alan Durward made his appearance at a Council held in Edinburgh, at which an ominous gathering of the enemies of the regency appeared; but Alan's only wish seemed to be to obtain a settlement of the grievances which distracted his native land, and they could not refuse to meet him at Stirling on an early day, to discuss the best means of arriving at a peaceful arrangement.

About the same time two horsemen rode up to the gate of Edinburgh Castle, 1255. representing themselves as simple knights, followers of Robert de Ros, one of the Council, and were admitted without question within the walls. They made their way to the queen, who hailed them with delight as the Earl of Gloucester and John Maunsell, Provost of Beverley, her father's most confidential adviser. These envoys brought the written promise of Henry that he would not attempt to secure the person of Alexander, nor deprive him of his rightful inheritance, nor annul his marriage with the English princess.

More of the supposed followers of De Ros continued to arrive until they were sufficient in number to overawe the garrison, and to throw open the gates to Durward and Dunbar, who at once garrisoned the fortress with their own men, and took the direction of the king and the queen.

Messengers were sent to hasten the arrival of the confederates in Edinburgh, and to King Henry, to desire his immediate presence.

Early in September, Henry and his queen arrived at Wark Castle, held by Robert de Ros; and the Earl of Menteith and his party, unable to assault the fortress which held their monarch, were obliged to submit to the overwhelming power of their antagonists.

The young king and queen were removed to Roxburgh Castle, and a conference was held in Kelso church, where new regents were appointed, and a complete change made in the Government; Henry declaring that no article of this convention should derogate from the liberties of Scotland, and that the whole treaty should be held as null and void after the term of seven years, when Alexander should attain the age of twenty-one, until which time the young king promised to be guided entirely by their advice.

No sooner were the new regents firmly established than they summoned their predecessors to render an account of their proceedings; and as their rivals resolutely refused to acknowledge their authority, discord reigned in Scotland.*

* The new regents were—the Bishops of Dunkeld and Aberdeen; the Earls of Fife, Strathearn, and

Gamelin, Bishop of St Andrews, deprived of the office of Chancellor, went to Rome to lay his grievances before the Pope. He was then superseded in his diocese for a time, but restored upon representation from Rome.

Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, and the Earl of Mar (his brother-in-law), High Chamberlain, were deprived of their offices. The Bishop of Dunkeld was the new Chancellor; Alan Durward, Great Justiciary; and David Lindsay, High Chamberlain.

John de Baliol and Robert de Ros were condemned (by Henry) to lose their English fiefs as traitors *to him*; but John Baliol's father, having rendered great services to Henry, he soon returned to favour, and thereafter supported the English party. The sentence was carried out against Robert de Ros.

1256. Meanwhile Alexander and his queen made a progress of ceremony to England, travelling with 300 horses, and so large a retinue that it was difficult to lodge them except in tents.

Prince Edward was deputed to receive them on their approach to the English capital; and Henry immediately made over to his son-in-law (then aged fifteen) the seizen-in-chief of the honours of Huntingdon, of which, as suzerain, he had hitherto enjoyed the wardship.

1257. Alexander, on his return to his native land, found it still in a state of anarchy. John Maunsel accompanied him to assist in his councils—no doubt as Henry's representative. Mary de Couci and her second husband, "John de Brienne," came to Scotland; but in passing through England were made to promise, by Henry, that they would not interfere with politics.

It was at this time that the Pope, calling upon the regents to replace Gamelin in his bishopric, transmitted full powers to the Bishop of Dunblane and the Abbots of Melrose and Jedburgh to fulminate an excommunication against the regents if they persisted in their refusal to do so.

A general sentence against Alan Durward and his coadjutors was published at Stirling, and repeated as a warning, with bell, book, and candle, in every church and chapel in the kingdom; and as no attention was paid to this threat, they were in due course excommunicated by name at Cambuskenneth.

The opportunity was too favourable to be lost, and the Earl of Menteith at once determined to seize the person of the king. Accordingly, upon the night of the 28th of October, the chamber in which Alexander lay at Kinross was suddenly invaded, and the Great Seal taken possession of; and before dawn the

Carrick; Alexander the Steward and Robert de Brus, Walter de Moray, David de Lindsay, William de Brechin, Robert de Manners (Menzie), Gilbert de Hay, and Hugh Gifford. The title which Henry himself assumed was Principal Councillor to the illustrious King of Scotland, thus claiming authority over the new regency without founding any injurious precedent.

king was safe within the walls of Stirling Castle, surrounded by his former guardians.

The Earl of Menteith justified himself on the grounds of rescuing the person of his sovereign from the hands of excommunicated traitors, who would have brought an interdict upon the whole kingdom had they been allowed.

He blamed the king for receding from the promise of his youth, and the queen for an undue leaning to the interests of her father, and for encouraging him to bring a hostile army against her husband's country; also for causing the ruin of Robert de Ros, the most eminent baron of the north.

Complete success resulted from this measure of the Cumyns. Durward fled to Henry, and the other regents dispersed in various directions.

In the course of the winter the king was brought to Roxburgh. The English barons were always favourable to the party now dominant in Scotland. 1258.

The Welsh were in open revolt, the Parliament of England refractory, and refusing supplies, whilst the Scotch were pressing for the dowry of their queen. The Cumyns entered into a treaty offensive and defensive with the Welsh ('Chronicle Melros,' 1258) binding themselves not to march against each other.

During the autumn an embassy was despatched by Henry to the north, for which Menteith was quite prepared; and when the Earls of Hereford and Albermarle and John Baliol presented themselves at Melrose to solicit an audience of Alexander, he named the next day for the conference at Jedburgh, which place was chosen from its vicinity to Jedwood Forest, in which their followers could be assembled unobserved; for they were aware of the arrival of a considerable force under Maunsel and the refugees assembled at Norham, and they looked upon the proposed interview as an artifice to obtain possession of the person of the king.

The Jedburgh conference lasted for three weeks: delay was favourable to the Scots, for every day brought fresh supplies and accession to their forces; and as rank after rank of spearmen took up their position in the glades of the forest, the hopes of the English envoys died away, and they gave up all idea of following up their original design. Menteith and his friends were now in a condition to dictate their own terms, but they were unwilling to provoke a war with England, or to perpetuate discord at home. Accordingly, a council was appointed to assist Alexander, in which four of the leaders of each party were associated with the queen-mother and her husband.

The new councillors were the queen-dowager and John de Brienne, the Bishop of St Andrews, and the Earls of Menteith, Buchan, and Marr, Alex-

ander Stewart, Alan Durward, Robert de Manners, and Gilbert de Hay. The real power, however, remained in the hands of the Cumyns, for they and their friends held all the great offices of State.

1258. Henry signified his approval, provided all matters of which he might have to complain were rectified within three months from the time of this compromise.

All the discussions which had agitated the minority of Alexander now faded away and ceased to distract the realm.

Henry's conduct in these transactions has been variously estimated, and probably his motives were mixed, and his actions much guided by those who were at different periods in his confidence.

Whilst Hubert de Burgh presided over his councils nothing was attempted against the liberties of the Scottish crown, to which Hubert's wife was the next heir.

In the hands of Walter Bisset—who, forgetful of his promise of fighting against the infidel for the benefit of Earl Patrick's soul, resided until a recent period at Henry's court, and was much in his confidence—he became the tool of private revenge; in those of Alan Durward, of selfish ambition; whilst fatherly affection for his daughter and her husband led him to suppose that he was righting their imaginary wrongs. In all, he was totally unlike his son Edward, who never for an instant forgot, or swerved from, his own ambitious views.

In November of the same year died Walter Cumyn, Earl of Menteith, the head of the regency, and the leading man in Scotland.

A fall from his horse was the first cause of his illness, from which he never recovered, and the tongue of scandal suggested that he was poisoned by his wife, who soon after married "Sir John Russel, an unknown Englishman," to the great disgust of all those Scottish nobles who were her suitors. Walter Stewart, who married her younger sister, claimed the earldom, which, after a contest of more than twenty-five years, was divided between him and William Cumyn, the grand-nephew of her first husband, who married her daughter by Sir John Russel,—Walter Stewart taking the name of Menteith along with the title, and dropping that of Stewart. These two "Walters," Earls of Menteith, are constantly confused by modern writers, though of different families, and in all things opposed.

1259. Soon after the death of Earl Walter Cumyn, Henry sent one William Horton, a churchman, on a secret embassy to the Scottish regents, the object of which never has transpired, and the papers appear to have been carefully destroyed. It appears to have been most displeasing to the barons; and a request that

Alexander and his queen should visit England was deemed too hazardous to be permitted. The Earl of Buchan, Alan Durward, and the Chancellor were the envoys chosen to convey the reply, to which the seals of the king and his nobles were affixed.

In the autumn of the following year, however, Alexander and his queen repaired to the court of England, he being anxious to exercise his rights over the honour of Huntingdon, and to obtain payment of the remainder of Margaret's dowry, as well as to prosecute claims upon lands on the Tyne. 1260.

On Alexander's return to Scotland, he left his queen at Windsor with her father, where, the following February, she gave birth to a daughter, "Margaret," afterwards the wife of Eric, King of Norway, and mother of the maiden queen ; but it was not until Henry had consented to make oath that neither mother nor child should be detained unduly, that the nobles of Scotland consented to this arrangement. 1261.

Alexander now turned his attention to his father's project of uniting the Western Isles to his dominions.

He sent envoys to Haco, King of Norway, by whom they were for some time detained, but afterwards permitted to depart, with the assurance that he entertained no hostile intentions towards Scotland. He appears, however, to have been incensed by the continual attacks of the Earl of Ross and other barons upon Skye and the Northern Hebrides, secretly supported, as he believed, by Alexander, and passed the whole of the next winter and spring in preparations for the impending war.

About midsummer the northern coasts of England were alarmed by the magnitude of an expedition fitting out at Bergen, which exceeded anything of the kind that had ever come from the fiords of the north. 1263.

The king's own ship mounted 27 banks of oars, and was of oak throughout, and glittered with gilded dragons. It was crowded with the flower of Norwegian chivalry. On the 10th of July, the mightiest armament that had ever left the shores of Norway quitted the harbour of Herlover, to vindicate her ancient rights amongst the islands of the western seas. In two days the king's ship reached the nearest of the Shetland Isles, where a fortnight passed before they sailed for the Orkneys.

The Norse historian of this expedition records that, as the fleet lay in the harbour of Ronaldsøye, "a dark shadow spread over the sun, until nothing remained visible of its surface but a narrow ring of gold," thus unconsciously affording evidence that he *there* witnessed the annular eclipse of the sun, of the 5th August 1262.

Haco wished to detach a squadron to the Dornoch Firth ; but as the Bonders

were unwilling to be separated from their king, he gave up the project, and they all proceeded to the Hebrides. As he sailed along their coasts, each chieftain who owned the superiority of the Norwegian king came to render homage as they approached his territory. Earl Magnus of the Orkneys had accompanied Haco from Bergen. Another Magnus met him upon his northern boundary, between Skye and the Lewis; whilst Dugal M'Roderic, the leading chief of the Isles, brought the lesser lords of the Sudreys to welcome their suzerain.

At Gigha, Ewen of Argyle came off in a galley, with Thorgils Bishop of Stavangro, to pay his devoirs to Haco, who pressed him much to follow the banner of Norway, but to this Ewen would not consent, having sworn allegiance to Alexander; but offered, as he had done fourteen years before, to resign the fiefs for which his loyalty would not permit him to do the required service, thus showing a second time an example of steadfast good faith and honour in the difficult position of "serving two masters."

Sailing round the Mull of Cantire, Haco remained for several days at Arran. Many churchmen visited him from the shore, commissioned by the King of Scotland to propose a truce, preparatory to further negotiations; and as Haco sought only to vindicate his claim to the superiority of the Hebrides, and had no wish to engage in a lengthened contest, he willingly agreed to the proposal.

The envoys were treated with great courtesy; and as Alexander only stipulated for Bute, Arran, and the Cumbraes, there appeared to be every prospect of a satisfactory arrangement.

Still time wore away, and the Scots seemed to avoid committing themselves to any final agreement.

The Norwegians began to be impatient, provisions became scarce, and they urged the king to break off the truce, and supply his fleet by a foray. But Haco determined to make still another attempt to come to terms. He challenged Alexander to meet him with his whole army at a conference, and there, "if God willed there should be peace, it were well; if not, then let both armies join in battle, and leave the issue in His hands."

Alexander seemed equally ready to fight or to negotiate; but still procrastination was the order of the day, and Haco was obliged to dismiss all thoughts of peace, and to declare the truce to be at an end, for the summer was drawing to a close, and the weather becoming bad.

Sixty galleys were despatched to devastate the coasts of Scotland. Reaching the head of Loch Long, they dragged the boats across from Arrochar to Tarbet, and launching them again upon Loch Lomond, wasted its shores with fire and sword.

One party swept across the fertile plains of Stirling, whilst others were harrying the Lennox.

Upon the evening of Monday, October 1st, a violent tempest arose. Ten vessels foundered in Loch Long, five were driven ashore on the Ayrshire coast, and many more were disabled. The royal ship dragged her anchors, and a transport driving against her during the storm, she was in great danger. It required eight anchors to keep her fast to her moorings; and Haco, betaking himself to the long-boat, rowed to the Cumbraes, and ordered a mass to be celebrated, believing, with his followers, the tempest to be the work of Satan; whilst the Scots believed it to be an interposition in their favour by St Margaret.

The peasants plundered the ships that were driven on shore, but met a stubborn resistance from the hardy Norsemen. As morning dawned, Haco rowed in from the Cumbraes to bring off his men from the shore.

A body of troops now became visible, drawn up near the village of Largs, about 1500 of whom were horsemen mounted on Spanish chargers, sheathed in complete armour, but of little real use in a struggle on the sea-shore. The infantry were merely the peasantry of the country, armed with spears and bows. The whole force was under the command of "the Steward of Scotland."

The Norwegians, all tried and well-armed soldiers, mustered about 900 men upon the beach, whilst 200 more were posted on a hill under a leader named "Ogmund," to cover the intended embarkation; but the courage of these Norsemen began to fail as the horsemen approached the hill, and a retreat upon the main body on the beach, begun in good order, soon became a rapid flight. A panic seized the main body as the others hurried over the side of the hill, and wheeling round in the utmost confusion, they rushed towards the sea, swamping many of the boats in the surf, in their desperate efforts to push off from the land.

Haco had been with difficulty prevailed upon to retire to the Cumbraes before these difficulties arose. The leaders succeeded in rallying a few of the main body, and with them resisted the onset of the Scots, when a knight, Sir Piers Currie by name, with incautious gallantry, rode along their line, animating the courage of the Scottish infantry by his noble bearing. Andrew Nicolson, next in command to Ogmund, stepping forward, with one blow aimed at the thigh, shore through armour and bone, and buried his sword in the saddle. Sir Piers fell a corpse on the ground, and his glittering armour and richly-jewelled belt became the prize of the enemy.

Amidst the struggle that ensued, two gallant Norwegians, Ranald and Olave, attempted to land their followers through a tremendous surf, and though Ranald was beaten back, Olave succeeded in bringing up reinforcements; and this, together with the death of Currie, turned the fortune of the day. The Scots contented

themselves with keeping their position on the hill, whilst the Norsemen re-formed their broken line on the beach as evening approached, when, all at once advancing their whole force, they swept their enemy's infantry from the hill, and, under cover of this unexpected charge, withdrew the remains of their forces to the boats, and gained their ships before the gale again increased to a tempest.

A few days after this disaster Haco was rejoined by his squadron from Loch Long; and after setting fire to his stranded vessels, he weighed anchor and sailed down the Firth of Clyde. His own wish was to accept a requisition from Ireland to assist in its liberation from the English yoke; but this was so strongly opposed by his followers that he was obliged to relinquish it, and, rounding the Mull of Cantire once more, to retrace his course to the Western Isles, each Oir-gh as he passed taking leave of his suzerain.

Off Kerrara, Haco despatched a message to Ewen of Argyle with no satisfactory result; upon which he bestowed the fiefs Ewen held upon "Dugal of the Isles" and his brother Alan, on parting with them off the island of Mull. It was November, and the weather still unsettled. One ship foundered in the Pentland Firth; and as they sailed along the coasts of the mainland, the country people attacked them whenever they attempted to land.

Haco determined to pass the winter in the Orkneys, retaining only twenty vessels, whose crews he quartered on the islanders. The bulk of the armament he sent home.

It appears that his fleet numbered at the beginning at least 155 sail, besides their attendant transports, as he sent *fifty* under Dugal and Magnus of Man to lay waste Cantire, keeping 100 around his own ship, whilst *five* were sent to subdue Bute.

Such was the much-renowned battle of Largs, a battle rather of the elements than of the arms of men. Neither of the kings were present (although the Norwegians believed erroneously that the King of Scotland commanded in person), and only one man of note fell, at least on the Scottish side. It was, however, the turning-point of a great expedition; and still, on those quiet shores, from time to time remains of the lost galleys are disinterred from the mud-beds in which they have so long reposed, as on other of our storm-girt coasts, the mighty skeletons of the wrecked Spanish Armada.

Anxiety and want of rest had brought a mortal malady upon the aged King Haco, whose reign had already numbered fifty-six years. During the intervals of his illness he arranged the affairs of his kingdom, and declared Prince Magnus to be his only son and successor.

December 15th, King Haco died. For three months the body lay in St

Magnus Church, Kirkwall, and in spring it was borne by his sorrowing nobles to Norway, to repose in the Cathedral Church of Bergen.

The intelligence of Haco's death reached Alexander on the very day that his eldest son, Prince Alexander, was born. He little thought, whilst rejoicing over the fall of his opponent and the birth of his heir, that in less than twenty-seven years from that date (September 1290) his infant granddaughter, the last of his race, and the great-granddaughter of that same Haco, should lie entombed in the same church.

Alexander soon after turned his attention to the punishment of those island 1263-4. princes who had supported and assisted Haco. Having assembled a great force in Galloway, his first attack would have been made upon "Magnus Olaveson," King of Man, had it not been anticipated by Magnus hastening to Dumfries to throw himself upon Alexander's mercy.

Reginald of Roxburgh, a monk of Melrose, was despatched by Alexander to 1265. Norway to reopen negotiations for the cession of these islands to Scotland. Magnus and the majority of his barons were convinced of the inutility of attempting to retain such distant possessions; and after some opposition, the Norwegian chancellor and Andrew Nicolson (the hero of Largs) were appointed envoys to Scotland, and in the chapter-house of the Dominicans of Perth they affixed their seals to a document making over to Alexander, King of Scotland, and his heirs, *the ancient Kingdom of the Isles*, the Orkneys and Shetlands excepted—dated *apud Perth*, 2d July 1266. Four thousand marks sterling were to be paid within four years, and an annual payment of 100 marks to be delivered every year at midsummer to the agents of the King of Norway, within the church of St Magnus at Kirkwall.

A full amnesty to be granted to the islesmen, who were to be at full liberty to remain under their new superior, or to retire with their property to Norway.

Both parties were bound to carry out their mutual engagements under a penalty of 10,000 marks.

The patronage of the bishopric of the Isles (Sodor and Man) was made over to Alexander, with the reservation of the ecclesiastical rights of the Archbishop of Drontheim.

There were also some special protections afforded to shipwrecked Norwegians.

To conclude this chapter on the Isles, it appears that "Magnus Olaveson, King of Man," having married the daughter of Ewen of Argyle (who died in 1205), the Manxmen again for a time threw off the authority of Alexander, who assembled an army in Galloway in 1268, with the intention of subjugating them, but was prevented by tempestuous weather. Seven years later, however in 1275), Magnus being dead, he effected his purpose, his army, under John

Cumyn, routing Ivar, a pretender, then his chief opponent ; and placing the whole country under his maors and thanes,* it remained in that condition until granted by Robert the Bruce to his nephew, Thomas Randolph, also created Earl of Moray.—Robertson's Index, p. xi. xxiv., and 9, 2.

1265. A numerous body of Scottish auxiliaries, under John Cumyn, John de Baliol, and Robert de Brus, went to the aid of King Henry of England.

May 14. Northampton was stormed and taken by the king's forces ; but at the battle of Lewis, where he was defeated and taken, Bruce and Cumyn shared his fate. It was Prince Edward who caused this disaster. Whilst he amused himself by chasing the fugitive Londoners, the barons vanquished the king.

1266. Henry of England wrote to the bishops of Scotland demanding a subsidy to cover the expenses of the papal legate, " Cardinal Ottobone dei Fieschi," who had been commissioned by the Pope to settle the differences between him and his barons. *With one accord* all Scotland protested against the claim ; and when Ottobone afterwards presented himself upon the frontiers, requesting permission to enter Scotland as " papal legate," Alexander, after examining his credentials, refused to admit him. Neither did he send representatives, as Ottobone required, to attend the council in London ; but two bishops, one abbot, and one prior were sent to watch the proceedings, and guard against any infringements on the liberty of their Church.

Ottobone, thus foiled in his projects, persuaded the Pope (Clement IV.), on his return to Rome, to accede to Henry's request, and to grant *the tenth* of the benefices of the clergy of Scotland to the King of England, as an aid for an intended crusade.

1269. Alexander and his clergy concurred in rejecting this requisition. " Scotland itself," they said, " would equip a competent number of crusaders." Accordingly, " David de Hastings," Earl of Athol, Adam de Kilconquhar, first husband of Marjorie Countess of Carrick, Robert de Brus le jeune, and many other barons undertook the fatal expedition. The Earl of Athol died before Tunis, 1270. the Earl of Carrick perished at Acre, and Robert de Brus returned to bear the 1271. tidings, and soon after married the widowed Countess of Carrick, then aged fourteen years.

Meanwhile the friendship which subsisted between the royal families of England and Scotland was kept up by various meetings and visits from the English princes to Alexander at his Border castles. Prince Edward was particularly attached to his sister Margaret, and perhaps he then, too, learnt to covet the " hunting-fields " of Caledonia. Alexander, in his turn, went with his queen to visit her father at York ; but, in spite of all this cordiality, he was

* The Nordreys fell to the Earl of Ross, the Sudreys to Somerled, " Lord of the Isles."

most watchful in guarding the liberties of his country; and when he went, in great magnificence, to enhance the splendour of Edward's coronation, he was careful to obtain a full recognition that his presence on that occasion should afford no precedent for establishing claims against himself or his successors.

The 'Chronicle of Lanercost' records that Alexander rode with one hundred knights in his train to compliment Edward I., and that all on dismounting turned their horses loose among the people, Prince *Edmund* and the Earls of Gloucester, Pembroke, and Warenne following the example.

Alexander lost his beautiful "Queen Margaret." Tenderly attached to her 1275. father and brothers, she was still more so to her husband, who for upwards of eight years thought of no second marriage. Margaret was thirty-five years of age.

Five years after, her youngest son, Prince David, died, aged ten years. 1280.

The Princess Margaret (born in February 1261) was married to "Eric Magnusson," the young King of Norway (Haco's grandson). Her marriage-contract 1281. was drawn out and ratified by both parties at Roxburgh; and setting out, on the 12th of August, with a brilliant retinue, the princess reached her future home on the evening of the 14th.

Princess Margaret's dowry was 14,000 marks, one-fourth to be sent with the bride to Norway,—a strong fortress to be ready on her arrival to receive her and her attendants, that she and her portion might be safely guarded, until they were, on the actual day of her marriage, consigned to the youthful bridegroom.

It was also stipulated that Margaret should be crowned without delay—which was accomplished, in spite of the opposition of the queen-mother. Orkney on the one side, or Man on the other, to be forfeited in case of failure in fulfilling the contract.

The same autumn witnessed the union of the Prince of Scotland with the 1281. Lady Margaret of Flanders, daughter of Guy Count de Dampierre.

A fortnight was spent in festivities and rejoicings, and then the knights and ladies who had accompanied the bride returned to Flanders, highly delighted with the brilliancy and splendour of their reception; but the time of rejoicing was short. Little more than a month had intervened between the marriages of his children, and but a few weeks separated their deaths. When Margaret, after giving birth to an infant princess, sank into the grave in a foreign land, the tidings of her untimely death found Scotland mourning for her only brother!

Prince Alexander was universally beloved, and was looked up to, as his father and grandfather had been in their youth, as "the hope of Scotland." He

wasted away under a slow and lingering illness, during which his mind appears to have been much disturbed by the ambitious projects of his uncle Edward. Starting up, the evening before his death, he turned to his attendants, and exclaimed, "Before to-morrow's sunrise the sun of Scotland shall have set."—*'Chronicle of Lanercost,'* 1283.

1283. The bereaved father assembled the Estates of the realm at Scone, a week after the death of his son, and caused his infant granddaughter, "Margaret, the Maiden of Norway," to be declared "heiress of Scotland, the Hebrides, Man, Tynedale, and Penrith."—*Fœd.*, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 638.

It was six years after Edward's accession before he accepted Alexander's homage for the "*lands he held in England.*" After several days had been proposed for this ceremony, it took place at last on the festival of St Simon and St Luke (28th October 1278,) at Westminster, in the presence of the English court and a great assemblage. Robert de Brus, the Earl of Carrick, made the usual declaration of fealty in the name of his royal master.—*'Registry of Dunfermline,'* Letter of Boniface VIII. to Edward I., &c. &c.

Alexander offered "to do homage for the lands he held in England, *for which homage was due*" (for some of his lands in that kingdom were held by simple fealty), and "saving always his own kingdom."

"And saving also the right of my lord King Edward to homage for your kingdom," interposed the Bishop of Norwich.

"*To that,*" replied the King of Scotland, "none has a right, save God alone, for of Him *only* I do hold my crown." After which no further interruptions occurred.

1284. The marriage of Alexander III. with Joleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux, was celebrated at Jedburgh with great festivities, which were again too soon turned into mourning by the untimely death of the monarch. Upon the 19th of March 1285, Alexander held a council in Edinburgh Castle upon the case of Thomas of Galloway (natural son of Alan Lord of Galloway), who had been a prisoner in the hands of the Baliols at Bernard Castle for nearly fifty years. The day was most tempestuous, and the hail and sleet, driven before a cutting north wind, would have prevented most men from facing it. Alexander, however, after dining at the castle at the early hour of those days, rose to depart for Kinghorn, where his young queen was staying, persisting in his resolution of setting out, in spite of the entreaties of his friends—for all weathers and seasons were alike to the dauntless spirit of Alexander. The master of the Queensferry entreated his sovereign not to attempt to cross in such a storm; but the fearless king merely asked if the boatman was afraid to accompany him. "Far be it from me," he replied, "to shrink from death with your father's

son." The dangerous passage was accomplished, however, in safety, and Alexander rode on with only three squires in attendance towards Inverkeithing. Darkness set in so rapidly that the master of the royal saltworks there only recognised the king by his voice, and, startled by his presence in such a night, earnestly entreated him to proceed no further. Still the king persisted, only desiring the attendance of two guides on foot to point out the right path to Kinghorn. A few miles further on even the guides lost the track, and the whole party were obliged to trust to the instinct of the horses to keep them from falling over the cliffs,—when suddenly the king's palfrey tripped over some obstacle in the darkness, and when his attendants hurried forward to ascertain what had happened, they stumbled over the lifeless body of their royal master!

Born in September 1241, Alexander was in his forty-fourth year, and in the thirty-sixth of his reign, at the time of his death. The last monarch of the house of Athol, he was also the last king of peace and prosperity in Scotland for many long years; and when he was gathered to his fathers in Dunfermline, the faint shadow of the royal Maiden of Norway scarcely intervened between rival competitors and their envied possession of the crown.

Margaret, Maiden of Norway, on the death of her grandfather, Alexander III., was, in default of male heirs, formally acknowledged "*Reine Héritière*."

Accordingly she was proclaimed at Scone three weeks after the death of the king,—viz., on the 11th day of April 1286, being then three years of age; and by reason of her minority, six regents were appointed to govern the realm—Fraser, Bishop of St Andrews; Duncan, Earl of Fife; and Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, for the north side of the Forth: Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow; John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch; and James, High Steward, for the south side.

It may be observed that the Bruces, although so nearly allied to the crown, had no part in this regency; and it is on record, that although they never contested the right of Alexander to appoint his infant granddaughter as his heir, they held assemblies of their friends, and formed powerful bands to assert their rights as next heirs. Thus, six months after the death of the king, in September 1286, Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, having assembled his friends and dependants at the castle of Turnberry, then and there set forth his pretensions to the throne of Scotland; affirming that he could prove by witnesses then living that Alexander II., when childless, had declared that he regarded *him* as "heir-presumptive to the crown;" that a female was incompetent to reign; and that Devergoile being alive at the time Alexander died, *he*, the nearest male heir, was the person on whom the crown justly and legally descended, being the *son* of Isabel, second daughter of David Earl of Hunting-

don, whilst Devergoile was the *daughter* of Margaret, the eldest daughter. With him were Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, his son (father of King Robert); Thomas de Clare, brother of the Earl of Gloucester; Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster; and various Scottish nobles, the chief of whom were James, the Lord High Steward, and Regent; Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith; the Earl of Dunbar and March, &c. &c.

Another account records the "band" these nobles entered into in the following terms:—

In 14 Henry III., Thomas de Clare (brother of Gilbert de Clare, who married Joane Plantagenet, daughter of Edward I., and was then governor of the city of London), joined with Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, in solemn compact on the one side; and Patrick Earl of Dunbar, with his three sons Patrick, John, and Alexander; Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith, Alexander and John, his sons; Robert de Brus, Earl of Annandale, together with Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick, and Bernard de Brus, his sons; James the Steward, and John his son, &c. &c. &c.,—to take part with one another on *all* occasions against *all* parties whatever; saving their allegiance to the King of England, and their fidelity to him who should gain the kingdom of Scotland by right of blood from King Alexander, then lately deceased. — Dated "Turnebyrie in Carrick, on the Eve of St Matthew the Apostle, A.D. 1286."

It does not appear that any further steps were taken to assert Bruce's claim at this time. The intended alliance of the young queen with the heir-apparent of England, which was desired and supported by the regents and people of Scotland, made it impracticable to attempt setting her aside as the first female sovereign of Scotland, though it probably accelerated their desire of having her crowned.

The De Clares were Bruce's brothers-in-law, but too nearly connected with Edward to act against his wishes. Again, we shall see a young Earl of Gloucester buckling on his armour and leading his followers at the battle of Bannockburn against his friend and kinsman Robert de Brus—but so unwillingly, that he would wear no device by which he might be known, and was killed in the *mêlée*.

By the regents and governors of Scotland on the one side, and Edward I. of England on the other, it was settled and agreed that Margaret should be contracted to Prince Edward of Wales (styled of Carnarvon)—an alliance which would have been acceptable to both nations.

Being related in the third degree of consanguinity, a dispensation from the Pope was obtained by Edward; and when it became known to the Estates that this instrument had actually been obtained, the regents convened a

Parliament at Brigham, on the Scottish border, and drew up a document, entitled "Letter of the Community of Scotland," in which they expressed their joy at hearing the welcome news, and signified their unanimous and cordial consent, *provided* certain reasonable conditions (to be submitted to Edward at his next Parliament at Easter) should be agreed to.

This document was signed and sealed by the guardians, bishops, earls, abbots, priors, and barons, constituting the Estates of the kingdom.

For a period of about eighteen months the regency ruled with considerable ability and success; but after the death of Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, and the assassination of Duncan Earl of Fife, there were dissensions and divisions.

Sir Michael Wemyss, Lord High Admiral of Scotland, was commissioned to go to Norway to bring home the young queen; and Edward despatched his confidential minister, Anthony de Bek (Archdeacon of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, and elected Bishop of Durham in 1283), *to support the request which they had just submitted to the King of Norway, her father, "to commit the care of the young queen to her subjects."* At first Eric was most unwilling to comply. He was only eighteen years of age when he lost his queen, and from affection for his daughter, as well as from regard to his people, he hesitated to part with her, especially as rumours of dissensions amongst her new subjects had doubtless reached him. But it is said that his ministers were gained over by promises of pensions which they were to enjoy until the queen should attain the age of fifteen years; and through their influence the king was induced to give his consent, promising that Margaret should sail from Norway before the feast of All Saints. — 'Dalrymple's Annals,' 'Chalmers's Caledonia,' &c.

The Estates again assembled at Brigham, and proceeded to submit to the Bishop of Durham and other plenipotentiaries who appeared on the part of Edward, the conditions on which they were willing to consent to the marriage. July 18,
1290.

The terms were:—"That the laws and customs of Scotland should not be infringed, but should be maintained in their original integrity. That in the event of Margaret becoming a widow, she should be permitted to return free and independent to Scotland, and that if she died without issue, *the crown should descend to the next heir.* It was also stipulated that the Parliament should be held within the kingdom, and that all great offices of State and courts of justice should be maintained, and that the Great Seal should have the queen's name *only* and the arms of Scotland engraven upon it, &c. &c. &c. Also, that no vassal or tenant of the crown should be required to go beyond the boundaries of the kingdom to do fealty or homage for the land he held."

These terms were agreed to by the English Commissioners, and the treaty was formally ratified by them, under the obligation that the King of England should, in the event of his failing to adhere to them, pay the sum of £100,000 to be expended in the holy wars, and that he should at the same time incur sentence of excommunication.

But the treaty of Brigham had not existed long ere Edward began to betray his secret designs on the liberty of the realm. In the first place, he required that an Englishman should be appointed "governor" of the kingdom, along with the regents; and he nominated accordingly, in the joint names of "Margaret and Edward," Anthony Bek, the Bishop of Durham, to the high office of "*Lieutenant of Scotland*." He next made a demand that all places of strength should instantly be yielded up to him, on account, he said, of some dangers, or rumours of dangers, which he had heard of.

This demand being refused, he became satisfied with the promise that these castles should be delivered up on the queen's arrival, and that the officers in command of them should obey the queen and her intended husband as their *joint* sovereigns, whenever they came to Scotland; and that, should the queen *not* arrive before the 1st of November, they were further to bind themselves by oath to keep the castles for her and Prince Edward.

Meanwhile every preparation was made for the queen's betrothal; and Sir Michael Wemyss and Sir David Scott were despatched to Norway to bring her home.

The hopes of both sides of the Tweed were centred upon this child, whose presence amongst her people, and union with the heir-apparent of England, would, it was hoped, bring peace and security to both.

1290. But these hopes were bound to be disappointed.

The Maiden of Norway was unable to endure the fatigues of a stormy and tedious voyage across the North Sea. She was seized with illness on the passage from Bergen; and although, on being landed in Orkney—then a part of her father's dominions—she partially revived, soon after she fell into a state of debility, and died in September 1290.

With this princess, who might have united the sceptre of Norway with that of the British Isles, the line of William the Lion failed.

The descendants of David Earl of Huntingdon, his younger brother, now stood next in succession to the crown.

David, Prince of Scotland, Earl of Huntingdon in England, Lord of the Garrioch with the royal town of Dundee, &c. &c., was the third son of Prince Henry, who was the only son of King David I. by Maud, daughter of Waltheof Earl of Northumberland, by Judith, niece of William I., the Norman conqueror.

David's elder brothers, "Malcolm the Maiden," and "William the Lion," being successively kings of Scotland, Prince David had for his portion the great estates of his grandmother Maude in England, together with the honours of Huntingdon, and the oft-broken promise of the earldom of Northumberland. The lordship of Garrioch and its territory he transmitted to his descendants; but at one time he also held (perhaps when in ward to the crown) the earldoms of Lennox and Angus. Sir James Balfour affirms that he went to Ireland when he was Earl of Angus, and married the daughter of one of the petty kings there, and had possession of some towns in that country, but was recalled suddenly, upon his brother, William the Lion, being taken prisoner in England.

He married, circa 1189, "Matilda," daughter of "Hugh," fifth Earl of Chester, 1174. and sister of Ranulph de Blondeville, sixth Earl, who marrying twice, but leaving no children, his three sisters became his co-heirs; and Matilda, the eldest, became Countess of Chester.

Soon after his marriage, Prince David accompanied Richard Cœur de Lion 1190. to the Holy Land, at the head of 5000 Scots, but was shipwrecked and made captive on the coast of Egypt. He was sold as a slave to a Venetian, who taking him to Constantinople, he was there recognised and ransomed by some English merchants. Again shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland, he landed at last in Fife, and there founded the Abbey of Lindores in honour of the Virgin, to whom he believed he owed his preservation. After this he was sent by his brother, William the Lion, to assist the English barons in the interest of Richard Cœur de Lion, against the intended usurpation of his brother John.

David Earl of Huntingdon died.

1219.

By Matilda or Maud, his wife, he had four sons and four daughters:—

1. Henry, D.s.p. vit. pat.	2. David, D.s.p. vit. pat.	3. Robert, D.s.p. vit. pat.	4. John, surnamed the Scot, who married Helena, daughter of Llewellen ap Iorwath, Prince of Wales, but also died s.p. 1237.
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The daughters were:—

1. Margaret, married Alan, Lord of Galloway at Dundee, A.D. 1209. Died ante 1237.	2. Isabel, married Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, Died A.D. 1251.	3. Maud, Died unmarried, ante 1237.	4. Ada, married Henry de Hasting, Lord of Abergavenny.
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John le Scot became Earl of Huntingdon and Lord of Garrioch, &c. &c., on 1219. the death of his father, and Earl of Chester on the death of his uncle Ranulph, 1232.

sixth Earl. John le Scot, seventh Earl of Chester, married Helene, daughter of Llewellen ap Jorwath, Prince of Wales, but died without issue on the
 1237. 7th of June at Derndale in Cheshire, and was buried in Chester Cathedral. Helene of Wales, immediately after her husband's death, married, secondly, Robert de Quincey, eldest son of the Earl of Winchester, who, having been detained in Palestine after his father's decease, found on his return the earldom of Winchester in possession of his younger brother Roger, to whom it was confirmed in 1234. Robert appears to have had no property of his own. He had a grant of Silkely Manor in Worcestershire from Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, on his marriage with Helene; and from the Earl of Albemarle (whose wife was one of the nieces of John le Scot) he had a gift of his moiety of the manor and castle of Fotheringay, which John le Scot had inherited from his father, and which, being part of his sister Margaret's share, had fallen to her daughter Christian, his wife. "The Earl of Albemarle gave this moiety to Robert de Quincey and Ælena, Countess of Chester and Huntingdon, relict of John le Scot, until a sufficient provision should be made for her."—Bonney's 'History of Fotheringay Castle.'

Isabel de Brus appears to have been of a different mind with respect to her sister-in-law, as she refused to give her any provision from her estates until commanded to do so by the king; giving for her reason that her brother John le Scot had been poisoned by his wife, Helena of Wales. With John Earl of Chester the male line of Malcolm Caenmore appeared about to fail, for Alexander II. had no children by his first marriage; and Alexander III., the son of his second marriage with Mary de Couci, was not born until 1241; so that Robert de Brus, the son of Isabel, second daughter of Prince David, was looked upon by Alexander and his people as next heir-male to the crown; for Margaret of Galloway had daughters only, and *as yet* the crown of Scotland never had been assigned to a female.

Henry III., unwilling, as he said, that so great an inheritance "as the county palatine of Chester should be parcelled among *distaffs*," bestowed it on his own son Henry, who conferred it on *his* son Henry of Carnarvon; and for three centuries it was held by the princes of Wales independent of the crown.

1237. As a reasonable compensation to the heirs of John le Scot, Henry gave to Devergoile and John de Baliol (Margaret of Galloway being then dead) the manors of Luddingland and Tozkesay in county Lincoln, with the territory of Yarmouth in Norfolk, the manor of Driffild in Yorkshire, and the manor of Thingden in Northamptonshire. To Isabel de Brus, the manors of Writtle and Hatfield in Essex, &c. &c. To Ada de Hastings (Maud being dead), Bromesgrove in Worcester; Bolsover Castle and manor in Derbyshire;

Marsfield in Nottingham ; Oswaldbee in Nottingham ; Wearfield, Stratton, and Cunedoure, in Shropshire ; and Wigginton and Wulrumhampton in Staffordshire.

Moreover, to Helene of Wales, who had married Robert de Quincey, order was given by the king that she should have livery of these lordships hereafter named—whereof John Earl of Chester, her late husband, died seized—to hold, until such time as, by a fair and perfect extant of his lands, she should have a sufficient dower assigned to her,—namely, Fotheringay and Farewell, in county Northampton ; Heweston, in county Bedford ; Tottenham, in county Middlesex ; Brampton, Cunnington, and Limpays, in Huntingdon ; Badow in Essex ; and Exton in Rutland.

By Robert de Quincey Helene of Wales left two daughters: Joane de Quincey, wife of de Bohun ; and Hawise de Quincey, wife of Baldwin de Wake—co-heiresses in 1266, when both parents were dead. It was probably in consequence of this marriage that Lord Wake had claims on lands in Scotland, which he asserted in the days of Robert and David Bruce. Most of the above-named estates in England, however, reverted to the heirs of John le Scot. Fotheringay and Farewell to Devergoile ; Tottenham in Middlesex, Brampton and Connington, Great Badow in Essex, and Exton in Rutland, to Isabel de Brus, or her descendants.—See Bruces of Annandale, &c.

The four sisters of Ranulph de Blondville, sixth Earl of Chester, were :—

1.	2.	3.	4.
Matilda, married	Mabel, married	Agnes, married	Hawise, married
David Earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lion. Their only surviving son, John le Scot, became seventh and last Earl of Chester.	the Earl of Arundel.	William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby.	Robert de Quincey, whose second wife was Helene of Wales, relict of John le Scot. Hawise, by gift of her brother, was Countess of Lincoln.

The daughters of Matilda and David Earl of Huntingdon, co-heirs of their brother "John le Scot," Earl of Chester, in 1237, were :—

1. Margaret,

<p>1. Margaret, married at Dundee, A.D. 1209, Alan Lord of Galloway, who died A.D. 1234, leaving by Margaret, his second wife,</p> <p>2. <i>Devergoile</i> or <i>Dornagilla</i>, her eldest daughter, his heir in Galloway. Devergoile married, A.D. 1233, John de Baliol, Lord of Bernard Castle, who died in 1269.</p> <p>3. <i>John de Baliol</i>, their only surviving son in 1290, was the first competitor, in right of his <i>Mother's Mother</i>. Crowned king at Scone, 30th Sept. 1292, dethroned in July 1296, died at Bailleul, in France, A.D. 1314, having married <i>Isobel</i>, daughter of John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, by whom he left two sons,</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Edward, and Henry, King of Scotland at intervals during the minority and captivity of David II. Died in 1365, ætat. 63, at his residence near Doncaster. Edward married Johanna, eldest daughter of Charles de Valois, Comte d'Alençon, brother of Philip King of France, but left no heirs.</p> </div> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>Isobel, married the same year Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale on his father's death in 1215. Robert died A.D. 1245. Isobel died A.D. 1251.</p> <p>2. <i>Robert</i>, S. and H., first competitor in 1290 in right of his <i>Mother</i>. Married, A.D. 1242, Isabel, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, died at Lochmaben on Good Friday 1295, ætat. 84. His eldest son, "Robert," was Earl of Carrick in right of his wife, "Marjorie Countess of Carrick," on whose death in 1296 her husband resigned the earldom to his son <i>Robert</i>, "Le jeune Counte," who was crowned King of Scotland at Scone, 27th of March 1306. His father, "Le viel Counte," died A.D. 1304.</p> </div> </div>	<p>Maude, died unmarried.</p>	<p>Ada, married Henry de Hastings, who died A.D. 1250, leaving a son,</p> <p>2. <i>Henry</i>, their heir, who married <i>Joane</i>, daughter and heir of George de Cantelupe (see De Broase), whose son,</p> <p>3. <i>John</i>, was competitor in 1290 in right of his <i>Grandmother</i>.</p>
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According to Abercromby,—

Guy or Guido de Baliol,* a Norman lord, came to England in the reign of

* Pierre de Bailleul, Seigneur de Teschamp, et le Seigneur de Bailleul, came over with the Conqueror, probably father and brother of Guy.

Ingelram de Baliol married the heiress of Walter de Berkeley, Great Chamberlain of Scotland in William the Lion's reign.

William Rufus, son of the Conqueror, and was infeoffed of the barony of Biwell, county Northumberland, for which lands *his son*, Bernard de Baliol, did homage to David I., King of Scotland, who was then in possession of that country. But Baliol going, together with Robert de Brus, Lord of Cleveland, to endeavour to persuade King David, who had invaded England, to retire and make peace; and these overtures being rejected, he renounced his fealty; and, returning to the English camp, shared in the victory obtained over the Scots near Northallerton, August 22, 1138, called "The Battle of the Standard."

1138.

He also assisted in surprising William the Lion at Alnwick, and led the band who made him prisoner.

July 13,

1174.

Having greatly enlarged his paternal estates, he founded the strong fortress which bears his name upon the Tees. He was succeeded by his son Eustace de Baliol, who had two sons:—

1. Hugh,* who succeeded his father; 2. Henry, Great Chamberlain of Scotland. 1233.

John de Baliol succeeded his father Hugh, and married Devergoile or Dornagilla, eldest daughter of Alan Lord of Galloway by his second wife, "*Margaret of Scotland*." Devergoile became "*Lady of Galloway*" on her father's death.

1234.

By order of Alexander III. John de Baliol kept the north of England for the captive Henry III. of England, and did eminent service to both in opposing the rebellious barons. He was the subject of three different sovereigns: to the King of France for his estates in Normandy—viz., the lands of "*Bailleul*," "*Dampetre*," Helicourt, and de Horney (as appears by the articles of marriage of his grandson Edward with the Duke of Anjou's daughter); to the King of England for his estates there; and to the King of Scotland for the lordship of Galloway, by which he was commonly designated.

This great man and lover of the muses—"potens et dives," as the chronicle of Melrose calls him—died at Oxford A.D. 1269. Baliol College was founded in his honour by Devergoile. It is said that he founded "a school" at Oxford, and gave each of the students eight pennies weekly for their table. It was probably on this foundation that Baliol College was reared. Devergoile died at Bernard Castle in 1289, ætat. 76.

Fotheringay Castle, which had belonged to David I. and to David Earl or Huntingdon, had been the portion of her sister "Christian Countess of Albe-marle," who, dying without issue, A.D. 1246, Devergoile became her heir, and, frequently residing there, was sometimes styled "The Lady of Fotheringay;" and no lady of her time gained a fairer fame. The church of Cross-Michael

* Hugh de Baliol's second son was "Sir Alexander de Baliol" of Cavers, designated as "*Camerarius Scotiæ*." He is mentioned in Ragman's Roll. He left a son and heir, *Thomas*, who had a daughter and heir, *Isabel*, married to Reginald More, ancestor of the Mores of Rowallan and Caldwell. 1291.

Sir Alexander's sister "Lora" married Gilbert Earl of Lincoln. William de Baliol is also mentioned as going with James the Steward to France to treat about peace with the English. 1302.

was by her transferred to the "Abbey of Sweetheart," where she was buried in the same tomb with her husband's embalmed heart.

1290. On the death of the Maiden of Norway, the last descendant of William the Lion, the friends and adherents of Bruce, Lord of Annandale, met at Perth to join his standard and assert his claims.

Baliol, with a title equally good, stood forth his rival.

Bruce claimed as the nearest *heir-male*—the son of Earl David's second daughter, Isabel; whilst Baliol was the grandson of the Earl, through Margaret, his eldest daughter, and her daughter Devergoile.

The other competitors had slight chance of success; but Edward's policy was to divide the country into as many factions as possible, and to induce them all to look to *him* as the arbiter of their claims, and then to confer the prize upon *no one* who should not acknowledge *him* as their liege lord, and hold the crown of Scotland as his vassal.

Buchanan says, book viii.: "The Scots nobles could not decide the controversy at home; for, by reason of the power of both parties, the land was divided into two factions. Baliol, by his mother, held Galloway, a very large country; and besides, he was allied to the Cumin family, which was most powerful next to the king, for *Mary, the sister of Devergoile, had married John Cumin.*" *

"Robert Bruce, on the other side, possessed Cleveland, besides great domains in Hertford, Essex, and various other English counties; with Annandale, the Garrioch, &c. &c., in Scotland; and by his son, the Earl of Carrick, was allied to many noble families." Besides, his wife, "Isabel de Clare," was the daughter of Richard and sister of Gilbert de Clare, Earls of Gloucester, which last married Joan Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward I.

Jealousy and ill-will soon broke out into open violence in the council, and terminated in the Bishop of St Andrews and John Cumyn of Badenoch assuming the supreme authority, to the exclusion of the Bishop of Glasgow and James the High Steward.

The two acting regents espoused the cause of John Baliol, John Cumyn himself giving up his claim in his favour; for Marjorie, his wife, was Baliol's sister (or aunt?).

It was at this moment, when the kingdom was torn and convulsed by political

* The exact words are, "per Johannan Cumminum, cui *Maria*, Dornagillæ soror nupserat."—Buchanan *Rerum, Ste. Hist.*, lib. viii. p. 134.

But some say this was "*Marjorie*," the sister of Baliol, and sister-in-law of Devergoile.

In '*Scala Chronica*' (121) we find—

"Johan de Baillol avoit iii. sœurs—
La primer fut Margaret, Dame de Gilliesland;
La second fut Dame de Cousey;
La tierce avoit Johan Comyn à mari,
Père celui Robert Bruis tua à Dumfries."

factions, that the appeal of the "Earl of Marr to the freemen of Moray" was made to Edward, together with two other appeals, all in one instrument. They were drawn up and presented to the King of England by a functionary styled "*The Procurator*," acting on behalf of an ancient constitutional body, designated "The Seven Earls of Scotland."

The appeal from Moray sets forth an accusation to the effect "that the Bishop of St Andrews and John Cumyn had exceeded the powers granted to them, and had, without authority from the nobles, magnates, and community of Scotland, appointed sub-custodes; that these officers had entered Moray—a province which had been under the immediate government of the king—and had laid waste the lands and destroyed the villages of the freemen on the estates belonging to the crown, burning their houses and barns stocked with grain, and carrying off their goods and chattels, cruelly slaughtering men, women, and children. In order to obtain redress for these grievances, he, the Procurator, in the names and on the behalf of Donald Earl of Marr and the freemen of Moray, appeals to the presence of the Lord Edward, King of England, and the crown of England. He places the Earl of Marr, his relatives, kinsmen, and friends, and all the men of the Lord King in Moray, together with all their property, &c. &c., under the special peace, protection, and defence of the King of England, and his royal crown; and he warns the Bishop of St Andrews and John Cumyn against doing injury, or causing loss to any of these parties; and concludes by rendering them responsible for all the losses, injuries, and wrongs which the Earl of Marr and his friends the freemen of Moray, with those adhering to them, had sustained from the time of the death of King Alexander III. And further, in order that redress might be obtained from them, he now appeals to the King of England and his royal crown.—'Palgrave's Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland,' published 1837.

The original document is still preserved in the archives of the treasury of her Majesty's Exchequer at Westminster. It is written in the law Latin of the thirteenth century, with the words abbreviated by various arbitrary signs, as was the custom in those days, to abridge the labour of copying. It has been transcribed by Sir Francis Palgrave.

On the 10th of May Edward met the prelates and nobles of Scotland at ^{1291.} Norham, on the south side of the Tweed. There is no evidence that he was invited to do so by any expressed wish of the Estates of the realm.

But the "seven earls" seem to have appealed to Edward to support them in their rights, which they asserted they had enjoyed from time immemorial, of *electing* a king when the succession in the direct line became extinct.

Edward came, less intent upon the professed object of the conference, than upon proclaiming to the assembled nobility *his own* right to the sovereign

seignior of Scotland. He commanded the attendance of the barons of Yorkshire, Lancaster, Westmoreland, and Cumberland (amongst them were John de Baliol and Robert de Brus), with all their forces, on the 3d of June. The nobility and clergy of Scotland were invited, "*requisivit*," to meet him on an earlier day.

May 10. On that fatal day, Edward commanded Roger de Brabanson, Justiciary of England, to inform the assembly in his name, "That he had considered the difficulties in which the kingdom of Scotland was involved by the death of Alexander and his offspring, and the dangers arising from a disputed succession. That his good-will and affection to the whole nation, and to every one in it, were sincere; for in their defence he himself was interested. That he had called the Scots to meet him in that place, with the view that justice might be done to all the competitors; and that he had undertaken a long journey *to do justice in person to all*, and see the internal tranquillity of the country established, as 'superior and lord paramount of the kingdom of Scotland.'"

The whole assembly, struck with astonishment, stood motionless and silent. At length some one had the courage to utter these words:—

"No answer *can* be given while the throne is vacant."

"By the holy Edward, whose crown I wear," cried the king, "I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt!"

The Scots requested delay, that they might inform those who were absent, and have an opportunity of consulting together.

"You are all sufficiently informed," said Edward, "by the tenor of my summons; I will give you, however, a delay till to-morrow."

May 11. Next day, Edward allowed them the term of three weeks, at which period he required them to return a definite answer. By that time he considered that the barons he had summoned to meet him at Norham would be assembled in arms.

June 2. At this assembly there were eight persons *present* who, under various titles, laid claim to the crown, *all* of whom allowed the claim that Edward set forth. Baliol was *not* present. Sir Thomas Randolph, in the name of "John Baliol, Lord of Galloway," said that he had mistaken the day of the adjourned meeting, and requested that he might be allowed to answer in person on the morrow.

June 3. Baliol appeared in person. The Chancellor of England demanded whether he was willing to answer as the others had done?

Baliol, after an affected pause and seeming recollection, pronounced his assent.

The king then spoke, expressing his trust in the Divine aid, and his hope that the whole business might be conducted to the glory of God. He again protested that his claim to the property of Scotland should remain entire. Baliol, with officious servility, approached the lord paramount, acknowledged his right of superiority, and craved his judgment. John Cumyn, as one of the regents, made like acknowledgments, and obtained permission to be heard as

a competitor. The whole ten competitors then signed and sealed an instrument to the following effect :—

“Forasmuch as the King of England has evidently shown to us that the sovereign seigniorship of Scotland and the right of determining our several pretensions belong to him, we therefore, of our own free will and without compulsion, have agreed to receive judgment from him as our lord paramount, and we become bound to submit to his award.”—3d June 1291.

It was in the open fields on the north side of the Tweed, at Upsettlington, opposite Norham Castle, that this meeting took place, on the 2d of June 1291.

The eight competitors present were—

- 1st. Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale.
- 2d. Florence Count of Holland.
- 3d. John de Hastings, Lord of Abergaveny.
- 4th. Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March.
- 5th. William de Ros.
- 6th. William de Vescy, appearing by his attorney.
- 7th. Robert de Pinkeney.
- 8th. Nicholas de Soules.

On the 3d of June appeared—

- 9th. John de Baliol, Lord of Galloway.
- 10th. John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch (Black John Cumyn).

John Cumyn, Regent, gave in a pedigree, claiming the crown by descent from Donaldbain, but withdrew in favour of John Baliol.

PEDIGREE.

John Cumyn, brother and heir to
 William Cumyn, son and heir to
 John Cumyn, son and heir to
 William Cumyn, son and heir to
 Hextilda, daughter and heir to
 Beatrix or Bethoc, daughter and heir to
 Donaldbain, King of Scotland.

Eric, King of Norway, also put in a claim as heir to his daughter, “*Queen Margaret*.”

Edward hastened to adjust the preliminaries of his decision. It was unanimously agreed that “*Baliol and Cumyn*,” for themselves and for the competitors who approved of their list, should name “*forty commissioners*.”

That “*Bruce*,” for himself and those who approved of his list, should also name “*forty commissioners*.”

That to these Edward should add “twenty-four,” or a greater or less number

at his option, and that these commissioners should examine the case, and make their report to Edward.

June 4. All the commissioners agreed that seizin of the kingdom of Scotland and its fortresses should be delivered to Edward, because "judgment could not be without execution," nor execution without possession of "the subject of award."

The regents then made a solemn surrender of the kingdom into the hands of Edward, who immediately restored the custody thereof into the hands of Fraser, Bishop of St Andrews; Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow; John Cumyn (the black), Lord of Badenoch; and James, High Steward of Scotland.

June 11. By command of Edward, the regents appointed "Alan St Edmonds," Bishop of Caithness, an Englishman, chancellor, and gave him "Walter of Agmodsham," as an associate.

June 12. Gilbert de Umphraville, Earl of Angus, who held the castles of Dundee and Forfar, on being called upon to yield them up, replied that he had received them in charge from the Scottish nation, and would not surrender them to Edward, unless *all* the competitors joined in an obligation to indemnify him; a condition to which Edward and *all* the competitors had to submit.

June 15. Edward appointed "Bryan Fitz Alan" to be joined in commission with the Scottish regents; all of whom, with Bruce, Baliol, and many of the principal barons, swore fealty to Edward.

The peace of the king as lord paramount was then proclaimed, and the assembly adjourned till AUGUST 6th. Edward sent copies of the proceedings to different monasteries in England, and ordered them to be engrossed in their chronicles.*

The Scottish commissioners heard parties and made a report to Edward, who, by the advice of said commissioners, prelates, and nobles of both kingdoms, ordered the claims of Bruce and Baliol to be first heard; and although the claims of the other competitors were reserved, this preliminary judgment did in effect determine that the crown should belong to the descendants of David Earl of Huntingdon.

Edward required the commissioners to make oath that they would faithfully advise him by what laws and usages the question ought to be determined.

They unanimously answered that, in this case, arduous and without example, *they could not* advise him; for that they themselves differed in opinion as to the laws and usages of Scotland, and therefore they requested the assistance of the English commissioners.

Oct. 15, 1292. Edward appointed a Parliament to assemble at Berwick, meanwhile desiring all persons who were to be present of both kingdoms to study the case and

* Edward took a short tour as far as Perth in July.—Rapin and Brady's 'History of England.'

consider what ought to be done. He also declared that he should consult the learned in foreign parts. (Fordun asserts that he had already done so, and reports the case, which is ill put, and the answers irreconcilable.)

At Berwick, Bruce and Baliol demanded a further hearing. Bruce pleaded *first*, "That Alexander II., despairing of heirs of his own, had declared that he held 'Bruce' to be his rightful heir, as might be proved by the testimony of persons still alive; Alexander II. having made this declaration by the advice and in the presence of the '*goodmen*' of his kingdom." *Secondly*, "That the governors and people of Scotland, having taken an oath to maintain the succession of the nearest in blood to Alexander III., he ought in right to inherit after Margaret of Norway."

Baliol responded, "That nothing could be concluded from the acknowledgment of Alexander II., as he did leave heirs by his second marriage."

Baliol made no answer to the oath taken by the Scottish nation to maintain the succession of the 'next in blood.'"

Other arguments and answers ensued.

Edward decreed that Bruce should take "nothing in the competition with Baliol." Nov. 6,
1292.

John de Hastings then claimed "one-third of the kingdom of Scotland," in right of his mother "*Ada*," younger sister of Margaret and Isabel. Bruce afterwards joined with him in demanding a "third"—reserving to Baliol, as descended from the eldest sister, "the name of king and the royal dignity."

These claims being rejected, and all others withdrawn, Edward pronounced Nov. 19. his decree, that "John Baliol shall have the seizin of the kingdom of Scotland."

Baliol was charged to be studious of doing justice to his people. Should he fail in this, the interposition of Edward as "lord paramount" was threatened.

At the same time the Great Seal used by the regents was broken, and its fragments deposited in the treasury of England, "in testimony to future ages of England's right of superiority over Scotland."

It seems to us in the present day very strange that the insidious policy of Edward should have been so successful, and that Scotland so tamely submitted to be robbed of the independence for which she had so often successfully contended; but it must be remembered that the principal competitors were English barons, holding large estates from Edward, as the representatives in the female line of the Earls of Chester and Huntingdon, besides their own paternal inheritances.

The son of the Regent, "John Cumyn," was married to the sister, and eventually the co-heir, of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, first cousin of Edward; a marriage probably arranged to secure the support of the Cumyn

party. Had any *one* of these competitors rebelled against Edward's assumption of superiority, he would most certainly have forfeited all chance of success, besides placing his English possessions in jeopardy.

Besides this, the late negotiations for the marriage of the young queen with the heir-apparent of England had nearly placed Edward in the position of guardian of the realm. For more than a century after 1189, there had been no national quarrel, no national war, between the two countries. Indeed, by inter-marriages, and the acquisition of landed estates, they had become *one* as much as two nations under different rulers can become so. Richard Cœur de Lion, a generous prince, renounced the claim for homage extorted from William the Lion when in captivity, and ever after they were faithful allies. King William, and Alexander II., his son, both assisted the English loyalists against the tyranny of King John; but when his son Henry came to the throne, Alexander took his sister Johanna for his queen, and his son and successor, Alexander III., married the daughter of Henry (sister of Edward I.) It was not, therefore, wonderful that, on the death of his grandniece, the infant queen, Edward should be chosen as the most fitting arbiter to decide amongst so many competitors for the vacant throne.

Had he done so in good faith, and not attempted to assert unjust claims on his own account, all would have been well for both countries, and much misery and bloodshed would have been avoided.

1292. On the 30th of November, St Andrew's Day, the second year after the death of Queen Margaret, Maiden of Norway, John Baliol was crowned at Scone. John de St John was appointed by Edward to place him on the throne—the Earl of Fife, whose right it was, being a minor. We do not hear that Baliol was *anointed*.

Dec. 26. Baliol did homage to Edward at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Differences soon arose. Amongst others, M'Duff, granduncle of the young Earl of Fife, having seized large portions of the estates after the assassination of the Regent (M'Duff's nephew), Baliol cited him to appear at his first Parliament, where he was tried, convicted, and punished by a short imprisonment, at the instance of the Bishop of St Andrews, guardian of the young earl. On regaining his liberty he appealed to Edward, and Baliol was summoned to appear before the Parliament of England.

1293.

Baliol went to Edward's court, but declared that in everything relating to the affairs of his kingdom he was not at liberty to speak without the advice of his people.

This was considered an act of contempt and disobedience towards his liege lord; and whilst M'Duff was ordered to be recompensed at the expense of the King of Scotland, it was decreed that the latter should lose, as the penalty

of his contumacy, "*three of his principal fortresses.*" Baliol refused to make any defence, and so returned home, concealing his resentment.

At this time a war broke out between England and France. Edward was a vassal of the King of France for the Duchy of Aquitaine. A slight quarrel amongst some seamen, about the filling of some water-casks near Bayonne, wherein a French soldier was killed, resulted in a fierce encounter between an English fleet and some French merchantmen, in which the latter were plundered. Philip demanded instant satisfaction. Edward proposed to investigate the case by commissioners; but Philip, exerting his right as lord superior, proudly summoned Edward to appear in *his* court in Paris, and there to answer as his vassal for the injuries committed.

This order being, of course, unheeded, Philip pronounced the English king contumacious, and seized his territories in France.

King Edward thereupon wrote to King John, and to various of the chieft men in Scotland, for their assistance against France.* Instead of obeying Edward's summons, they assembled a Parliament at Scone, and prepared to resist his power with the hoped-for assistance of France. They renewed their league with Philip le Bel, who agreed to give his niece, the eldest daughter of Charles Count of Anjou, in marriage to Edward Baliol, eldest son and heir of the King of Scotland.

But Edward, finding that troubles menaced him both in Wales and Scotland, sent his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, to settle the dispute with Philip, which he succeeded in doing through the mediation of the two queens of France, for a time, so that he was enabled to turn his assembled forces towards the north.

But the Scots beat off and disabled his fleet, and obliged them to give up the assault which they had commenced upon Berwick. They also sent an army of 4000 foot and 500 horse, under the command of John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, aided by the Earls of Athol, Ross, and Marr, and John Cumyn, yr. of Badenoch, to invade Cumberland and take Carlisle by storm. In this, however, they did not succeed, and had to retreat.

Meanwhile Edward, with an army as numerous and under better control, invaded the eastern border. Accompanied by "Beck," the warlike Bishop of Durham, and joined (Abercromby says) by the Bruces, he crossed the Tweed at Norham, and soon carried the *town* of Berwick by assault, and on Good Friday put the peaceful inhabitants to the sword, including a colony of Flem-

* Amongst the Scottish nobles summoned "to perform military service in France in person against the King of France, and in parts beyond the seas," were the Earls of Buchan, Ross, Athol, and Marr, and John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, all of whom were ordered to assemble at Portsmouth on the 1st of September 1295; but by a second writ postponed till the morrow of St Michael, or the 30th of the same month.—'Alphabetical Digest of Parliamentary Writs,' l. i. p. 810.

ings, who held a factory there—a strong building called “The Red House,” which by their charter they were bound to defend against the English.—Hemingsford, &c.

Baliol, by the advice of his Parliament, now made a solemn renunciation of the allegiance which he had sworn to Edward. The reasons assigned were:—

1st. That Edward had wantonly, and upon slight suggestions, summoned Baliol to his courts.

2d. That he had seized his English estates.

3d. That he had seized his goods, and the goods of his people.

4th. That he had forcibly carried off and still detained certain natives of Scotland.

He added, that when he made remonstrances, Edward, instead of redressing, continually aggravated the injuries, and now had invaded Scotland, wasting the country with fire and sword.

April 5. Henry, Abbot of Aberbrothoc, and three of his monks, delivered this instrument to Edward at Berwick, where he remained for some time throwing up new fortifications.

1296. Edward received it with angry contempt, exclaiming, “Ha, ce fol felon ! quel folie fait il ! S’il ne vult venir à nous, nous viendrons à lui.”

Scotland was at this time divided into three factions. At the head of the most powerful of these was “John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan,” who, with eleven other nobles, had taken the government into their own hands, and detained Baliol in a stronghold in the Highlands, lest his facile disposition should induce him to sacrifice the honour and interests of the nation.

But the treatment to which he was thus subjected raised up a second party in *his* favour.

The third and most powerful party, next to the Cumyns, comprised Bruce, Earl of Carrick (father of the king), the Earls of March, Angus, &c. &c.

By order of the self-constituted regents a decree was set forth in Baliol’s name, by which all Englishmen holding property in Scotland were dispossessed, neutrals being included in this forfeiture.

This decree was principally aimed against the rival house of Bruce ; and in consequence of it John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, obtained a grant of Annandale, whose Lord, “Robert Bruce,” father of the jeune Earl of Carrick, the future king, was then with Edward at the head of his retainers.

It was about this time that Bruce (le viel Counte) is said to have reminded Edward of his promise of placing *him* upon the throne, in case of Baliol’s failure. “Ne avons nous autre chose à faire, que à vous Réaumys gagner,” was the reply of the haughty monarch ; after which Bruce retired to his estates in England, and took no part in Edward’s further proceedings in the north.

Whilst Edward was at Berwick he heard of the surrender of the Castle of Dunbar into the hands of the Scots. Patrick, eighth Earl of Dunbar and March, was in the English interest, and was at that moment serving in Edward's army. The Castle of Dunbar, from its situation and strength one of the most important in Scotland, was held for Edward; but the Countess "Bridget," a daughter of Alexander, and sister of John Earl of Buchan, who resided there during her husband's absence, took the opportunity of transferring the stronghold to the chiefs of his family. The Earls of Ross, Athol, and Menteith—the barons, John Cumyn, jun., William St Clair, Richard Siward, and John Mowbray, with thirty-two knights and a strong power—threw themselves into the castle, and, with the assistance of the countess, easily expelled the few soldiers who remained favourable to England. Edward, on hearing this, immediately despatched Warenne Earl of Surrey, with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse, to lay siege to it. When summoned by Surrey to surrender, the garrison agreed to do so if not relieved within three days—for the Earl of Buchan, they were aware, was at hand with 40,000 infantry and 1500 cavalry. This army occupied the heights of Spott; but fancying that they perceived some confusion amongst the ranks of the English as they defiled through the glen of Oswalden, they descended from their almost unassailable position to attack them. They met, however, a steady and well-disciplined army, which after a short resistance totally routed them, and pursued those who took flight as far as the Selkirk Forest, a distance of twenty miles. A great multitude of prisoners were made, including the principal of the Scottish nobility.

Ten thousand men, along with the valiant Sir Patrick de Graham, who disdained to ask for quarter, were slain upon the field. Next day, the King of England coming in person with the rest of his army before Dunbar, the castle surrendered at discretion. 1296.

The Earls of Athol, Ross, and Menteith, with four barons, seventy knights, and many brave esquires, submitted to the conqueror, and were sent in *fettlers*, to be kept in close confinement in English or Welsh castles. After some time, Edward allowed or compelled them to attend him in his wars with France, but not until they had delivered their sons or heirs into his hands as hostages.

"James, Lord High Steward," yielded up the Castle of Roxburgh, and May 13. abjured the French alliance. He also prevailed upon many others of the nobility to give up the struggle, which seemed desperate.

Ingrum de Umphraville was then induced to deliver up Dumbarton, giving his two daughters, Eva and Isabel, as hostages. Edinburgh Castle was taken after a siege of eight days.

Robert de Brus, le jeune ("Earl of Carrick," since the death of his mother

in 1292), was employed at that time by Edward to "receive back into his peace" the inhabitants of Annandale and Carrick, his own domains, which had been seized by Baliol and the Cumyns. His grandfather, "Robert de Brus," first competitor, had died at Lochmaben on Good Friday, 1295 (ætat. 85), one year before the taking of Berwick, and John Cumyn had taken possession of Annandale.

His father, the elder earl, after the death of his countess "Marjorie," having resigned the earldom of Carrick in favour of his son (ætat. 17), resided principally on his English estates in Essex, Hertford, Middlesex, &c., and dying there in 1304, was buried at Holm-Cultram.

Thus Scotland was deprived of all the leading men of both factions, and when Edward marched to Stirling he found it deserted. There he was joined by Richard Earl of Ulster, with an army of 30,000 foot and 400 horse, from Ireland.

NOTE.—On the battle of Dunbar and surrender of the castle, Tytler says: "The Earls of Ross, Athol, and Menteith—the barons, John Cumyn, jun. (of Badenoch), William St Clair, Richard Siward, and John Mowbray, with thirty-two knights—threw themselves into the castle at the instance of the countess, daughter of Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan. These chiefs were all near connections of the Cumyns."

"The second Erl of Ross," says an old chronicle, "was callit '*William Ross*,' and was *goodson* to the Earl of Buchan. He lieved twenty-four years, and diet at 'Erllis Allane.'

"The third Erl was William Ross, wha mariet the king's sister, Mauld, to his second wife, A.D. 1316.

"The fourth was callit Hew Ross, son to the said Mauld."

It was William the third Earl who was taken prisoner at Dunbar. He regained his lands and liberty by becoming liegeman to Edward, and in 1306 gave up the wife and sister of Robert Bruce, who had taken refuge at St Duthæ's sanctuary in Tain, to the English; but being reconciled to Bruce at Auldearn in 1308, he afterwards married his sister "Matilda"—probably in 1316, when he had a charter from the king "apud Aberbrothoc," quinto die Dec. ann. reg. 10.

The Earl of Athole was John of Strathbolgie. His mother was Maude de Dovor, daughter of Richard, son nat. of King John. He was called Edward's cousin; and in after days, when he became the partisan and brother-in-law of Robert Bruce—having married "Isabel," widow of Randolph—and was taken prisoner at Kildrummie with Niel, the Bruce, in 1306, he was by Edward's orders honoured with a gallows fifty feet higher than his companions in regard of his cousinship. His son, David de Strathbolgie, was made High Constable of Scotland by his uncle King Robert in 1307, but became a traitor

on his marriage with Joane Cumyn, co-heiress of Badenoch and of Aymer de Valence ;—showing, in all these instances, how marriage alliances swayed, or were swayed by, the politics of the day.

The Earl of Menteith taken at Dunbar was Walter Stewart, who obtained the earldom on the death of Walter Cumyn, A.D. 1285, they having married the *two* daughters of Maurice or Maureitius, third earl.

1258

Walter Stewart was the third son of Walter the High Steward, but with the title of Earl of Menteith he assumed the *name* also, retaining, however, the paternal coat, altering the fess-check for a bend, for a difference. Alexander and *Sir John* Menteith were also taken prisoners at Dunbar. Sir John became the betrayer of Wallace.

Sir John Cumyn of Badenoch, jun. (the Red Cumyn, No. 2), with his uncles Alexander and Sir Robert, and their sons, were also taken. Edward ordered 200 merks to be assigned to *Johanna*, wife of John Cumyn, and 30 merks to *Eva*, wife of Alexander Cumyn of Badenoch, his uncle. Johanna was Edward's first cousin.

Richard Siward was the husband or *son* of one of the four daughters of the Red Cumyn, No. 1.

John de Mowbray was the son of another of these sisters. "In all Scotland was not there sa faire a man as this John."—Wynton.

Ingrum de Umphraville was the son of *Agnes*, another daughter of Alexander Earl of Buchan, and sister of Bridget Countess of Dunbar and March.

Edward entered St Johnstown (Perth) on St John's Day, and remained three days to feast his friends, create new knights, and celebrate his successes, before seeking the unfortunate Baliol further north.

In the midst of these festivities messengers arrived announcing his submission and imploring peace. They were haughtily informed that Baliol must appear at Brechin, and there learn the will of his liege lord and master. The place of Baliol's retreat never has been exactly noted ; but it is supposed to have been a royal castle at Kincardine in the Mearns, at which Edward rested a night on the 2d of July following.

June 24th, Edward left Perth. On the 26th he was at Cluny Castle ; July 4th at Forfar ; and on the 7th at Montrose, where he remained till the 11th, sleeping at various castles by the way. Meanwhile Baliol began his doleful progress towards Brechin, where "Beck," Bishop of Durham, was authorised to announce to him the determination of his "*lord superior*." No mention is made of Edward's presence at Brechin, and it is supposed that Baliol was afterwards conducted to him eight miles further, to Montrose.

He was met at Strathcathro, about four miles from Brechin, by the Bishops

of Durham and Hereford, and Sir Hugh le Despencer; and in their presence, and that of John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, his brother-in-law, and of the Earl of Buchan (also John Cumyn), he tendered his submission, and at the same time was made to renounce, "in behalf of himself and of his son Edward, and in the name of *the people of Scotland*, all confederacies with France against the King of England.

This was done on the 7th of July, in the churchyard of Strathcathro, where he appeared, holding in his hand a white rod (as a symbol, Palgrave thinks, of the surrender of his kingdom, according to the forms of Anglo-Saxon law still observed in delivering up copyholds in England). This was followed by the actual surrender of his sovereignty at Brechin Castle on the 10th of July, after which he was conducted to the presence of the invader, and then publicly divested of his robes, at the same time delivering up his son Edward into the king's hands. They were both sent to the Tower of London, where they remained for some years, but not as close prisoners.

The renunciation of the French alliance must have taken place before Baliol's abdication, otherwise it would have been of none effect, either as regarded his son or the people of Scotland. Yet some authors assert that Baliol's resignation took place on the 2d of July.* Probably the deed may then have been prepared and presented to him, but it was not signed and sealed until the 10th of that month at Brechin, when it was signed "John Baliol," and witnessed by "John Cumyn" of Badenoch, sen., and Alexander Kennedy, clerk, late chancellor. The Great Seal was affixed to this instrument, after which *last* act, this important symbol of Scottish independence was broken, and the pieces deposited in the treasury of England.

Baldred Bisset, the Scottish envoy at Rome, asserted that Baliol made no such resignation, but that Edward forged the instrument, and appended to it the Great Seal of Scotland.

Thus ended the disastrous reign of John Baliol, although William Wallace afterwards held the greater part of Scotland in his name for a time. The period of his actual reign was three years, seven months, and two days.

Edward now held the kingdom as a fief, as he asserted, reverting to its suzerain.

July
1296.

Edward now marched northwards as far as Elgin, his object being to visit the country where the power of the Cumyns was paramount, and to ascertain if any dared to dispute his authority.

The Bishop of Durham, with his squadron of horse, preceded Edward on the march, and formed the advanced-guard of the royal army.

The consecrated banner of St Cuthbert, and that of St John of Beverley, were carried before them, and regarded with superstitious veneration by the

soldiery. The former, of crimson velvet embroidered with gold and green silks, had in its centre a square of white velvet, between the double folds of which was preserved the cloth which St Cuthbert used, to cover the chalice when he said mass. Both of these banners were borne by monks, with the promise of the first benefice of 20 merks per annum that should fall vacant in Scotland.

The retinue attending on the person of the bishop consisted of 26 standard-bearers, and 140 knights from his palatinate.—H. Hutchieson, 'History of Durham.'

In the British Museum and elsewhere there are several diaries or copies of a diary of Edward's progress through Scotland which have been printed, but the names assigned to the places are not easily to be understood, being written in a sort of phonetic monkish French or Latin—"la cité d'Eign," for instance, standing for Elgin.

On the 11th of July Edward rested at "Kincardine in the Mearns," thence he crossed the hills of Glenbervie to Aberdeen, where a great number of barons and knights did homage, or "came to his peace," as it was called. It was there that he received the news of the death of his brother Edmund Duke of Lancaster, engaged in the wars in Gascony; and the 18th of July was set apart for religious services on his account.

On the 20th of July the army marched to Kintore, which had been a king's burgh as early as the days of William the Lion. (The Castle of Hall Forest was afterwards built there by Robert Bruce, and occupied as a hunting-seat by his successors.)

Fyvie Castle was their next station, also a royal castle, with a royal burgh attached to it, of which no trace now remains. A richly-endowed priory also stood on the north side of the Ythan.

Edward himself, attended by some knights, appears to have made a detour by the peel or fortalice of Lumphanan, celebrated as the place where Macbeth was slain by M'Duff, Thane of Fife, in 1056.

At Lumphanan, on the 21st of July, he renewed the fealty of Sir John de Maleville ("Melville").

Through Turriff, where there was an establishment of Knight-Templars, he passed to the "*Castle of Kinedar*,"* the principal seat of the Earl of Buchan, and reached Banff, where he rejoined his army on the 22d. At the royal castle there he received the fealty of Sir Thomas de Torthorald, Lord of that Ilk, in Dumfriesshire.

* It is a mistake to suppose that this castle and parish were so called after King Edward. As early as the beginning of the thirteenth century the name was well known as "Kinedar or Kinedart, which signifies "*The head of the valley*."

23d. Through the forest of Boyne he reached Invercullen, where he took up his quarters at the manor-house.*

24th. Leaving Cullen he moved forward to the Spey. The forest of Enzie, on the Spey, was one of the principal royal forests in the north. Passing the Spey at Bellie (?), he encamped there for the night.

Being now in the province of Moray, Edward's route was along the "Via Regia," which extended through the low country from *Spey* to *Ness*.

On the 26th of July Edward passed the priory of Urquhart, founded in 1125 by David I., also the manor of Lhanbride, and, crossing the burn of Linkwood, entered "la cité d'Eign" (Elgin), "bon chastel et bonne ville," where he tarried two days.

At Elgin "Robert Wishart," Bishop of Glasgow, performed the ceremony of doing homage to Edward, and of abjuring the French alliance. This bishop was considered one of the most able statesmen of the age. He had been a regent, and was engaged in all the negotiations of the disputed succession to the throne. He was one of the first to join Robert Bruce, and crowned him at Scone in 1306. Sir Reginald de Chen was in attendance, as sheriff of the county, to deliver up the keys of the castle on Lady Hill.

Alexander, styled "the noble Lord the Earl of Menteith," who, with his brother, "Sir John Menteith," had been made prisoner at Dunbar (but *not*, it appears, sent with the others to an English prison), came to the faith and will of the King of England, uninfluenced, it is said, by force or fear, and acting by his own free will and accord.

Sir Nicholas and Sir Thomas de Soulis also came to take the oath of fealty. They descended from Ranulph de Soulis of Northamptonshire, who came with David I. into Scotland, and obtained from him the lands of Liddesdale and Teviotdale. Sir Nicholas had been a competitor in 1292, as descended from "Marjorie," daughter of Alexander II. They were also connected by marriage with the Cumyns.

Sir Gervaise de Raite, too, was there. He was Sir Gervaise Cumyn of Raite, in the county of Nairn, a castle which his family held until 1404, when one of them, having killed Andrew Thane of Calder, they left that country and settled in the Mearns.

Sir Alexander of Argyle (or "Alaister of Ergadia"), chief of the M'Dougals of Lorn (married to the thyrd dochter of the Red Cumyn), with Alexander, brother's son of the Black Cumyn, first competitor, were there, and many others, who then took their oaths of fealty.

* Some small remains of the old manor-house of Cullen still exist on a mount opposite the present castle. "Elizabeth" de Burgh, consort of King Robert Bruce, died there in October 1327.

Edward, having come thus far north to subdue the strong faction of the Cumyns, but finding no resistance offered to him, left garrisons of English soldiers in all the castles, under the charge, for a time, of Sir Reginald le Chey, and deputing the Earl of Sutherland to receive the submission of the Earl of Caithness, determined to return by another route to the south. 29th.

On Sunday, the 29th of July, Edward left Elgin.

The banner of St Cuthbert was borne before him under the escort of the Bishop of Durham.

Passing through the forest of Langmorn,* which extended to Rothés, he took up his quarters in the ancient castle or manor-house thereof, where Sir Norman Leslie made his submission. From Rothés Edward sent out parties in all directions to scour the country. Sir John de Cantelupe, Sir Hugh le Despenser, and Sir John de Hastings (one of the competitors of 1292, of whom it was said that, "as in the field of battle he was bold and impetuous, so in the hall he was gentle and *débonnaire*, and that no justice in Eyre was more upright in his judgments"), were sent "to serche the country of Badnasshe" (Badenoch), whilst the Bishop of Durham and his train were sent "over the mountaynes" by another way. Badenoch was the domain of "John the Black Cumyn," Baliol's brother-in-law, a regent and competitor in 1292. No mention is made of him after Baliol's abdication, to which his name is appended as a witness, until his death at his castle of Lochandorb in 1299. His son, "Red John Cumyn," with Alexander and Sir Robert, his uncles, had been taken prisoners at Dunbar, and sent to England.

The Castle of Ruthven† was the principal residence of the Cumyns in Badenoch. Thither the reconnoitring party proceeded, visiting by the way the castles of Lochandorb, Loch-an-eilan, and the residence of "Augustin," Lord of Inverallan (supposed to be a fortalice on the site of Castle Grant, where the Cumyn Tower still exists).

On leaving Rothés‡ Edward's army crossed the Spey near Arndilly, and 30th.

* "Langmorn or Laundmorgund." The name is derived from St Morgund, the site of whose chapel is still to be seen.

† The Castle of Ruthven, with its keep, its hall, wardrobe-room, and chapel, is alluded to in a document in the register of Moray in 1390. According to Shaw, in his 'History of Moray,' who saw the remains of this stronghold in the early part of the last century, the outer walls were nine feet thick, and had an arched gateway that led into a court, with two towers at the angles on the north side.

‡ Rothés was possessed by Sir Norman Leslie in right of his wife. Peter de Pollock, Lord of Rothés, was witness to charters, granted by *William the Lion* to Richard Bishop of Moray, and the monks of Kinloss, in 1189-98. His daughter, "Muriel," married Walter de Mortlach. Their daughter, "*Eva*," married a knight of the name of Watson, whose daughter, also heiress of Rothés, married in 1286 Sir Norman Lesly, of the Leslies of the Garrioch. From them lineally descend "The Leslies, Earls of Rothés."

took its route by the Castle of Galval and the valley of the Fiddich to Balvenie and Mortlach (famed as the scene of the famous victory of Malcolm II. over the Danes in 1010). Thence by the Castle of Auchindown, and through the pass called "The Glacks of Balloch," to the haughs of Invercarron, where three streams—the Carach, the Blackwater, and the Rooster—join to form the Deveron.

31st. 31st. Crossing the Rooster, the army entered the district called the High Cabrach, and proceeded by the road which leads to Clova,* on the south side, and thence to Kildrummie,† where Edward halted. Gratney, Earl of Marr, was lord of the castle at that date. He had succeeded his father "Donald" in 1294, and was married to the Lady Christian Bruce, daughter to the Earl of Carrick and sister to King Robert.

Aug. 1, 1296. August 1st, St Peter's Day. Edward remained at Kildrummie, where he was joined by the Bishop of Durham, who had been reconnoitring the domain of the Earl of Athol (Strathbolgie). On the 2d they left Kildrummie for Kincardine O'Neil, and were on the 4th in the Mearns, which route was then the direct "king's highway," or south road from Elgin, over the "Cairn a' Mounte."‡ For eight milès the road was paved.

Edward proceeded, *viâ* Brechin, to the Abbey of Arbroath, where he halted on Sunday, August the 5th. Thence by Dundee and Baligarny, the castle of Sir Robert de Chaumbron, in the Carse of Gowrie.

Edward was in Perth, where the force he had despatched from Rothes, through Badenoch, rejoined him.

8th. He visited Scone, and ransacking its archives, and mutilating many of the records he found there, he carried away the regalia, and the stone seat upon which the kings of Scotland had been placed to receive the homage of their subjects after coronation since the days of Fergus.§—See Alexander III.

This relic was sent to Westminster, where it still forms part of the throne on which the sovereigns of the realm (Margaret's heirs) are enthroned.

* Clova is mentioned towards the end of the fourteenth century as an extensive pine-forest. A portion of it was granted by Robert II. to William Earl of Douglas.

† Described as Kyndroken Castle, belonging to "*Therle of Marre*." It furnishes one of the best specimens of a baronial castle of the thirteenth century in the north of Scotland. "Christian the Bruce" was three times married:—1st, to Sir Christopher Seton; 2dly, to Gratney, Earl of Marr; 3dly, to Sir Andrew Moray.

‡ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to "gang o'er the Mounte" meant to cross the Grampians; but Dr Jamieson says the phrase was more particularly used with respect to *one pass* called "The Cairn a' Mounte," which was considered the *great* highway between the north and south of Scotland.—See Jamieson's Dictionary.

§ The removal of this seat, according to the "Chronicle of Robert de Brienne," had been predicted by Merlin, and it is believed that Edward was aware of the prediction, and anxious to become the instrument of fulfilling it.

After leaving Scone, Edward marched by the Abbey of Lindores, Markinch, Dunfermline, Stirling, and Linlithgow, to Edinburgh, and thence by Haddington, Coldingham, &c., to Berwick, where he arrived on the 22d of August.

In obedience to writs, which had been issued in the north of Scotland, the Parliament assembled at Berwick on the 29th of August 1296. There, attended by the Earls of Surrey, Norfolk, and Westminster, and by Sir John de Hastings, Sir Walter de Huntercombe, and other barons and knights, Edward received the submission, fealty, and homage of the nobility and clergy of Scotland, and had their names drawn up in a roll called "Ragman Roll."

John de Warrenne,* Earl of Surrey, was appointed Governor of Scotland; Hugh de Cressingham, Treasurer; and William Ormsby, Justiciary; and all things being settled in a state of apparent tranquillity, Edward returned to England.

"King Edward past, and Cospatrick † to Scone,
And there he got homage of Scotland soon.
For none was left the realme for to defend;
For John Baliol to Montrose then he send,
And put him down for ever off this kingryk.
Then Edward's self was called '*A Roy full rye,*'
The crown he took upon the self-same stain
That Gadales sent with his son from Spain,
When '*Iber Scot*' first into Ireland came.
At Canmore, syne, King Fergus has it won,
Broucht it to Scone, and stable made it thair,
Where kings were crowned eight hundred years and mair.
Before that time that King Edward it fand,
This jewel he gart turse into England.
In London it set, in witness of this thing,
By conquest, then, of Scotland, called him King.
'Where that stone is, Scots aye should masters be,'
God chuse the time, for '*Margaret's heirs*' to see!
Seven score they led, of greatest that they fand
Of heirs, and Bruce with them, out of Scotland.
Edward gave *him* his father's heritage,
But he thought aye to hold him in thirlage.
Both '*Blatach Marr*' was his, and Huntingtoun
To Earl Patrick they gave full great gardoun," &c., &c.—
From '*Blind Harry*,' book i. chap. iv.

* John Plantagenet, or de Warrenne (ætat. 5), succeeded his father, William Plantagenet, or de Warrenne, as Earl of Surrey, A.D. 1240. His sister, "Isabel," was the wife of John Baliol, King of Scotland, in 1292-6; and the mother of Edward and Henry de Baliol, "Alianore," married Henry, Lord Percie, 1272. John Plantagenet, grandson and heir of the Earl of Surrey, was Earl of Strathearn, in Scotland, 2d March, A.D. 1334, by gift of his cousin Edward Baliol, and of Malise Earl of Strathearn, whose eldest daughter, "Johanna," he married. He died A.D. 1347, s.p., leaving "Alice," his sister, wife of Edmund, Earl of Arundel, his heir.

† Cospatrick (Comes Patrick), "Earl of Dunbar et les Marches d'Ecosse," who was always with Edward, although his countess and her clan opposed him.



This tranquillity, however, was of short duration. Earl Warrenne, the Governor, took up his abode in the north of England for the recovery of his health. Cressingham, the Treasurer, was a voluptuous, selfish ecclesiastic, proud, ignorant, and opinionative. Ormsby, the Justiciary, grew odious to the nation by his rigour in exacting the oath of fealty, and his severity to the recusants.

All "Margaret's heirs," the competitors, and their families, were carried off by Edward to England, either as prisoners or hostages; and most of the earls and barons who remained in Scotland were sold to him, as we see was the case with Cospatrick; but the middle class, and even the followers of the great chiefs, still cherished the hope of expelling the invader, and recovering the national liberty.

At this critical moment *Wallace* arose.

The younger son of Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, who had married the "daughter fair" of Sir Ranald Crauford, Sheriff of Ayr, by whom he had two sons,

Sir Malcolm and William Wallace.

"Scotland was lost when he was but a child."

His father fled into the Lennox, taking with him his eldest son. His mother fled with William from Ellerslie to her father, who sent them to *his* uncle at "Kilspindie in Gowrie," near Dundee, to which place William Wallace went to school. There he remained till he was eighteen years of age, mourning over the wrongs of his country and the loss of "many of his good kin," until one day, in Dundee, he was rudely accosted by the son of the English governor "Selby," who, seeing him dressed in a goodly suit of green, asked how he dared to wear "so gay a weed"? and sought to take his knife from him. Wallace caught him fast by the collar, and, pulling forth his knife with the other hand, "stiket him to the dead, for all his men that 'sembled round him."

Wallace then escaped, aided by the crowd, and a good woman gave him a russet gown and "a rock to spin at" till the search was past. At night he sought his mother, and, disguised as pilgrims, they wandered across the Ochils to "St Margaret's shrine" at Dunfermline. Thence they crossed the Firth to Linlithgow, and afterwards sought Dunipace, where an uncle dwelt, *Wallace* by name, a mighty "person"* and a man of great riches.—See Airth Castle.

Not long they tarried there, but to Ellerslie came again, when the Lady Wallace sent for her brother, Sir Ranald Crawford, now Sheriff of Ayr; for her father was dead, and her husband and eldest son had been killed at Loudon Hill fighting against the English.

Sir Ranald came, welcomed them home, "and speired for their intent." She begged him to get for them the protection of Lord Henry Percie, as she was

* "Person" in those days stood for Parson or Priest.

"irk of war," and could no further flee. This Sir Ranald did ; but "in that respite Wallace could not abide," nor did his uncle wish him to remain so much in the eye of the southeron (sheriff as he was), so he sent him to his father's uncle, Sir Walter Wallace of Richardstoun, a wise and courageous knight, but made blind in some encounter with the English.

It was in February that he went to Richardstoun.

On the 23d of April following he went to fish in the Irvine water. He had no one with him but a little boy, and he had left his sword at home. (He never did so again.) He was lucky, and caught a great many fish.

The Lord Percie, who was then governor of Ayr, came riding by towards Glasgow with his train. Five of them, clad in garments green, stopt and asked Wallace for some of his fish (St Martin's fish). He mildly replied, "It were reason ye should have a part ; wealth should be dealt in all place and with free heart," and bid his boy give them some ; but the southerons lighted down and took them *all* from the child. Wallace said, "Gentlemen, if so ye be, leave us a part ; an ancient knight serves our lady to-day. Good friends, leave us a part, and take not *all* away."

They taunted him, and said he should have leave to fish for more. They served a lord, and these fish should flit with them. Wallace answered, "Ye are in the wrong." Upon this a southeron drew his sword, but Wallace, with the fishing-rod he had in his hand, hit him on the cheek, so that he reeled back and the sword flew out of his hand. Wallace caught it, and killed him with it.

They then all gathered round him, but he hit another on the head and cut off the sword-hand of another one, and the two remaining fled after Lord Percie, and "cried him to abide and revenge his men, who were being cruelly martyred here in this false region !" "Five of us," they said, "went to the river for fish ; we are escaped, but three are slain." The lord asked "how many they might be who encountered them ?" "We saw but *one* that has discomfited us all." Then he laughed loud, and said, "By him this day he should not be sought."

But when Wallace returned to his "eme" (uncle), he said that he was sorely grieved, for if this were known, skaith might come of it. "Uncle," he said, "I will no longer bide ; these southeron horse let see if I can ride." He would not take with him his uncle's sons, but silver and gold he received from him, and was kindly told to come and fetch more when he wanted it ; and so he took his leave and began his crusade against the invaders of his country single-handed and alone.

After this, if we may believe Blind Harry, he lost no opportunity of killing Englishmen wherever he met them. At Ayr he was taken prisoner for killing the steward of the Governor, Lord Percie ; and nearly dying there from starva-

tion and neglect, was thrown out over the wall for dead.* His nurse, however, having got leave to take away his body for burial, resuscitated him, and he returned once more to Richardstown, where all his friends gathered to see him.

Sir Richard Wallace had three sons—Adam, Richard, and Symon. Adam was then eighteen years old, “large of person, wise, worthy, and wight.”

“Good King Robert in his time made him a knight.” But he could not long remain with them. A great famine then prevailed in Scotland, and Lord Henry Percie was bringing provisions from Carlisle under a strong convoy of “nine score men-at-arms,” commanded by Fenwick, who had killed Wallace’s father and brother at Loudon Hill in a former fight. There William Wallace now awaited them with a small band of fifty squires and followers. His cousin Adam rode with him, also Robert Boyd, Cleland, Edward Little, his sister’s son, and others who could no longer bear the oppression of the English. Fenwick, one of the Beaumonts, and several other knights, were killed. The convoy was dispersed or destroyed, so that only four score escaped to the Castle of Ayr. Wallace gained possession of all the flour and wine, and stuff of all kinds, intended to supply the Governor and his army, also some ten score of horse that drew the waggons, and the arms and armour of those who fell. Besides this he accomplished what he had most at heart—he revenged the death of his father and brother on the very spot on which they fell.

1297. The patriotic party was soon strengthened by the adhesion of Sir William Douglas and James the Steward, and his brother Sir Andrew Moray of Pettie and Bothwell, with his son and heir Sir Richard Lundin, and Sir Alexander Lindesay.

Robert Bruce, the young Earl of Carrick, would have been a mighty acquisition to this power could he have joined them openly; but his father was still alive, and although all his domains from the Firth of Clyde to the Solway were nominally under the control of his son, still the vassals of Annandale (according to Hemingsford) † refused to join the young Earl of Carrick in revolting from Edward. The wardens of the Western Marches of England, suspecting his fidelity, summoned him to Carlisle, where he was made to swear on the sword

* Thomas the Rymer was then living in Ayr with the minister, and would not believe the report of Wallace’s death :—

“Forsooth, ere his decease,
Many thousand in field shall make their end;
Off this region he shall the southeron send,
And Scotland *thrice* he shall bring to the peace,
So good of hand again shall ne’er be kend.”

† The monks of Gisburne had large possessions in Annandale by gifts from the Bruces. Hemingsford himself was a monk of that monastery, and had means of the best information on all Scottish affairs of the period.

of Thomas à Becket to be faithful and vigilant in Edward's cause ; and " Marjorie," his only child by his first marriage, was given up as a hostage to Sir Henry Percie.

To prove his sincerity, as was supposed, he invaded the territory of Sir William Douglas, and carried off the Lady Douglas and her sons. But perhaps he did this the more willingly that the lady was the unkind stepmother of his friend, " the good Sir James," and his brother Hugh, and a spy upon her husband's actions, being entirely in the interest of England. However this may be, he soon repented of his adhesion to the English party, and said he trusted the Pope would absolve him from an extorted oath. Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, openly supported Wallace, and in the north the rising was general, headed by the younger Sir Andrew Moray, who now was on his father's estates of Pettie and Bocharn. The Earl of Sutherland, who possessed the confidence of Edward, was by him directed to return to Scotland, in order to assist in keeping peace in the northern counties.

De Warrenne, the Governor, now exerted himself to quell the insurrection which he had neglected to prevent. His nephew, Sir Henry Percie, with Sir Robert Clifford, was sent against Wallace with 40,000 infantry and 300 horse. They found the Scots strongly posted at *Irvine*, but disunited, jealous of each other, and especially so of Wallace. Sir Robert Lundin, a chief of some authority amongst them, went over to the English, attempting to justify himself by declaring that he would no longer belong to a party at variance within itself, and some of the other leaders consented to come to terms ; so that a treaty was concluded between them and Sir Henry Percie, by which they obtained a free July 9. pardon, and were allowed to retain their estates on renewing their allegiance to the King of England.

Wallace, to whom the treaty was submitted on the 7th of July, two days before it was signed, indignantly refused to become a party to it. Percie and Sir Aymer de Valence prevailed on Sir Ranald Crauford to go to him and try to persuade him, but all that he would accord to their wishes was, to retire into the north.

The Bishop of Glasgow appears to have been the negotiator of this treaty ; finding that he could not perform all he had promised to the English, he and Sir William Douglas, who acted with him, voluntarily surrendered themselves prisoners. Wallace, ascribing the bishop's conduct to pusillanimity, in the first moment of resentment flew to his house, pillaged it, and led his family captive.

Sir Andrew Moray, senr., of all the barons alone, adhered to Wallace.*

* Sir Andrew Moray's wife was the fourth daughter of the Red Cumyn, No. 1. Their son, the younger Sir Andrew, was the third husband of Christian the Bruce, Countess of Marr.

"Andrew de Murrave" that efter that "wes at the Brig of Strivline slayne." Wynton, his son, "Sir Andrew, junr.," was then in the north raising and training his vassals and the other men of the north. It appears that Wallace and the elder Sir Andrew joined them. They crossed over into Cromarty, where they slew many Englishmen. Then they overran the whole of Buchan, "where" Henry Beaumont* "*was ordained to bide.*" His castle was at Dundarg; and "he tuk the sea at Buchanness," flying from Wallace, often to return and be one of the greatest scourges of the north.

July 31. "Wallace returned again, and came to Aberdeen with his blyth host upon the Lammas e'en." The other dates are not certain. He captured the castles of Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, and was in the act of besieging the castle of Dundee when he received information that the English army, under De Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, and Cressingham, were marching towards Stirling. Leaving the siege of Dundee Castle to the inhabitants of the town and country around, under a good captain, he rode that night to Perth, and next night was on *Sheriff-Muir*.

Edward of England, meanwhile, was preparing for his expedition to France, and actually crossed the Channel to Flanders on the 22d of August.

1297. Before Edward's departure, on the 30th of July, he caused several nobles, who had been prisoners in England since the battle of Dunbar, to be liberated, on finding sureties who should be answerable for their appearance on a certain day to accompany the king to France, each with a certain number of men-at-arms, horse and foot, hoping, by drawing off their followers and adherents, to quench the insurrection at home. Their names were "John Cumyn," Earl of Buchan, Constable of Scotland; Alexander Cumyn of Buchan, his brother (who had two fair daughters—Alice, the eldest, became the wife of Henry de Beaumont); Sir Alexander and Sir Robert Cumyn, of Badenoch, brothers of John Cumyn, sen., of Badenoch; John Cumyn, yr., of Badenoch, Red No. 2, who then became bound to deliver up his son as a hostage; John Cumyn of Kilbride; John, Earl of Athole; John de Menteith, brother of the Earl of Menteith; Richard Siward, late governor of Dunbar; David de Brechin; William Bisset; Richard Lovel; Godefrey and William de Ros; David the son and David the brother of Patrick de Graham; John de Glenurchart; Hugh de Airth; John and Randulph de Graunt, &c., &c.

Of these, Robert de Cumyn (ancestor of Altyre) and John de Strathbolgie

* Dugdale says, "Henry de Beaumont, about 1st Edward II. (1307), took to wife Alice, one of the cousins and co-heirs of John Earl of Buchan, High Constable of Scotland; and in 6th Edward II., doing his homage, had livery of the lands of her inheritance." He appears to have been *in command* of Buchan in Edward I.'s day.

(Earl of Athole) were liberated from Northampton Castle.—‘*Rotuli Scotiæ*,’ vol. i. p. 45. John de Glenurchart and Laurence de Strathbolgie from Windsor; John de Graunt from Gloucester; Alexander de Cumyn and Robert de Graunt from Bristol, &c., &c. Hostages also were demanded. The Earl of Athole, who was a surety, had to deliver up his eldest son; and the *sons* of John, the Red Cumyn, and of Sir Robert his uncle, are also mentioned as being sent to remain in England until the king’s return from France. The lands of these nobles, with the crops upon them, were then restored. Edward had ordered 300 merks of land in Scotland to be assigned to “Johanna,” wife of Sir John Cumyn of Badenoch, sister of Aymer de Valence, and 30 merks to “*Eva*,” wife of Alexander Cumyn of Badenoch, during their husbands’ captivity. John Cumyn, the Red, afterwards obtained from Edward the release of his lands in Badenoch by writ.

Wallace, on reaching the Sheriff-Muir with his army, fixed his quarters on the Abbey Craig, and remained quiet till the 11th of September, when, perceiving the enemy in the act of crossing the Forth, he suddenly emerged, and, attacking them when in a divided position, killed many thousands, besides those who were drowned in seeking to escape. Cressingham, the Treasurer, had urged on this battle against the wishes of De Warrenne, who had been superseded as Governor of Scotland by Edward, and was only awaiting the arrival of his successor, “*Brian Fitz-Allan*.”

Wishing to avoid a general action, Warrenne even sent two friars to the Scottish camp to induce Wallace, if possible, to accept terms, and lay down his arms. “Return,” said Wallace, “and tell your masters that we came not here to treat, but to assert our rights, and to set Scotland free.” “Let them advance, they will find us prepared.”

Upon this Cressingham urged on the fight and led the van. He was one of the first who fell, and all his followers were slain. Those who were spectators of the rout were seized with a panic and fled, abandoning the baggage. Wallace himself pursued the Earl of Surrey to Berwick, and took possession of the town, but De Warrenne had escaped to England.

Thus Scotland once more was free! for the surrender of Dundee and many other strongholds quickly followed the battle of Stirling.

The loss of the gallant and true Sir Andrew Moray was, however, a great blow and affliction to Wallace.

The young Sir Andrew became, immediately upon his father’s death, his associate in command, and soon became his co-regent, Wallace always placing Sir Andrew’s name before his own; but the other nobles were slow in join-

ing them. They had all given hostages to Edward, and many of them, besides, had large estates in England.

The English army at Stirling, according to Hemingsford, consisted of 1000 horsemen and 50,000 foot.—T. 1. p. 127-8. Thirty thousand men are said to have been slain.

Blind Harry says, "Of fighting men, thousands there were sixtie." Then we find the story most circumstantially told of Wallace causing the planks of the Brig of Stirling to be partly sawn through, so that the bridge fell when the greatest press came upon it; and there seems to be no reason why this should be disbelieved by the sceptics of the present day.

Sir Marmaduke Twenge, who led the van of the English army, alone appears to have distinguished himself; and he was left in charge of Stirling Castle by Surrey, who promised to relieve him in ten days.

Surrey, however, as we have seen, fled first to Berwick, and afterwards joined the Prince of Wales in England, leaving Sir Marmaduke to his fate. It appears that "he lived to fight another day;" for we find him, after the battle of Bannockburn, surrendering himself prisoner to his cousin, King Robert Bruce.*

A fortnight after Surrey's defeat, the English Government sent letters to many of the Scottish nobles, praising them for their fidelity, and directing them to join Brian Fitz-Allan, the new Governor, with all their horse and foot, to put down "this new rebellion." Edward being in Flanders, the government was in the hands of "a council of regency," presided over by the Prince of Wales. Sir Adam Gordon was an influential member of the council. He had made his submission at Elgin on the 8th September 1296. The Earl of Sutherland, John the Black Cumyn, and the Earl of Buchan received the thanks of the English Government on the 26th of September for their *past* faithful services, and were further called upon to evince their loyalty by assisting Brian Fitz-Allan, the Lieutenant-Governor.

Wallace also called for levies from counties and towns, but even after the battle of Stirling they came in but slowly, bound as they were to their feudal superiors. A great famine occurred in Scotland at that time; and anxious to follow up his late brilliant achievements, as well as to withdraw as many people as possible from its inroads, he determined to invade the north of England.

The army, which mustered on the Muir of Roslin, marched to the Borders, and entering the English territory, it overran Northumberland and Cumberland and the adjoining Scottish district of Annandale, belonging to Robert de Brus, le viel Count de Carrick, who was opposed to Wallace. The devastation continued from the 18th of October to the 11th of November.

* Sir Marmaduke was the husband of one of the co-heiresses of the Skelton Bruces.

After the troops were satiated with blood and plunder they marched to Carlisle, but finding *it* strongly garrisoned they directed their course to Durham, which was weakly protected, but winter setting in with great severity saved the district from further horrors. Numbers of men having perished from the cold and want of provisions, the commanders were obliged to order a retreat through Northumberland.

The country round Newcastle was pillaged and the spoil divided. The army returned to Scotland at the close of 1297.*

The ravages committed in Cumberland instigated Lord Robert Clifford with the men of Carlisle to invade the district of Annandale, which was given up to plunder. After a great slaughter of the inhabitants by his troops, and the destruction of *ten* villages, the force retired; but they soon returned, sacked and burnt the town of Annan and the church of Gisburne.

This made Bruce desert the English side and join the patriots. A few other barons of eminence repaired to the national standard. Those whose names are recorded were—John Cumyn, yr. of Badenoch; Sir John Stewart of Bonkyll, brother of the High Steward; Sir John Graham of Abercorn; and Macduff, the granduncle of the young Earl of Fife, who had been the first cause of all John Baliol's differences with Edward.

Robert Bruce, with his followers, remained in the Castle of Ayr, which kept open the communication with Galloway, Argyle, and the Isles.

Fordun and others assert that a meeting of the principal nobility was held at this time in the Forest Church of Selkirk, when Wallace was elected "Governor of Scotland." In Crawford's 'History of the House of Douglas' it stated that "the Earl of Lennox and Sir William Douglas were on Wallace's side at this time, and were *present* when he was elected *Governor of Scotland*."—Crawford's MS., p. 22.

Under this title he conferred the constabulary of Dundee on "Alexander," † named "the Skirmisher," and his heirs, for his faithful services in bearing the royal banner of Scotland, "which service he actually performs." Apud Torphichen, 29th March 1298.

This grant bears "per consensum et assensum magnatum dicti regni."

* At this time Wallace granted the famous protection to the prior and convent of Hexcelsham, placing, as usual, Sir Andrew Moray's name before his own—"Andreas de Moravia" et "Willelmus Walays." "Duces exercitus Scotiæ nomine praelari Principis—Domini Johannis Dei gratia Regis Scotiæ illustris de consensu communitates regni ejusdem," &c., &c.

† This Alexander was the descendant of "Alexander de Caron," on whom and his heirs Malcolm III. had conferred the office for his courage in snatching the ensign from unworthy hands, and conducting the army across the Spey in the face of a bold and numerous enemy, stationed on the opposite bank. "The Scrimgeours of Dudhope," hereditary constables of Dundee, were his descendants.

It was at this time that he changed his style to "Willelmus Walays Miles, custos regni Scotiæ, et ductor exercitum ejusdem, &c., &c."—Anderson's 'Diplomata Scotiæ.'

No public record of Wallace's election to this office remains. That he well deserved it is certain, but *how* he obtained it amidst so many contending influences, has yet remained a mystery.

March 14th, 1298, Edward returned from Flanders. He immediately summoned the *Scottish* barons to a Parliament at York, under pain of being considered rebels.

They, however, disobeyed the summons. The English army advanced to the borders. The Scots retired.

A body of English, commanded by Aymer de Valence, landed in Fife. Wallace attacked and routed them.

In June, Edward in person invaded Scotland in great force by the Eastern borders. Dirleton Castle alone held out against him. After a resolute defence it was surrendered to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham. Edward's aim was to penetrate into the west and terminate the war.

He appointed a fleet with provisions to await his arrival in the Firth of Clyde: waiting for accounts of its arrival, he established his headquarters at Temple-liston (Kirkliston), between Edinburgh and Linlithgow.

Here he was placed in a very critical position by an insurrection amongst his soldiers, who, having become intoxicated, quarrelled amongst themselves. The Welsh soldiers slew eighteen English ecclesiastics, and the English horsemen rode in amongst the Welsh and revenged their deaths with great slaughter.

The fleet with provisions had been detained by contrary winds. He could not, therefore, venture to advance, nor could he longer subsist in his present quarters: he therefore commanded his army to retreat to the Eastern border; but jealousy and treachery possessed the leaders in the Scottish camp. Patrick de Dunbar, Earl of March, and Gilbert de Umphraville, Earl of Angus, privately at daybreak sought the Bishop of Durham, and informed him that the Scots were encamped, not far off, in the *Forest of Falkirk*. "*Ecclesbreckie*" was its old name.

Delighted with the intelligence, Edward at once determined to advance against them.

His army lay that night in the fields. Whilst Edward himself slept on the ground, his war-horse struck him and broke two of his ribs, but, with a fortitude of spirit superior to pain, he mounted on horseback and led his troops. At break of day the Scottish army was descried forming on a stony field at the site of a small eminence near Falkirk.

Wallace ranged his infantry in four bodies of a circular form. The archers, commanded by Sir John Stewart of Bonkyll, were placed in the intervals. The horse, not more than 1000 in number, were at some distance in the rear. On their front was a morass.*

Edward put his chief confidence in the formidable body of horse which he had brought with him. He ranged them in three lines: The first led by Hugh Bigod, Earl Mareschall, and the Earls of Lincoln and Hereford; the second, by the Bishop of Durham, and under him Sir Ralph Bisset; the third, intended as a reserve, was commanded by the king himself.

Bigod, at the head of the first division, rushed forward until checked by the morass. This obliged him to incline to the solid ground on his left, towards the right flank of the Scottish army. The Bishop of Durham turned the morass, and advanced towards the left flank.

The shock of the English cavalry on each was violent, and was gallantly withstood by the Scottish infantry; but the cavalry, it is said, dismayed by the numbers and force † of the English men-at-arms, immediately quitted the field! Sir John Stewart, whilst giving orders to his archers, was thrown from his horse and killed. His archers, crowding round his body, were slain with him.

Often did the English try to force the Scottish circle. They could make no impression on that wood of spears. Macduff and Sir John Graham fell. At length, broken by the number and weight of the English cavalry, the Scots gave way, and the rout became universal. In their retreat they burnt the town and castle of Stirling.

Edward took up his quarters in the Black Friars in Stirling until he recovered from the accident he met with the night before the battle. Whilst there he despatched troops across the Forth to lay waste the districts of Menteith, Clackmannan, and Fife, comprising, no doubt, the domains of Macduff—that is, “Rerays and Creych”—the subject of dispute between him and his grand-nephew, the young Earl of Fife, in 1294.

Edward caused the Castle of Stirling to be repaired, and made it a place of arms; he then marched into the west. Bruce, on his approach, burnt the Castle of Ayr, and retired into Carrick. Edward would have pursued him, but

* Having drawn up his army in this order, Wallace said, “I haif brocht you to the ring, hap if ye can;” which very simple exhortation has been distorted by historians into every possible and impossible allusion to fairy-rings, quotations from the *Æneid*, &c., &c., besides which some of them ingeniously turn “Ring” into “King” and make Wallace say, “*hop* or *hope* if you can,” that is to say, “*Fly*.”

† John Cumyn of Badenoch commanded the cavalry. Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March, and Gilbert de Umphraville, Earl of Angus, were nearly connected by marriage with the Cumyns, and of their party in the State; *all* of them jealous of Wallace’s position, and anxious to supersede the shadow of a king, in whose name he governed; it is therefore supposed that the movement was preconcerted.

for want of provisions. He therefore turned into Annandale, took Bruce's castle of Lochmaben, and so departed by the Western marches. Edward held a parliament at Carlisle, where he bestowed the lands of various Scottish lords on his followers; but being in possession of only a small part of them, "hope" was their only tenure.

It does not appear that Bruce, "le jeune counte," afterwards king, took any part in this battle. He held the Castle of Ayr, and did *not* quit to join Wallace but kept the communications open with the west of Scotland and the Isles. He then first began the system of warfare which resulted in banishing the English invaders. He burnt the castles when he could no longer hold them, and retreated, leaving *no* provisions on his route to enable enemies to follow.

The earldom of Carrick had been his since the death of the "Countess Marjorie," his mother, in 1292.

His father, "le viel counte," and *his* brother, "Sir Bernard," were both with Edward as English barons; and to the father the poetic episode must refer, of his meeting with Wallace at this time on the banks of the Carron. To him also it appears that Lochmaben was soon after restored by Edward, "in consideration of the services of his family," and he died there in 1303-4.

1298-9. Wallace, perceiving that he no longer enjoyed the confidence of the nobles, and that the two rival parties of Bruce and Cumyn had united to oppose him, and that they threatened to accuse him of treason, resigned the office of "*Governor of Scotland*." "Sir John Cumyn" and "Sir John Soulis" were appointed regents; and shortly after the Earl of Carrick and the Archbishop of St Andrews were associated with them in that office.

Nov. 13,
1299.

Wallace, having resigned the government of Scotland into the hands of the nobles at St Johnstown's (Perth), took leave of them, and, with eighteen trusty followers, sailed from Dundee—"amongst merchants took the sea"—and encountering a mighty pirate, "John of Lyne;" they killed him and his "*briggans*," and took his ship, with "great gold and other gear." On entering the "Sluice Harbour" he gave up the ship to the merchants, and, taking part of the gold, he rode in goodly wise through Flanders and France to Paris, where

"The glad tidings that to the king were brought,
Of Wallace come, did comfort all their thought."

Wallace had been in France on a former occasion during the hollow truce with Edward, to which he never subscribed. He then first conquered, and afterwards made a fast friend of, "de Longueville," ancestor of the Charteris family. He was now one of his followers; also "the Lord of Brechin's son," Symon and Richard Wallace, his uncle's sons, Sir Thomas Gray, Edward Little, Mr Arnald

Blair, Jop, &c. &c. Some authors state that Wallace went to Rome to intercede with the Pope for his country.*

John Baliol had remained a prisoner in London since 1298. He had tried many means of recovering his liberty, "declaring that he never would have any intercourse with the Scots, that he had found them a false and treacherous people, and had grounds to believe that they intended to poison him."

The Earls of Athol and Ross, however, instead of returning with Edward from Flanders in 1298, had gone to the court of Philip le Bel, to entreat that monarch to include Scotland in the truce about to be concluded between England and France, and also to intercede for Baliol. Philip had interested himself in his behalf in 1296-7, and now, at the instance of these nobles, repeated his good offices in 1298, but without success.

Pope Boniface, however, soon after succeeded in procuring the release of the unfortunate ex-king.

To the nuncio, the Bishop of Vicenza, Edward delivered up Baliol, with the character of being "a perjured man, and a false seducer of the people."

The Governor of Dover was charged to deliver John Baliol over to the nuncio at Whitsund, near Calais, in presence of a notary and witnesses, and to take a receipt for his person. July 18,
1299.

On landing at Whitsund he proceeded to his chateau of Baillicul, in Picardy, where he died in 1314.

He left two sons, Edward and Henry. The former succeeded to his estates and his claims, and troubled Scotland in after years. Henry was killed at the battle of Annan, 16th December 1332. Edward died on his estates, near Doncaster, in 1363.

The regents, however, still acknowledged Baliol as their king; and, early in Nov. spring, John Cumyn and the Earl of Buchan had an audience of Edward, and solicited that Baliol should be restored to the throne, and the nobles allowed to redeem their estates which he had bestowed upon Englishmen. This he refused, and they consequently took to arms.

The first enterprise of the regents was against Stirling Castle. Edward knew its importance, and prepared to succour the besieged.

The Scots were posted in the Torwood.

It was not possible for Edward to raise the siege of Stirling without dislodging them, for the whole carse of Stirling appears to have been a swamp in those days; but the barons refused to advance, alleging the inclemency of the weather, but, in fact, wishing him *first* to confirm to them certain charters and privileges which he had often promised.

* A document lately published in 'The National MSS. of Scotland' seems to confirm this idea. It is a letter from the King of France recommending Wallace to the Pope.

Edward therefore ordered the garrison of Stirling Castle to capitulate, and turned homeward from Berwick in disgust.

On the 13th of November, Robert Bruce, "*le jeune Counte de Carrick*," was associated with Sir John Cumyn, Sir John de Soulis, and the Archbishop of St Andrews, in the regency.

1300. This summer Edward invaded Scotland by the Western Marches. The Castle of Lochmaben was again taken and Caerlavorach besieged.

Whilst Edward was engaged in this siege, the Archbishop of Canterbury arrived in state to deliver a Bull from the Pope, claiming the superiority of Scotland for the sovereign pontiff, and requiring Edward to cease from prosecuting the war.* He claimed Scotland as having been converted to Christianity in a marvellous manner by the relics of St Andrews. The Pope required the Archbishop of Canterbury, on his clerical allegiance, to deliver the Bull into the king's own hand in person. Edward received the missive with surprise and indignation, but durst not make an enemy of his holiness, who was negotiating his peace with France. He therefore retreated to Dumfries, and consented, at the request of the French king, to a truce with the Scots from the 30th of October to the following Whitsunday.

1301. The English parliament met at Lincoln to consider the Pope's claim. The barons present drew up a letter, in which they denied his right to interfere in the affairs of Scotland, and added,—“We do not, we cannot, we must not permit our king to follow measures subversive of that government which we have sworn to maintain.”—Lincoln, 12th February, 1301.

The king, in his answer, took a wider range. He had spent the winter in ransacking monasteries for historical vouchers of the homage, in procuring the opinions of lawyers, and in adjusting proper answers to the papal pretensions.

Beginning from “Brute the Trojan,” he deduced the feudal homage of Scotland down to his own conquest of 1296; but he totally omitted the renunciation of all such claims by Richard Cœur de Lion, which had only originated in the captivity of William the Lion.

To the Pope's claim on the miracle of St Andrews, Edward opposed another miracle. “Ethelstane, King of England,” said he, “overcame the rebellious Scots in battle through the intercession of St John of Beverly. He prayed for a visible sign, whereby all men of all ages might know that the Scots were of right subject to England. Having thus prayed, he drew his sword, struck a flinty rock in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, and made a gash in it of an ell in length. The mark appears in the rock to this day; and the legend of the

* The interposition of the Pope had been procured by certain Scottish emissaries at the Court of Rome. (Was this Wallace's mission?)

miracle is weekly recited in the church of Beverly to the praise and glory of St John. Thus is the evidence of the miracle *twofold*. This," he said, "I communicate to your holiness, not in the form of an answer to a plea, but altogether extrajudicially, for the single purpose of quieting your conscience."—May 7, 1301.

Having thus confuted the Pope, Edward again marched into Scotland. He passed the winter in Lithgow, and built a castle there. By the mediation of the French, another truce was concluded, to continue until St Andrew's Day, 1302.

It was about this time that Bruce married his second wife (crowned with him as queen in 1306), Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Richard de Burgh, second Earl of Ulster.

After the conclusion of the truce Edward sent an army into Scotland, under the command of Sir John Segrave, consisting of about 20,000 men, mostly cavalry. He marched towards Edinburgh the beginning of Lent. Before reaching Roslin he divided his army into three columns. Sir John Cumyn, regent, and Sir Simon Fraser, taking advantage of this, and of the want of communication between the columns, secretly advancing at the head of 8000 cavalry, entered the camp early in the morning, and routed the three columns in succession with great slaughter. Segrave, his brother and nephew, with a number of knights and squires, were made prisoners.

Such is a brief sketch of the principal events which took place during the interregnum from the beginning of 1298 till February 1303.

Arnaldi Blair says: "In the year 1299 was fought that unhappy battel of Falkirk; and Wallace, giving place to emulation, retired to France for a time, whereby King Edward, finding a good opportunity, entered Scotland with a puissant army of English, and such of the Scottish nobility as were of his party, and finding no army able to resist him, he passed through the country, everywhere destroying all ancient monuments. All registers and records he burnt; and all men of known learning he transported to Oxford," &c., &c.

During this period Edward invaded Scotland three times; but with the exception of the raid into Menteith, Fife, and Clackmannan, he did not carry hostilities north of the Forth until after the defeat of Roslin.

John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, James the High Steward, Sir John de Soulis, and Ingelram de Umphraville, who had been sent from Scotland on an embassy to Philip of France, remained till this time, trying to induce him to include Scotland in the treaty of Montreuil, which he promised, but never with the intention of keeping faith with them. He wished, on the contrary, to give Edward time to complete his preparations for the invasion of Scotland. Meanwhile, Edward

1302.

 May
1303.

was preparing to invade the kingdom by sea and by land, with the design, according to Fordun, of either effecting its entire subjugation, or of reducing it, by the total extirpation of its inhabitants, to a state of utter and irrecoverable desolation.

Being now disengaged from foreign wars, Edward marched in person, at the head of the right division of his army, by York and Morpeth, to Roxburgh, and thence to Edinburgh, which place he reached early in June.

The Prince of Wales, who commanded the left division, entered Scotland on the western side.

Sir John Cumyn, on whom, as chief regent, the onerous task of devising and providing means of defence now devolved, though aided by Wallace (it is said), Simon Fraser, and other patriots, was unable to collect a sufficient force to resist the enemy in the open field.

The English army was therefore allowed to advance unopposed. The country lying in the line of its march was deserted. The people fled to the mountains and forests, and gave up their dwellings to fire and plunder.

The invader thus traversed the kingdom by easy marches, and reduced the whole of it in the course of a few months. Towns and castles surrendered to him with a few exceptions; and many nobles, who had withdrawn to the Western Isles, petitioned to be permitted to redeem their lands, on paying such fines as he might think fit to impose.

Edward's route lay by Linlithgow to Clackmannan, Perth, Dundee, Brechin, Aberdeen, Banff, Cullen, Elgin, Kinloss, Lochandorb, Kildrummie, &c. It is said that he went far enough north *to see* Caithness, but there is no record of his having crossed the Moray Firth; therefore it is probable that he contented himself with *seeing it* from Moray, unless, indeed, an expedition of three days (difficult to account for), during his stay at Kinloss Abbey, was to Kildrummie, *near* Nairn, where an old castle is said to have existed, whence he may have crossed to the opposite shore. That he should have gone from Kinloss to the other Kildrummie, and returned to Kinloss again, seems difficult to understand.

Edward wintered at Dunfermline, where the abbey of the Benedictines was so extensive, that an English historian (M. Westminster) tells us "three sovereign princes, with their retinues, might be lodged within its walls."

Here he was met by his queen.

It seems extraordinary that, by his orders, this abbey was soon after razed to the ground, with the exception of the church and a few cells of the monks, merely, it is supposed, because the Scottish nobility sometimes held their parliaments in the great hall there.

Stirling Castle, under Sir William Oliphant, still held out against Edward.

The Regent Cumyn, in hopes that he might, like Cressingham, attempt to cross the Forth at this point, assembled all his troops on the south side of the river. But Edward found a ford further up, and crossed with all his cavalry. The Scots gave way and fled, and soon after the regent and his followers submitted to Edward.

The Earls of Pembroke and Ulster, with Sir Harry Percie, met Cumyn at Strathorde, in Fife, where a negotiation took place—the Scottish leaders stipulating for their lives, liberties, and estates, reserving to Edward the power of inflicting upon them pecuniary fines as he should think fit. Feb. 9, 1303-4.

Amidst this wreck of the national liberty Wallace despaired not. He had lived a free man, a free man he resolved to die. Simon Fraser adhered to him; but their endeavours to rouse their countrymen proved vain.

From the general conditions of the treaty were excepted "Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow," The Stewart, "Sir John de Soulis," "David de Graham," "Alexander de Lindesay," "Simon Fraser," "Thomas de Bois," and *Wallace*. Some of these were exiled for two, some for three, years, some for six months. But of Wallace it was agreed "that he should render himself up at the will and mercy of our sovereign lord the king, if it shall seem good to him." These were all the conditions that the Scottish nation stipulated for the man who had vanquished the English at Stirling, and, having expelled them from Scotland, had set his country free, and would have kept them so had they been true to themselves.

Edward prepared to besiege Stirling, Sir William Oliphant refusing to capitulate; "Sir John de Soulis," he said, "had committed the castle to his charge, and as he was now in foreign parts he could not give it up." "I am not to wait for his orders," said Edward; "defend the castle if you will." The defence was obstinate and bloody, but the castle was taken and reduced to a pile of ruins. 1304.

Edward then appointed Sir John de Segrave temporary Governor of Scotland, and returned to England, taking with him the principal nobles of Scotland. He kept his Christmas in great state at Lincoln. Dec.

Edward having set a large sum upon the head of Wallace (300 marks, Langtoft tells us), he was taken at last by the treachery of an attendant, and at the instigation of Sir John de Menteith, or rather Sir John Stewart of Menteith, who was then governor of Dumbarton Castle, and by Wallace believed to be his firm friend. The earldom of Lennox and £3000 in fine gold are said to have been the bribes offered to Menteith, under Edward's hand and seal; whilst he, on the other side, bound himself to take Wallace prisoner, and to deliver him, safely bound, over Solway.

We must now return to see how Wallace had been employed during Edward's occupancy of Scotland.

It was in 1298-9 that Wallace retired to France, resigning the government of his native country. The King of France received him joyfully, and the French people were well aware of his prowess, but envious of it. However—

“ They trowed by him to get redress of wrong,
The Sotheran had in Guienne wrought so long.
The peers of France were in their parliament.
The king commands, with true and haill intent,
They should foresee a lordship to Wallace.
The lords, all one, then deeméd of this case ;
For Guienne was, all haill, out of their hand,
They thought it best to give to him that land ;
For well they thought he had so wrought before,
He should it win, or else die therefor.”

Wallace answers the king—

“ I thank your lords made sik reward to me,
Their purpose is I shall not idle be.”

The king wished to make him *Duke of Guienne*, but he refused, “ as the land was still to win.” Then the king knighted him, and wished him to take armorial bearings from him. This too he refused saying—

“ Since I began I bare the red lion,
And thinks to be ay true man to that crown.”

All the Scottish men in France joined him, and

“ Longueville also a great power can raise,
Ten thousand of noble men they were,
The broad banner of Scots displayed there.
All Guienne land Wallace brought to his peace,
To Bordeaux gate he passed ere he would cease.”

The King of France was entreated by letters, from Bishop Sinclair and other patriots, to send Wallace back to Scotland.

“ Writing was then newly come off Scotland
From part of lords and good Bishop Sinclair,
Besought the king unto their terms fair,
Of his gentree, and of his goodly grace,
For this supply, to counsel good Wallace
To come again, and bring them off bandoun,
And take to wear the crown of this region.
This writt.”

The King of France would not at the time show to Wallace he was so unwilling to loose him.

“ Right loath he was, for friendship, feed, or aid,
Wallace should pass so soon from his presence,
A dwelling-place he took to residence. . . .
In Schynnoun then Wallace his dwelling made,
And held about it right lik and lands braid.”

After that, Wallace having fought and conquered in many combats, the king sends for him, and begs him to be of his household, and to dwell in safety.

“ For well, he said, they had him at envy.
Thus two hail years with mirth Wallace abode
Still into France, and many journeys made.
Lords and ladies honoured him reverently ;
Wretches and shrews ay had him at envy.”

Some of these envious persons persuaded Wallace that the king wished him to fight with a fierce lion, which was kept in a strong iron cage ; whilst, on the other hand, they told the king that Wallace wished to do so, to which he reluctantly gave his consent. Wallace killed the lion ; but, disgusted with his treatment, he determined to return to his country, and to free it from bondage or die.

“ The king has seen how good Wallace is set,
The letter then him gave withouten let—
The which of late from Scotland him was send,
Wallace it saw, and well their harms kend,
By the first writt thereto accordial,
Them to supply he thought he would not fail.”

The King of France mourned the departure of Wallace, “and kept his chamber,” but orders him “jewels and gold,” as much as he would have.

He took no man with him from France but those he brought, and Longueville, who never left him. From “the Sluice” they sailed for the Firth of Tay, and landed at Ernsmouth during the night, and thence made for “Elchock,” where his cousin Crauford dwelt. There they lay concealed for some days, but the English garrison of Perth, under the Earl of York, suspecting Wallace’s presence from the large supplies sent to Elchock, came down upon them. Withdrawing from his cousin’s house, Wallace and his trusty followers met the English detachment in a wood, and having slain their Captain, “Butler,” and dispersed his band, they made their way to *Methven*, and thence into Athol and Lorn, in search of food. At Rannoch-hall they at last found rest, and the Lord thereof joining them, with his three stalwart sons and twenty men,

Wallace determined once more to take the field and raise the banner of Scotland. From Dunkeld they chased the English bishop, who took refuge at St Johnstown (Perth). After five days spent at Dunkeld, they determined to go northward where they had friends. The good knight "Climace," or "Climes of Ross," came suddenly into Morayland, with their good chivalry. Having collected about 7000 men, they defeated the English in a little den or hollow, about four miles from Cromarty towards the south. In confirmation of this, Hugh Miller tells us that this hollow, which is near the Ferry of Arderseir, was well known by the old men of the last century, as "Wallace's Slack" (ravine). After this he relieved the Castle of Cromarty; and Fordun and Barbour tell us:—

"Overran the northern part of the kingdom to Wick."
 "Anent Orkney," after relieving the "House of Nairn,"
 Aided by "the good knight Climes of Ross."
 "Out of Moray, in Buchan land came they
 To seek Beaumont, but he had passed away."

Numbers then joined the patriot band.

St Johnstown again was taken, and the English all killed or expelled, only the young earl of Fife was saved by Wallace "for the old thane's sake." (This young earl was the brother of the Countess of Buchan, who afterwards set the crown upon King Robert's head.) From Perth Wallace went to Gallo-way and took the Castle of Wigton. There Edward Bruce came to him.

"Wallace him met, with true men reverently."
 "To Lochmabane all went that chevalry,
 They made Edward both lord and leader there,
 This condition Wallace him heght, without mare
 For a short time to wait '*Robert*,' the king,
 That if he came not in this region to bide,
 That '*Edward*' should receive the crown, *bot* fail *
 Thus heght Wallace, and all the barnage haill."

Leaving Edward Bruce at Lochmaben, Wallace passed to Cumnock.

"At the Blackrock, where he was wont to be
 Upon that stead, a royal house held he.
 English wardens, to London passed but mare,
 And told the king of all their great misfare."

But the Commons of England declared that they never again would invade Scotland whilst Wallace was there.

Then Edward wrote to Menteith privily:—

"Prayed him to haste, the time was passed by
 Of the promise, the which, that he was bound.

* Without fail.

Thus Blind Harry says :—

“ Sir John Menteith, into his wit has found,
How he should best his purpose to fulfill ;
His sister's son, in haste him called him till,
And ordained him in dwelling with Wallace.”

This nephew of Menteith's, it appears, was the person who betrayed him.*

Meanwhile, Wallace sent his trusty herald “*Fop*” with a letter to Bruce, 1305 beseeching him to come and take the crown.

Bruce, with his own hand, wrote again to Wallace, thanking him for his loyalty and kindness, but begging him

“ This matter to conceal,
For he behoved out of England *to steal*.
He prayed Wallace in Glasgow Muir to walk
The next first night of July, for his sake,
And bade he should, *but* into quiet be;
For he, with him, might bring few chevalrie.
Wallace was blyth when he this writing saw,
His household soon he gart to Glasgow draw
That month *there*, he ordained them to bide,
Keirly he took with him each night to ride ;
And this young man that Menteith to him sent
Wist none but *thir* what way that Wallace went.
The which gart warn his *uncle** the eighteenth night.
Sixty full soon Menteith gart dight
Of his own kin and of ally was born ;
To this treason he gart them all be sworn.”

Menteith did not, however, himself appear in the attack upon Wallace. He probably wished so to veil his treachery that it might be denied, as it has been, by many writers. On the 18th of July, Wallace and his faithful Keirly being both asleep, after midnight the worthy nephew of Menteith informed his uncle that he had taken away all their arms, and that now they could be safely taken.

Some, going to lay hands upon him, Wallace awoke and “*gripped about*,”

“ But no weapons he fand ;
Yet with a stool that did beside him stand
The back of one he bursted in that thrang,
And of another the harns out he dang.”

Menteith then appeared as a mediator ; he declared that the house was surrounded by a great band of *English*, and that resistance was impossible, but that he had spoken for him to Lord Clifford, who would undertake for his life if he would go quietly with him to Dumbarton.

* Uncle.

Wallace doubted a little, knowing what dealings Menteith had with the *Sotherons*, but was assured by Menteith that his party had no weapons, and had come in full trust and good faith to save him.

“They led him forth, in fear among them aw,
Keirly he missed, and then the Sotheran saw ;
Then wist he well that he betrayed was,
When towards the south with him they ’gan to pass.

“South him they led, ay holding the west land,
Delivered him in haste o’er Solway sand ;
The Lord Clifford and Vallance took him there—
To Carlisle town full fast with him they fare,
In prison him stad ! that was a great dolour !
That house after was called ‘ *Wallace Tower*.’
How of his men, in Glasgow still that lay,
What sorrow rose, when they him missed away—
The cruel pain, the woful complaining !
Thereof to tell it were too heavy thing !
I will let be, and speak of it no more.

“But Longueville to Lochmabane could pass,
And there he heght where good Prince Edward was.
Out of Scotland he would pass never more,
Loss of Wallace sought to his heart so sore,
Remembrance syne, was in the Bruce’s book,
Second he was when they St Johnstown took,
Followed the king at winning of the town.
The Bruce, therefore, gave him great guardoun ;
‘ All Chartres land ’ the good king to him gave,
CHARTERIS since syne of his kind came the lave.

“Robert the Bruce came home on the fourth day
In Scotland, after Wallace was away
To Lochmabane, where he found Edwart,
Whereof he was greatly rejoiced in heart.
But when he wist Wallace away was led,
Sa meikle vail within his breast was bred,
Near out of wit he worthed for to weed.
Good Edward said, ‘ This helpst not a deal ;’
Let mourning be, it may make no remead
Ye have him tint—ye should revenge him dead.
But for *your* cause he took the war in hand,
In *your* defence he thrice hath freed the land,
The which was lost from us, and all our kin.
Were not Wallace, we ne’er had entered in.”

Death of Sir William Wallace.

John Speid, the English historian, p. 660, writes thus :—

“Reign of Edward I. The more to secure King Edward in the Scottish kingdom, it was not long that William Wallace was brought up prisoner to London, being *treasonably* taken at Glasgow by one Sir John Menteith

(though Polydore Virgil saith the English took him in war), where he had public tryall at Westminster ; and denying that he was a traitor to the king of England, was there for his other crimes (as burning of towns, taking of castles, killing the English, &c.) adjudged *to death*, which sentence was executed upon him, and his head and quarters set up in several place over the island." "His right leg at St Johnstown (Perth), and his left leg at Aberdeen. This was the end of Wallace, whom his country had once, by common consent, chosen for their defender and Captain-General ; and for his deserts towards her, doth place in glory far above the stars, as the only person by whose example the Scots had their spirits kept awake and quick upon all occasions ; by which they might recover the Government out of the hands of the English, whose reign over them, this Wallace, neither by fair means nor by force, could ever be drawn to endure or look upon with a patient eye, whom, though we do not with Bellinden (lib. 14, chap. 8) call a martyr, yet must we think his country honoured in him, wishing for

'Many the like in our own.'

John Stow, in his 'Chronicle of England,' p. 209, reign of Edward I., saith :—
 "William Wallace, which had oftentimes set Scotland in great trouble, was taken and brought up to London, with great numbers of men and women wondering upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fanchurch Street. On the morrow, being the Feast of St Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster. He being placed on the south bench crowned with laurel—for that he had said in times past that he ought to bear a crown in that hall (as was commonly reported)—and being appeached for a traitor by Sir Peter Mallorie, the king's justice, he answered that 'he never was traitor to the King of England, being no subject of his ;' but for the things whereof he was accused, he confessed them, and was after headed and quartered."

Thus perished Wallace, whom Edward never could subdue. In his last moments he asserted that independence which a whole nation had renounced.

Tytler says it was on the 23d of August 1305 that Wallace was executed. This was the Eve of St Bartholomew, whose day, in the calendar, is the 24th of August.

It was on the 10th of February 1306 that Cumyn fell at Dumfries, but as the year then began in March it is called February 1305 by old historians, which confuses the order of events, which in reality stand thus :—

Wallace betrayed,	.	.	.	July 18,	} 1305.
„ executed,	.	.	.	August 23,	
Bruce at Dumfries,	.	.	.	February 10,	} 1306.
Crowned at Perth,	.	.	.	March 25,	

If Bruce arrived at Lochmaben four days after Wallace was taken, he must have returned to London and abode there until the beginning of February, and may very likely, from his demeanour and the betrayal of those in whom he reposed confidence, have given cause of suspicion to Edward, who, doubtless, destined him to be the next victim ; but from this fate he was happily preserved by his young cousin Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, who sent him, by a page, a pair of spurs and a purse of gold, saying he " thus returned what he had borrowed," but in fact indicating immediate flight. The bond which Bruce had signed three years before, with Cumyn, was now in Edward's hands ; and some assert that the king gave it to Bruce (in council) to read, and that Bruce, having asked until next day to study it, locked himself into an apartment and desired not to be disturbed, but immediately after, going out another way with two trusty followers, fled to Lochmaben, where he arrived the seventh day.

1305-6. Edward now proceeded to make a complete settlement of the affairs of Scotland. He consulted with Wishart Bishop of Glasgow, Bruce, and John de Mowbray. By their advice he ordered a general council of the Scottish nation to be held at Perth. Ten commissioners were to be elected—viz., two bishops, two abbots, two earls, two barons, and two for *la commune*, or boroughs.

The commissioners chosen were—the Bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, the Abbots of Cupar and Melrose, the Earls of Buchan and Dunbar and March. John de Mowbray and Robert de Keith for the barons, and Adam de Gordon and John de Inchmartine for the communes.

The Earl of March failed to appear, and Edward appointed Sir John de Menteith (now Earl of Lennox as the price of his betrayal of Wallace) in his place.

It appears, from various passages in Prynne, that one of each of these commissioners was designed for each side of the Forth. These ten, with twenty from the English Parliament, established regulations for the government of Scotland, preserving the ancient forms as far as possible, and providing that sheriffs should be appointed in the different districts to be approved of, or displaced in time to come, by the Guardian and the Chamberlain.

In reference to this Parliament, writs were issued dated 13th July 1305, addressed respectively to " Sir John Segrave, the Earl of Athol, and the Earl of Ross," as guardians of the three great divisions of the kingdom. But this was now changed, and John de Bretagne, the king's nephew, was appointed Lieutenant or Guardian of Scotland, and governor of the castles of Roxburgh and Jedburgh on the frontier, assisted by a council of the principal men already named, with others, English as well as Scots.

It was on the 15th of October 1305 that the new regulations for the government of Scotland were introduced.

Of all "Margaret's heirs" Bruce was now undoubtedly the chief.

The house of Baliol had disappeared from the land; even Wallace had latterly given them up, and looked to "Bruce," by birth and lineage a true Scot, as the destined saviour of his country from a foreign yoke.

Even his rival Cumyn told him that he was the "*righteous*"—that is, "*rightful*"—king, and as such offered him his support and *that* of all his party, or to exchange places with him, and to give him all his great possessions for *his* support. And here we may observe that Cumyn never set up for himself any claim to the crown through his connection with the Baliols. It was by *might*, not *right*, that he proposed to reign, and the connection he claimed with the royal line of Athol was, as being descended from Donald-bain, brother of Malcolm Caenmore, not as a descendant of David Earl of Huntingdon.

Robert "the Bruce" was born at Turnberry Castle, July 11, 1274. He was the eldest son of "Robert de Brus" and of "Marjorie Countess of Carrick." His father being Earl of Carrick in right of his wife, upon her death, "granted, resigned, and quit claimed for ever, unto Robert de Brus, his son and heir, the whole earldom of Carrick, with its pertinents, and also all the other lands which he at any time had held, or ought to have held, in Scotland, by reason of 'Marjorie, late Countess of Carrick,' his spouse, and mother of the said Robert, his son and heir."

This resignation is dated 27th October 1292.

At the age, therefore, of eighteen, Robert became "*Earl of Carrick*." His father, however, did not resign the title, and they were henceforth designated "*Le viel Counte de Carrick*," and "*Le jeune Counte de Carrick*;" but when spoken of, as they constantly are in history, as "Robert de Brus," it is not to be wondered at that their actions are often misrepresented.

The first competitor, Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, father of *Le viel Counte*, and grandfather of *Le jeune*, was also alive until Good Friday 1295, when he died at Lochmaben in his eighty-fifth year.

Not choosing to do homage to Baliol, whose right to the throne he had contested, he withdrew to his English domains, and, it is said, visited Norway, and was not present at Baliol's Parliament at Scone.

He was buried in the church of Gisburne Priory, founded by his ancestor Robert de Brus, Baron of Skelton and Annandale, A.D. 1128.—See Dugdale's 'Monasticum.'

His father, also Robert de Brus, died in England in 1245; and his mother,

"Isabel of Scotland, second daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon," died in 1251. They were buried at Saltre Abbey near Stilton.

The progenitors of many kings.

It was "Le viel Counte de Carrick" who came with Edward to Scotland in 1296, and was present at the Battle of Dunbar. His father being then dead, he was the head of his house, and claimed Edward's promise to support his title to the throne, vacant by Baliol's overthrow; but on Edward's churlish reply—"Ne avons nous autre chose à faire que à vous réauyms gagner?"—he retired to his estates and died, according to Fordun, at Lochmaben, A.D. 1303-4, leaving his son "Robert the Bruce" (Le jeune Counte de Carrick) the heir of all his estates in England and Scotland, *ætat.* 30.

It must have been about that time after his father's death, and when he had obtained full and free possession of all the family estates in England and Scotland, that his conversation with Cumyn took place, and the band or ragment was made which both of them signed, but it was three years or more "ere Bruce pursued his own."

"I am holden into my en'mies' hand
Under great oath," he says.

Early in the year 1297, in obedience to a summons from the warden of the Western Marches, Robert de Brus, jun., proceeded to Carlisle and took an oath to assist Edward in quelling the rebellion, and as a proof of his *sincerity* he made a raid into the domains of Sir William Douglas, who was then with Wallace, and led the Lady Douglas and her children captive to Lochmaben; but this "Eleanor," Lady Douglas, was Sir William's second wife, relict of William Ferrars of Groby, a younger son of William Earl of Derby, and a spy of Edward's on her husband and his elder sons, "the good Sir James," the friend of Bruce, and his brothers—

"Because he" (Douglas) "had on sotheron sik thing wrought,
His wife was wroth, but it she showed nought;
Under covert her malice hid perfite,
As serpent waits her time that she may bite,
To Douglas oft she did full mickle care."

And soon after Bruce renounced his allegiance to Edward on the ground that his oath had been extorted from him, and remained aloof from both parties in his castle of Ayr, from which he dominated the whole west of Scotland.

This brought upon him the displeasure of Edward, who marched westward to punish him; but Bruce, anticipating his coming, burnt the castle and retreated into Carrick.

Lochmaben Castle was now besieged and taken by Edward, but soon after restored to "le viel Counte" in consideration of the services of his family.

After the Battle of Falkirk, where he was *not* present, Bruce became one of the regents of Scotland, but as we do not hear of his taking any active part in public affairs, we may conclude that he still confined his jurisdiction to the west. In the year 1300 Edward again devastated Annandale with fire and sword; but again, before the Battle of Roslin, Bruce was once more taken into favour, and he remained with Edward till the death of his father in 1304. It was during this period (A.D. 1302, it is said) that Bruce married his second wife, "the Lady Elizabeth de Burgo," eldest daughter of Richard (or Aymer), second Earl of Ulster,—his first wife, "Isabel," daughter of Donald, tenth Earl of Mar, having died early, leaving him an only child, "Marjory," who was taken to England as a hostage by Sir Henry Percie after the treaty of Irvine, July 9, 1297. Wyntoun tells us—

" When Ysabel, of Carrick the Countess,
Had endit of her lyff the dayis,
Her lord, Robert the Bruce, than bade
All a while in wedowhade ;
But efter yet, or he wes king,
Or of his rewme hed governing,
The douchter he weddit of Aymer,
That Erl wes, that time, of Ulster in Ireland."

Besides the earldom of Carrick, and the lordships of Annandale and the Garrioch, and other large estates in Scotland, Robert the Bruce inherited, on the death of his father, the great estates of his great-grandmother, Isabel of Scotland, as derived from her father, the Earl of Huntingdon, as well as her portion of those of her mother's brother, the Earl of Chester.

Thus he held Tottenham Manor, which was part of the dowry of "*Maud*," daughter and heir of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, by Judith, niece of William the Conqueror (*Maud* having been the queen of David I.) The honour of Huntingdon gave him possession in many counties of England, and in Essex and Hertford he had large estates given to Isabel by Henry III. in lieu of her portion of the Palatinate of Chester. In Durham he had Herts and Hertnesse, with the seaport of Hartlepoole. All these estates were confiscated by Edward I., when Edward became aware that Bruce had indeed thrown off his allegiance and escaped out of his hands. He was aware of Bruce's band with Cumyn by whatever means, and it is said, at a convivial entertainment, allowed a hint to escape, that he only waited to secure Bruce's younger brothers also ere he made him prisoner. Joane Plantagenet, his daughter, was the widow of

"Gilbert de Clare," Earl of Gloucester (who died in 1295), and the mother of the young earl, who was Bruce's second cousin and attached friend, as their fathers also had been. What so natural as their being the first to learn Edward's private intentions, and to send warning of them to Bruce? We find at a later period that the young earl most unwillingly led the van of the English army against Bruce at the battle of Bannockburn, but refused to wear on that occasion his "*Togam propriæ armaturæ*," so that he was slain by the Scots, who had every wish to save him.—Camden, p. 594.

" Bot for Earl Gilbert of Clar,
That slayne wes in the battail place,
The king sum dele annoyit was,
For til hym *near wele sib** was he—
Then til a kirk he gert him be
Broucht,† and walkyt all that nycht."

—Barbour, book xiii.

Bruce on his arrival at Lochmaben the seventh day from London, made known to his brother Edward his perilous situation. On the 10th of February 1306 he proceeded to Dumfries to seek an interview with Cumyn, who, holding a barony in that county, was attending a court or assize held there by Roger de Kirkpatrick and William de Burghden, the newly appointed justiciaries of Galloway. Burghden was an Englishman, the nominee of Edward; Kirkpatrick has been erroneously styled by historians "one of the *followers of Bruce*."‡

Bruce and Cumyn met alone in the church of the Convent of the Franciscan Friars; what passed between them cannot be known with certainty, as there were no witnesses. It is said that Cumyn repelled the charge of treachery, and in the violent altercation that ensued gave Bruce the lie, on which Bruce drew his dagger and stabbed him. Rushing out of the church in great agitation, and calling for his horse and his attendants, Bruce was met by Roger de Kirkpatrick, the justiciary, and Alexander de Lindesay, who inquired what had happened. "I doubt," he exclaimed, "I have slain the Cumyn." "You doubt!" cried Kirkpatrick; "I'se mak sicker." And hurrying into the church, accompanied by Lindesay, he despatched Cumyn, who lay bleeding on the steps of the altar. Sir Robert Cumyn, his uncle, hearing the tumult, rushed into the church in hopes of rescuing his nephew, but met with a similar fate from the hand of Kirkpatrick. This deed never could have been premeditated by

* *Near wele sib*—nearly related. Robert de Bruce, first competitor, married "*Isabel de Clare*," second daughter of Gilbert, fifth Earl of Gloucester, and the viel Counte de Carrick was her son.

† The church of St Ninians. His body was afterwards sent to England.

‡ Kirkpatrick was appointed by Edward to that office on the 15th October 1305.

Bruce. It placed him in the most appalling position, and was contrary to the whole tenor of his life. He had slain the most powerful noble in the kingdom, on the most sacred spot within the sanctuary. He was certain to encounter the united vengeance of Edward and of the family and followers of the Cumyn; and to be visited by the still more terrible vengeance of the Church; but knowing that the die was now cast, he determined instantly to raise the standard of Scotland.

He attacked the royal Castle of Dumfries, in which the justiciary court was held, and, setting fire to it, compelled the English justiciary to surrender, upon which he was permitted to retire to England.

After this, Bruce returned to Lochmaben, and thence despatched intelligence of what had happened to his friends throughout Scotland.

True to his engagement, Lamberton Bishop of St Andrews, assisted him with advice and support.

Edward, Thomas, Alexander, and Nigel, his brothers;
 Sir Thomas Randolph, his nephew;
 Sir Christopher Seton, his brother-in-law;
 The Earls of Athol and Lennox;
 The Bishops of Glasgow and Moray;
 The Abbot of Scone;
 Hugh and Gilbert de la Haye of Erroll,
 And Robert Boyd, David Barclay of Cairns,
 Alexander Fraser, Walter de Somerville,
 David de Inchmartine, &c., &c.,

soon gathered around him, and after some consultation resolved on the bold and decided step of his immediate *coronation*. Accordingly, he left Lochmaben accompanied by this cavalcade of nobles, whom Sir James Douglas joined by the way, and proceeded *viâ* Glasgow, where many friends were added to their ranks, to Scone, where this ceremony was performed. The regalia having been carried off by Edward in 1296, Bruce was arrayed in robes furnished by the Bishop of Glasgow, and crowned with a golden coronet hastily made for the occasion. Elizabeth, his consort, was crowned with him. A banner which had belonged to Alexander III. had been concealed by the Bishop of Glasgow during the reign of Baliol, and was now set up as the royal standard, and under it Robert I. King of Scotland received the fealty and homage of the assembled bishops, earls, and barons at Scone on the 27th day of March 1306.

On the second day after the coronation, the arrival of "Isabel," Countess of Buchan, was suddenly announced. She was the sister of Duncan, the young Earl of Fife. He had attained his majority since Baliol's coronation, and had

the hereditary right of conducting the king to the royal seat, and of placing the crown upon his head; but this privilege he was not likely to claim—being in England with Edward, as was also the husband of the countess, John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan. Isabel therefore formed the resolution of herself exercising the family privilege, and had come to Scone without her husband's knowledge, who was Bruce's most inveterate enemy, and the head of the Cumyn party after the fall of his kinsman, the Lord of Badenoch. The king, deeming it expedient not to omit any ancient form connected with the ceremonial, acquiesced in the claim now made by the countess, and was accordingly again crowned by her on Sunday, March 29th, 1306.

In Capgrave's 'Chronicle of England,' p. 174, we find a curious notice of this incident:—

"In the xxxiiii. yere of Edward I. was a man of Scotland 'cleped 'Robert Brusse.' He took upon him to be king of the lond; and went to the Abbey of Scone to be crowned than. The Countesse of Bowhan stol fra her lord all his gret hors, and with sweech men as sche trosted, cam to that same abbaye, and there sche sette the crowne upon Robardis head.

1306. "Sche was take after of Englishmen, and presented to King Edward. He commanded sche schuld not be *ded*, but that there schuld be mad a hous al of tymbir, upon the walls of Berwick, and there schuld sche be til sche deyed."

The original order of Edward for the imprisonment of the Countess of Buchan is to be found in 'Rymer's Fœdora,' vol. ii. p. 1014.

April
1313. In this "kage" or turret of Berwick Castle the Countess Isabel remained for seven years, when Edward II. issued orders "that Isabel, who was the wife of John Cumyn, *late* Earl of Buchan, and was taken prisoner by his late father, Edward I., should be delivered to Henry de Beaumont, to be kept by him in such custody as are enjoined by our orders to him."

One of the effects of Edward's policy in taking the sons of the patriot leaders, after the battle of Dunbar, as hostages to England, was, that their people were left without leaders in whom they had any confidence; and in the case of the Cumyns and their allies this turned against himself.

After the death of John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, at Dumfries, we are told that his son "John" fled away into England, "where he had an English mother and an English wife;" nor do we hear of him again till he came with his brother William to Bannockburn with the English army, when one or both were killed. John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, estranged from his wife and his clan, was also in England, as was his brother-in-law the Earl of Fife. The young Earl of Mar was an infant, but his mother was Bruce's sister—the heroic

Christian the Bruce. The Earl of Athol, too, had lately married another of his sisters, "Isabel," and forfeited his life by adhering to Bruce's cause.

The after career of Bruce is well known. After his coronation at Perth, he marched further north to Kildrummie, where he strengthened the garrison, and laid in provision for a long siege; thence to Moray, where he possessed lands in the "*County of Forres*," and was keeper of the royal forests of *Langmorn* and *Tarnua*.

Amongst his adherents none was more zealous than the Bishop of Moray, one of the ancient family "de Moravia," and a kinsman of the gallant Sir Andrew Moray, the associate of Wallace in 1297-8; as "David de Morreff, Personne del' Eglise de Bothuell," he is mentioned in 'Ragman Roll,' Berwick, 1296, and became Bishop of Moray on the death of Bishop Archibald in 1298.

Charges of homicide and rebellion were preferred against him by Edward to the Pope, for adhering to Robert Bruce, "*a traitor and his chief enemy*," "giving the people of his diocese to understand that it was not less meritorious for them to rise and assist 'Lord Robert' in throwing off the English yoke and aiding his cause, than it was to proceed to the Holy Land, and wage war with the Pagans and Saracens."

The bishop took refuge in Norway, where Edward's wrath pursued him.

Bruce's chief opponents in the north of Scotland were—"the Earl of Buchan," "Sir Duncan de Ferindraught," "Sir Reginald le Chen," "the Earl of Ross,"* and the "Earl of Sutherland."

It is probable that all the crown tenants in Moray declared for Bruce *now*, as they had done for his grandfather in 1291-2, when, as followers of the Earl of Mar (doubly his brother-in-law), they marched to Perth to rally round his standard in opposition to Baliol, Sir John Cumyn, and the Bishop of St Andrews (the two last having been appointed guardians of the province in 1290).—See "Letter of the Freemen of Moray," &c.

Edward was at Winchester when the intelligence of the murder of Cumyn and the revolt of Bruce reached him. His first measure was to strengthen the Border fortresses; his next, to despatch a special messenger to the Pope, praying for the aid of the Holy See.

He immediately appointed Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, brother-in-law of the murdered Cumyn, "Guardian of Scotland," and directed him, together with Lord Robert Clifford and Henry Percie, to march into Scotland, whilst he himself returned to London to make preparations for superintending the campaign in person.

He intimated his intention of conferring knighthood on his son Edward,

* Who afterwards married the king's sister, "Matilda or Maud."

Prince of Wales, and invited all who were entitled to share this honour to attend at Westminster at the Feast of Pentecost.

About three hundred young nobles, attended by splendid retinues, responded to this invitation.

After the ceremony Edward stood up, and made a vow to God *and the Swans* ! that he would proceed to Scotland, and not return thence until he had executed vengeance on Bruce, and his associates, for the death of Cumyn.

He then exacted a promise from Edward his son, that in the event of his dying before he reached Scotland, he would carry his body there, and not inter it until he had subdued his enemies.

Meanwhile, early in summer the Earl of Pembroke entered Scotland with a considerable force, which was soon augmented by the Cumyns and their adherents.

Bruce had wound up his progress after his coronation by a raid into Galloway. On his return he appeared before Perth on the 19th of June, and found that town occupied by Pembroke.

Relying on the enthusiasm of his army, Bruce sent a challenge to the earl to come out and engage in battle. To this an answer was returned, "That the day was far spent, but that Pembroke would meet him on the morrow."

On receiving this message Bruce retired to the woods of *Methven*. Here his men cast off their armour, and began to prepare their evening meal.

Pembroke stealthily moved out from his quarters, and came upon them by surprise.

After a short but desperate engagement, Bruce's party were completely defeated.

Amongst the knights captured were—"Sir David de Berkeley," Sir Alexander Frazer, Sir Hugh de la Haye, Sir John de Somerville, Sir Thomas Randolph, and Hugh, a chaplain. Bruce, who was twice unhorsed, was saved from being captured on one of those occasions by Sir Christopher Seton, and ultimately escaped in company with his brother Edward and other nobles, including the Earl of Athol, Sir James Douglas, Sir Gilbert de la Haye, and Sir Nigel Campbell, to become for several months a houseless wanderer in the wilds of Athol.

Edward I. left London in June, and his health being now in a declining state, proceeded by short journeys to Carlisle. He issued orders to Pembroke to use every means to arrest the rebels who had escaped. He was directed to hang and draw *all* who had been directly concerned in the murder of the Cumyn. This and other writs were dated from Lanercost Abbey near Carlisle, in October 1306.

After enduring great privations, Bruce and his friends ventured to visit Aberdeen, where they met his brother Nigel and the queen, but hearing of the

approach of the English army they soon left that town, and wandered for some time in the wilds of Breadalbane, where they subsisted on roots and wild berries, with such fish and game as they could capture, Sir James the Douglas being their chief caterer.

“ For whiles he venison them brocht,
And with his handis quhiles he wroucht
Ginnes to tak geddes and salmoan,
Troutis, eelis, and also menonis ;
There was not ane among thaim thair
That to the Lady's profit wair
Mare than James of Douglas ;
And the king aft comfort' wes,
Thro' his wit, and his busynes.”

Once, passing through a defile, the fugitives had a narrow escape of being cut off by “ Alaister of Argyle, the Lord of Lorn,” nephew of the Cumyn. The king, sending his party on before, guarded the pass alone on horseback. He was attacked, “ between a loch-side and a brae,” by three of the men of Lorn ; one caught his bridle, but the king cut off his arm with one stroke of his broadsword ; another inserted his hand between his stirrup and his foot to throw him off, but standing up in his stirrup the king held him fast ; the third, mounting on the brae, got up behind on the horse, thinking to take him unawares, but throwing back his sword, Robert cleft his head ; and so disposed of his assailants. His brooch, however, fastening his plaid, was torn off in the conflict, and fell into the hands of his enemies—a trophy well known as “ the brooch of Lorn.”

It was then agreed that they should separate—Bruce, with 200 followers, to endeavour to make his way to Kintyre ; the queen and other ladies, under the escort of Nigel Bruce and the Earl of Athol (whose English training unfitted him for this wild life), to seek repose in the Castle of Kildrummie ; and with them the king left all his horsemen. But very soon this retreat was threatened with a siege, which made the ladies unwilling to remain.

The queen and her attendants contrived to escape unobserved by an arched passage which opened into an adjacent ravine. Proceeding northwards to Tain, they sought refuge in the sanctuary of St Duthac Chapel ; but this sanctuary was not respected by the Earl of Ross. The captives were drawn forth, and whilst the knights of the escort were put to death, the queen and her daughter, and the Lady Mary, sister of the Bruce, afterwards married to Sir Neil Campbell, were sent prisoners to England.

The instructions given for the entertainment of “ Elizabeth,” wife of the Bruce, are preserved in *Fœdera*, t. ii. p. 1013. She was to be conveyed to the manor

of Brustewick ; to have " a waiting-woman, and a maid-servant, advanced in life, and of good conversation ; a butler, and two men-servants, and a footboy for her chamber, sober and not riotous, to make her bed (*tiel qui soit sobre, et ne un riotous, pour son lit faire*). Three greyhounds when she inclines to hunt ; venison, fish, and the fairest house in the manor."

In 1308, Elisabeth was removed to another prison, and

In 1312, Elizabeth, *queen* of Robert the Bruce, was taken to Windsor Castle—twenty shillings weekly being allowed for her maintenance.—*Fœdera*, t. iii. p. 94.

In 1314, Elisabeth, consort of Robert the Bruce, was committed to the Castle of Rochester, and not set at liberty till the end of that year.—*Ib.*, p. 302, 396.

" The Lady Mary," sister of the Bruce, was by Edward's orders confined in a " kage " or turret of the Castle of Roxburgh, until exchanged in 1310 for Sir Walter Cumyn and other knights of distinction. This is proved by two letters from Edward II. to Henry de Beaumont, constable of that castle. "*Ordonnez est que Mariæ, seur à Robert de Brus, jadis Counte de Carrick, soit envoié à Roxburgh, por garder illesques, en chastel en un kage.*"

The other letter orders Henry de Beaumont to deliver up " Mariæ de Brus," prisoner, in exchange for Walter Cumyn, a prisoner of the Scots, and eight other prisoners of note.—Dated 30th March 1310. It was not till after the battle of Bannockburn that the Lady Mary married Sir Neil Campbell.

That the Princess *Marjorie*, Bruce's daughter by his first marriage, was also at Kildrummie, and afterwards taken prisoner with the queen, is asserted by Barbour ; but this I believe to be a mistake for his sister *Mary*—the two names being identical. Marjorie was given up as a hostage to Sir Henry Percie at Irvine in 1297, and by him placed in a convent, which we do not hear of her ever leaving until 1314, when Walter the High Steward was sent to convoy her to Scotland.

Bruce, after parting with the queen in Breadalbane, proceeded with about 200 followers towards the west, in order to sail across to Ireland, where he hoped to find refuge in the domains of his father-in-law, the Earl of Ulster. On the third day he reached the shores of Loch Lomond, but here the only means of transport was a small leaky boat, capable of containing three persons. The crazy bark was sent backwards and forwards till all the party were conveyed across, which it took a day and a night to accomplish. The king amused his followers the while by reciting the romantic Legend of King Lawyn's Siege of the Castle of Egrymor, held by the Twelve Peers of France !

They had now the good fortune to meet the Earl of Lennox, who, overjoyed

to see the king, fell upon his neck and wept. This was "*Malcolm*," Earl of Lennox, who was with Bruce at his coronation at Scone in March, and was, no doubt for that reason, attainted by Edward, and his earldom bestowed on Sir John Menteith—"if he could win it"—as his recompense for the betrayal of Wallace. This gift of the English king does not, however, appear to have taken effect; and in 1314, on the attainder of David eleventh Earl of Athole by Bruce, Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, had a charter from King Robert of the lands of Strathoune, &c.

Being closely pursued by their enemies, they hurried to the west coast, where Sir Neil Campbell had boats ready for their embarkation.

Passing to Kintyre, they received the hospitality of Angus, lord of that country, for three nights in his Castle of Dunaverty.

They sailed thence to Rathlin, a small island on the coast of Antrim in Ireland.

In this solitary isle, inhabited by a rude but hospitable people, Bruce spent the winter, unconscious of the fate of his family and friends. Whilst Bruce was a fugitive, and his consort and many of his friends were languishing in captivity, the Castle of Kildrummie, held by Sir Nigel Bruce and the Earl of Athol, still resisted the besiegers under the Prince of Wales and the Earls of Lancaster, Gloucester, and Hereford. It was Edward himself who had made this castle so strong that it was enabled to hold out against all his power.

The ruins of the curtain walls and towers are still to be seen which he constructed round the original Snow tower, and resemble those which he built, about the same time, in England and Wales.

At last it was taken by storm during the confusion occasioned by a great fire breaking out in the corn magazine, originated by the treachery of one of the garrison—"Osborne," a blacksmith—who threw into it a red-hot coulter.

Sir Nigel Bruce, famed for his handsome person and chivalrous bearing, was sent to Berwick, and there hanged, and afterwards beheaded.

The Earl of Athol attempted to escape by sea, but was taken by Sir Hugh le Despencer and sent to London. "The news of his relative's capture," says Matthew of Westminster, "afforded great ease to Edward, who was then very ill." In consideration of his being the king's cousin, he was allowed to ride to the place of execution instead of being drawn upon a hurdle, and the gallows was ordered to be made fifty feet high. His head was placed over that of Wallace on London Bridge. Nov. 7,
1306.

This John tenth Earl of Athol (whose mother was daughter to Richard, son nat. of King John by Rose de Lucy, who had a grant of Chillam Castle),

married Lady Isabel, eldest sister of Robert the Bruce, and widow of Sir Thomas Randolph of Strathdon, Grand Chamberlain of Scotland to Alexander III. Her son, Sir Thomas Randolph, one of the earliest associates of his uncle, deserted his cause after the Battle of Methvin; but being taken prisoner by a party of King Robert's forces in 1308, he was after a time received again into favour, and proved ever after the most zealous and attached of his adherents.

The Lady Isabel's step-son, David de Strathbolgie, succeeded his father in 1307, ætat. 19. He was a hostage in 1296-7. He was made High Constable of Scotland by Bruce in 1311-12. Soon, however, giving up his allegiance, and marrying "Joane," eldest daughter and co-heiress of John Cumyn, late Lord of Badenoch, and niece and co-heiress of Aymer de Valence, his estates in Scotland were forfeited, and the office of High Constable was given to Sir Gilbert de Haya.

About the same time Sir Christopher Seton, second husband of the Lady Christian Bruce, was taken prisoner in his Castle of Lochdown in Ayrshire, and put to death by the English at Dumfries. The Lady Christian was made prisoner also in 1306, but whether at Kildrummie or Lochdown, we know not. Her young son, the Earl of Marr, being of tender years, was not put in chains, but sent to be brought up by the Bishop of Chester, an education which did not fit him for the high station he afterwards held in Scotland.

Sir Simon Fraser made an attempt to raise the nation against the English at Kirkencliff near Stirling, but was defeated, and obliged to surrender to Sir Thomas de Multon. He was paraded through the streets of London on horseback, having his legs tied under the horse's girths, and a crown of periwinkle upon his head. He also was hanged, and his head was placed beside that of Wallace on London Bridge. The other knights condemned to death were—Sir Herbert de Morham, Sir Thomas de Bois, David de Inchmartine, Sir John Somerville, and Sir Walter Logan.

The estates of Bruce and of some of his adherents were given to the commanders of Edward's army—Annandale, to the Earl of Hereford; Carrick, to Sir Harry Percie; Strathbolgie, along with Strathdon, Badenoch, and Athol, to the Earl of Gloucester (probably "Monthermar," second husband of Joane Plantagenet, who bore that title in her right until her death in 1307).

Aymer de Valence, as his portion, applied for the barony and castle of Bothwell, and the manors and forests of Selkirk and Traquair, the property of William de Morreve, but which Edward had given in 1292 "to *William*, the son of John Cumyn" (nephew of Aymer de Valence).—Ayloff's Calendar, p. 107.

In 1304 Edward granted them to Adomair de Valence and his heirs.

Edward spent the winter at Lanercost Abbey in Cumberland, where

he held a Parliament. Bruce and all his adherents who were accessories Feb. 22, to the death of the Cumyn, or who were guilty of perjury or other ^{1307.} flagrant acts, were excommunicated by Cardinal Sabinus of Spain, then papal legate in England, who formally and solemnly pronounced the dreaded sentence by book, bell, and candle, in presence of the king and parliament. Early in spring Sir James Douglas and Sir Robert Boyd left Rathlan to proceed to Arran, in search of an adventure. On reaching Arran they drew up their boats in a place of concealment, and lay in ambush with their men not far from Broderick Castle, which was occupied by an English garrison commanded by Sir John de Hastings. Ere long they surprised the under-warden and a party of 40 soldiers, whom they slew, and took possession of a cargo of provisions, clothing, and arms which had just arrived. After this, they fortified themselves in a wooded ravine, and were thus in a condition to hold out for a considerable time.

Whilst they were in Arran, acting on the defensive, Bruce arrived with a fleet of 33 galleys and 300 men. Barbour says that, as soon as Bruce landed he was met by a woman, who in reply to his inquiry "whether any armed men had lately landed on the island," informed him that not long since a "number had landed, and were now not far distant." "Bruce sounded his horn." Its well-known and welcome notes were recognised by Sir James Douglas and his companions.

They hastened to the king, who returned their affectionate greetings, and wept with joy at again meeting them in safety.* Bruce's next object was to recover Carrick, which lies on the opposite ~~side~~ of Ayrshire, and within sight of Arran. Accordingly he despatched one of his confidential attendants, named "Cuthbert," to ascertain the state of his vassals. It was arranged that if no obstacle existed to his descent upon the coast, Cuthbert was to light a fire upon an eminence near Turnberry Castle. When the expected time arrived, Bruce watched for the signal-fire, and observing as he looked from the battlements of Broderick Castle a light at the appointed place, he instantly embarked with his followers, and steered for the opposite coast of Carrick. On landing he met Cuthbert, who told him that Turnberry was occupied by a strong English force under Sir Harry Percie.

* Tradition still points to a cave, called the King's Cave, where Bruce took shelter for some time after his arrival in the island; and another tradition maintains that he occupied a rampart styled, "Tor-auschuan," but there is reason to believe that he took possession of Broderick Castle.

A memorial of his visit still remains in the unbroken tenure of an estate, by a family to whose ancestors he gave it along with the office of coroner, as a reward for his services.—Martin's Western Isles, Appendix.

"Why then did you make the signal-fire?"

"I made no signal," answered the man; "but seeing a light on the hill, and thinking it might mislead you, I hastened to embark for Arran to undeceive you."

Bruce was now placed in a situation of great embarrassment, and, being at a loss what course to adopt, sought the counsel of his friends. His brother Edward dissuaded him from returning to Arran, and advised him to try his fortune by an attack upon the castle, a course which, after some consideration, he resolved to follow. During the darkness of the night they fell upon the English soldiers quartered in the village of Turnberry, and slew them all except one man, who managed to escape and alarm the garrison. The commander, however, being ignorant of their strength, did not venture to sally forth, and Bruce, having captured a considerable number of war-horses and silver-plate which happened to be in the village, retreated to a hill not far off, called "The Weary Neuck," where he continued for some time to hold a strong position. Here a lady, whose name never has transpired—a kinswoman of the king*—brought him an accession of 40 men, and a seasonable supply of money to his treasure-chest, and provisions to his commissariat. She at the same time announced to him the capture of his consort, and the still more terrible fate of Sir Nigel, of the Earl of Athol, and of Sir Christopher Seton, whose deaths he then took a vow he would avenge.

On the arrival of Sir Roger St John with 1000 men from the north of England to relieve Percy and the garrison of Turnberry Castle, Bruce retreated to the mountainous parts of Carrick—according to Buchanan, he made a diversion by attacking the Castle of Inverness. Sir James Douglas, in the meanwhile, ever intent on hazardous enterprises, proceeded to try his fortune in his own domains. Assuming a disguise, with two trustworthy attendants, he took up his abode in the cottage of a faithful vassal, "Thomas Dickson," to whom he revealed himself, in the immediate neighbourhood of Castle-Douglas, which had been given by Edward to Lord Robert Clifford. There he spent night after night in receiving the visits of his retainers.

He soon organised a resolute band, with whom he determined to surprise the English.

The attack was made on Palm-Sunday, whilst all the soldiers were marched out to attend service in the neighbouring Church of St Bride. Douglas found the castle unprotected, and having killed all the English, he made a pile of their bodies, and of all the corn, meat, malt, and salt that he found on the

* Probably "the Lady of Cunningham," whose husband was with Edward.

premises, and having poured over it all the wine and ale, he set fire to the whole and burnt down the castle. The ruins long retained the name of "The Douglas Larder."

Whilst fortune had so far been favourable to Bruce, intelligence reached him of the terrible fate of his brothers, "Thomas and Alexander." They had succeeded in raising 7000 men in Ireland, and had reached Loch Ryan, where they were about to disembark, when Macdowall, the chieftain of that country, attacked and totally defeated them on the 9th of February. Amongst the slain were "the Lord of Kintyre," and two Irish chiefs ('Chronicle of Lanercost'). Their heads were cut off and sent along with the prisoners, Thomas and Alexander Bruce and Sir Reginald Crauford, all severely wounded, to Edward, who instantly ordered the captives to be executed.

This calamity, which also deprived Bruce of an expected reinforcement, obliged him to remain on the defensive amongst the hills of Carrick. The Castle of Douglas was again repaired and garrisoned by the English, the walls having been but little injured by the fire.

The Galwegians attempted to hunt Bruce down with bloodhounds, but his prowess and almost superhuman strength defeated all their efforts to capture him. Douglas retook his castle a second time, and joined Bruce at Cumnock, on the retreat of Umphraville from that place; but on hearing there of the approach of the Earl of Pembroke, they again retreated to the heights of Carrick. Here Bruce, with his little band of 400 men, awaited the attack of the English, who had been strengthened by 800 Highlanders under John of Lorn.*

Beset on all sides by open enemies and treacherous friends, Bruce made many narrow escapes from capture or death. Even his nephew Randolph at that time openly opposed him, and took his standard in the field. John of Lorn tried to run him down with his own bloodhound; but from all these dangers he escaped to defeat Pembroke at Glentruel; and upon his consequent retreat to Carlisle, to take possession of the whole of Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick.

Sir James Douglas, on his march from Bothwell into Kyle with 1000 men, met with Sir Philip Mowbray, and vanquished him. After these exploits the Scottish army was speedily recruited, and was soon strong enough to defeat the English.

* It is to be observed that all these leaders of the English were the connections of the Cumyn—Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was his brother-in-law; John of Lorn, his nephew Umphraville, had married a daughter of the late Earl of Buchan; and two Percie brothers married the two daughters, and finally co-heiresses (with the Talbots) of Athol, Badenoch, and de Valence.

After Mowbray's defeat, Pembroke challenged Bruce (who then lay at Galston) to join in battle at Loudon Hill on the 10th of May.

This challenge was accepted.

May 10. The battle was fought upon the ground chosen by the English commander ; but Bruce showed himself a strategist of the highest order. With a battalion of 600 spearmen, he succeeded, from the position he took up, in defeating the English army, consisting of 3000 heavy cavalry. They were completely dispersed, but Bruce was unable to follow up his victory for want of horse. Barbour tells us that, "after the battle of Loudon Hill, Sir Amery (Pembroke) went with his army to Bothwell, and thence to England, and gave up his 'Wardency' to King Edward."

Soon after Bruce attacked and routed "Monthermor,"* Earl of Gloucester, and compelled him to retire to the Castle of Ayr, to which fortress he prepared to lay siege with an army daily increasing in numbers.

At the time of the Battle of Loudon Hill Edward I. lay ill at Carlisle. His malady had commenced before he left London, and had been aggravated by the chagrin and disappointment of seeing his favourite object of ambition suddenly frustrated ; but, notwithstanding his bodily weakness, his mental energy still continued unimpaired. On hearing of Bruce's victory, he instantly ordered that the whole military force of England should assemble at Carlisle twenty-one days after the Feast of St John. Flattering himself that he should be able to command this force in person, he offered up in the Cathedral of Carlisle the litter upon which he had been brought there.

In July Edward mounted on horseback, and, placing himself at the head of his troops, marched towards the shore of Solway, in order to cross over to Scotland. His last halting-place was "Burgh-on-the-Sands," in Cumberland, where he arrived on the 6th of July, having spent four days in accomplishing six miles ; and next day, July 7th, 1307, he expired in the 69th year of his age, and 35th of his reign.

On his death-bed he gave strict injunctions to his son, "Edward, Prince of Wales," to send his heart, escorted by 140 knights, to the Holy Land, and to carry his bones, wrapped up in a bull's hide, at the head of the army until he had entirely subdued the Scots. This order, however, was not obeyed. His body was embalmed, and carried first to Waltham, where it remained for seventeen weeks. Monks attended and said masses by night and by day.

* "Ralph de Monthermor" married "Joane Plantagenet," daughter of Edward I., and widow of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and during her life was styled "Earl of Gloucester ;" but on her death in 1307 was summoned to Parliament as "Ralph de Monthermor" only. The son of Joane by her first husband was Bruce's cousin and friend, the young earl killed at Bannockburn.

The funeral was fixed to take place at Westminster Abbey on the 27th of October.

On his tomb was engraven the following inscription :—"Edwardus Primus, Scotorum Malleus, Pætum Serva. 1308."

Edward II. was in his twenty-fourth year when he succeeded his father.

After receiving the homage of some of the barons of Scotland, then in the interest of England, at Roxburgh Castle, he pushed forward to Cumnock, on the borders of Ayrshire, reappointed Pembroke, Guardian of Scotland, and returned to his own dominions.

After the death of Edward I., and the retreat of Edward II., it appears that Robert Bruce, accompanied by his brother Edward, invaded Galloway with a large force, commanding the people to join his standard; and where they resisted, ravaging the country, not forgetful of the fate of their two young brothers. Soon after the fickle Edward II. removed Pembroke from his guardianship, and appointed his cousin, John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, in his stead. The military force of all the northern counties of England was placed under his command; and the Earl of Dunbar, Robert de Keth, Alex. de Abernethy, and other powerful barons, were enjoined to march against Bruce and rescue Galloway—orders being given to the Sheriffs of London to send all kinds of provisions and military stores by sea to Berwick.

But Bruce had taken his way across the Grampians,—“crossed the mount” near Loch Rannoch before they reached him. His brother Edward, the Earl of Lennox, Sir Robert Boyd, &c., &c. were with him. He left Sir James Douglas to recover his own lands, which he soon accomplished—Selkirk, Douglasdale, and Jedworth again were his. It is said he was *thirteen times* vanquished, and had fifty-seven victories.

King Robert, hearing that John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, was coming against him to avenge his cousin's death, rested at Inverury to meet him; but there he fell sick, “and was not able to ride or go.” They carried him in a litter to “*the Slencth*,” * and intended to remain in that fort till he was better, but the Earl of Buchan collected his men, and came there to attack the king. Provisions beginning to fail, the Scots retired into Strathbolgie, carrying the king with them on a litter. As soon as he began to recover his strength, they returned to Inverury; whilst the Earl of Buchan, with about 1000 men, was stationed at Old Meldrum. 1308.

Sir David de Brechin, Bruce's sister's son, who was then attached to the Cumyn party, suddenly attacked and put to flight some of King Robert's followers, which affront roused him from his litter, and, calling for his arms and his horse, he led his soldiers in person against the Earl of Buchan. May 8.

* Tytler calls this place “*Slaines*.”

It was Edward Bruce, however, who really led the army, King Robert only appearing on horseback to encourage his troops ; for we are told that he was supported by a soldier on each side.

The Earl of Buchan's party was entirely routed and dispersed, and pursued as far as Fyvie.

Brechin fled to his own castle in Angus, which was soon besieged and taken by the young Earl of Athol (son of him who had been hanged on the high scaffold of honour by Edward I.) After a time Sir David de Brechin was pardoned and received into favour by his uncle ; but it appears from his conduct in after years that he still held treasonable relations with the enemy.

Aberdeen was taken, notwithstanding reinforcements sent to its aid by Edward II. ; but the citizens were in favour of Bruce and liberty, and, assaulting the castle, expelled the English garrison and destroyed the fortifications. Forfar Castle was taken, and Perth threatened.

The Earl of Richmond was now recalled, and Robert de Umphrville, Earl of Angus, William de Ross, and Henry de Beaumont, were appointed by Edward joint-guardians of Scotland.

John Cumyn,* Earl of Buchan, and other great nobles, retained the government of their own districts.

Edward Bruce now invaded Galloway, which was held by English troops under the command of Sir Ingelram de Umphrville (who had joined the English in 1305) and Sir John de St John, assisted by the Macdowalls, or M'Dougals, Lords of Galloway, who had formerly taken the two younger brothers of Bruce prisoners. Edward Bruce defeated the English troops, and compelled the inhabitants to swear allegiance to his brother. Umphrville and St John escaping to the Castle of Butel, on the coast, afterwards returned to the charge at the head of 1500 men, but they were again routed by Edward Bruce with a much inferior force.

June 29, 1308. Roland M'Dougal and Donald of the Isles came against Edward on the banks of the Dee (near Kirkcudbright), but he dispersed their army, killing Roland and several other chiefs, and taking prisoner the Lord of the Isles in the pursuit.

Thirteen castles and forts in Galloway were taken possession of by Edward Bruce, and the country completely subjected to his brother.

About the same time, Sir Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew, and Alex. Stewart of Bonkyll, then in the interest of England, but afterwards the most trusty adherents of the Bruce, were taken prisoners by Sir James Douglas, who treated them with great kindness, and soon after made their peace with the king.

Bruce next marched against the Lord of Lorn, not forgetting his attack upon

* Henry de Beaumont afterwards marrying John Cumyn's niece and co-heiress, became in her right "Earl of Buchan."

him after the battle of Methven in 1306. After a stout resistance, "the men of Lorn" were defeated with great slaughter.* Their chief, witnessing their defeat from his galley, immediately fled to his Castle of Dunstaffnage, which surrendered after a short siege, and the Lord of Lorn swore allegiance to the Bruce; but his son, with his galleys, escaped to England, where the father probably soon followed.

Rutherglen in Clydesdale was soon after besieged by Bruce, a castle which Edward seemed to think of so great importance that he ordered the Earl of Gloucester and other of his nobles to proceed with an army to raise the siege. In this, however, they did not succeed, for next year Rutherglen was in the hands of the Scots.

At length Edward consented to accept the mediation of Philip, King of 1309. France, who despatched "Oliver des Roches" to treat with Bruce and Lamber-ton, Bishop of St Andrews, preparatory to taking measures for a reconciliation. Des Roches was soon followed by the king's brother Lewis, Count d'Evreux, and Guy, Bishop of Soissons, as ambassadors earnestly desirous of peace.

A truce was concluded, but does not appear to have been well kept on either side, Edward's ever-vacillating policy making him break his promises as soon as made, one day giving orders to his lieutenants in Scotland to prosecute the war with the greatest vigour, and the next, if necessary, to purchase a truce.—Hemingsford, vol. i. p. 246.

On the 24th of February 1309-10, the clergy of Scotland held a general council at Dundee, and declared "that Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, the competitor ought, by the ancient laws and customs of the country, to have been preferred to Baliol in the competition for the crown, and that for this reason they unanimously recognised Robert Bruce, his grandson, as their lawful sovereign; and they engaged to defend his rights, and the liberties and independence of Scotland, against all opponents," &c. &c.

In the beginning of September, Bruce again entered England by the district 1310 to of Redesdale, ravaged the bishopric of Durham, and levied contributions on the 1312. inhabitants, who purchased a short truce from the Scottish king. Perth was next taken; it had been strongly fortified, and surrounded by walls and a deep moat by Edward. Bruce himself was the first man to cross the ditch, bearing a ladder in his hand. The water reached his throat, and he could only find his way with his spear. Longueville, the friend of Wallace, was the next to follow; he never quitted Bruce after the death of Wallace, and was now at his side,

* Alaister of Argyle or Ergadia, Lord of Lorn, married the third daughter of the Red Cumyn (No. 1.) He fled to England, where he soon died after his defeat. His son, "John of Argyle," was in the service of Edward II. on the 4th October 1308.—'Rotuli Scotiæ,' M. 13, p. 58.

the second to scale the walls of Perth. Bruce afterwards gave him "*the chartered lands of Kinfauns*," and thus the family was founded of the "*Charteris of Kinfauns*," said to descend lineally from Longueville. His two-handed broadsword is still preserved.

Again Edward sued for a truce, but this was refused. Northumberland was again invaded, and the city of Durham and several other towns taken.

The people of that rich bishopric offered £2000 sterling to purchase a truce, which was agreed to, on condition that Robert should have free power to pass through the county of Durham whenever he chose to invade England.

Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, struck with terror, each offered £2000 to be included in the same truce. Bruce established his headquarters at Chester; whilst Sir James Douglas sacked Hartlepool and the surrounding country.

On his return, Bruce assaulted Carlisle, but finding the garrison on the alert, retired with loss after a desperate conflict.

The Castle of Dalswynton in Galloway, "the chief residence of the Cumyns," as well as the Castles of Butel and Dumfries, held by Henry de Beaumont, were next taken by assault and razed to the ground, so as to make them untenable by any military force.—Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1006.

Sir Walter Cumyn, who with other knights of distinction was exchanged for Bruce's sister, "*the Lady Mary*," in 1310, was probably taken at Dalswynton. He appears to have been the head of the Cumyn party in the absence of the son and grandson of the Red Cumyn, who both died in England. Sir Walter and his brother Thomas were subsequently killed at Kilblain in 1335. They appear to have been the sons of Sir Alexander Cumyn, uncle of the Red Cumyn (No. 2.), and brother of Sir Robert, taken at Dunbar in 1296, and liberated by Edward I. in 1297, when their *sons* were sent hostages to England.

Bruce gave his sister, "the Lady Mary," who had been a prisoner in Roxburgh Castle since 1306, in marriage to Sir Neil Campbell, "before the battle of Bannockburn."

1312. Roxburgh Castle was taken by Randolph from its English garrison and French governor, "De Fiennes." Randolph next laid siege to Edinburgh Castle, and found means of entering by a steep and intricate path, shown him by a man of the name of François, who had once been a soldier within the fortress. Randolph with thirty men undertook the enterprise, but before the whole party could gain the summit of the walls, the garrison was alarmed, and a desperate combat* ensued, in which the governor was killed, and the English immediately surrendered.—14th March 1312-13.

* The good Queen Margaret, in the spirit of prophecy, had written upon the castle walls to beware; for although it was considered impregnable, it would one day be taken by "un François."

Conferences, through the mediation of France, for a truce with the Scots May 17, 1313. were renewed.

Cumberland, being again invaded, demanded succour from Edward ; but he, being about to depart for France, desired them to defend themselves till his return. Bruce, meanwhile, landed in the Isle of Man, overcame the governor, "a M'Dowill"* (probably one of the Gallwegian lords who made his two young brothers prisoners, and sent them to Edward I.), and took possession of the island with its Castle of Ruffin. Edward Bruce had made himself master of June 11. the Castles of Rutherglen and Dundee, and laid siege to the Castle of Stirling. Philip de Mowbray, the governor, offered to surrender if not relieved on the Feast of St John the Baptist (24th June) the following year. To this offer Edward, without consulting his brother, agreed.

The King of Scots was highly displeased at this rash treaty, as it interrupted his military operations, and gave a long interval to allow the English to assemble their forces, besides hazarding the fate of his kingdom on a single battle. He, however, consented to the treaty, and resolved to meet the English on the appointed day.

Immense preparations were made by Edward for relieving the Castle of 1314. Stirling. A fleet was collected, and the Irish subjects of the king under Eth O'Connor and twenty-six other Irish chiefs were summoned to put themselves under the command of the *Earl of Ulster* (Bruce's brother-in-law, but then his sister was a prisoner in England). His barons were summoned to meet him in arms at Berwick on the 11th of June ; and 22,000 foot-soldiers from different March 26. counties of England and Wales were to rendezvous at Werk.

The King of Scots appointed a general rendezvous of his troops at the Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling. Their number somewhat exceeded 30,000, and an unarmed and undisciplined rabble of about 15,000 followed the camp. The king determined to await the English in a position, having the Bannockburn on his right, and Stirling on his left, his front extending nearly to St Ninians. What he had most to dread was the strength of the English cavalry, but the banks of the burn were steep in many places, and the ground between it and Stirling partly covered with wood. The king ordered pits to be dug in every quarter where cavalry could have access. These pits were of a foot in breadth, and two or three feet deep ; brushwood was laid slightly over them, and they were then carefully covered with sod, so as to be imperceptible to an impetuous enemy.

Edward came on triumphantly to the relief of Stirling Castle ; and on the 23d of June the alarm came to the Scottish camp that his army was approach-

* In the annals of Ireland he is called "Lord Donegan O'Dowill," probably Duncan M'Dowall.

ing. Bruce drew up his army on foot. He gave the command of the centre to Douglas, and Walter the young Steward of Scotland.

The right wing was commanded by Edward Bruce, and the left by Randolph.

He himself took charge of the reserve, composed of the men of Argyle, the islanders, and his own vassals of Carrick. In a valley to the rear he placed the baggage of the army, and all the numerous camp-attendants.

He enjoined Randolph to be vigilant in preventing any advanced parties of the English from throwing succours into the Castle of Stirling.

Eight hundred horsemen, under Sir Robert Clifford, were detached from the English army, and, making a circuit by the low grounds to the east, approached the castle. The king perceived this, and, riding up to Randolph, angrily exclaimed, "Thoughtless man, you have allowed the enemy to pass."

Randolph darted off to repair his fault, or perish. As he advanced, the English cavalry wheeled to attack him. Randolph drew up his troops in a circle, their spears resting on the ground. On the first onset Sir William Daynecourt, a valiant English commander, was killed; but the English, far superior in numbers, surrounded Randolph's little band. Douglas saw his jeopardy, and begged to be allowed to go to his aid. "Move not from your ground!" cried the king. "Let Randolph extricate himself as he may. I cannot alter my order of battle and lose the advantage of my position." "But in truth," replied Douglas, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish." So the king unwillingly consenting, he rushed to his aid. Whilst approaching he perceived that the English were falling into disorder, and that the steady perseverance of Randolph had prevailed over the impetuosity of his assailants. "Halt!" cried Douglas; "these brave men have repulsed the enemy; let us not diminish their glory by sharing it."

The vanguard of the English army now appeared. The King of Scots was then in front of the line riding a small horse, with a battle-axe in his hand and a crown above his helmet, as was the custom of those days. Henry de Bohun, an English knight, rode forward to encounter him, armed at all points. The king met him in single combat, and with his battle-axe cleft De Bohun's skull, and laid him dead at his feet. The English vanguard retreated in confusion. It is said that the Scottish leaders reproached the king for his temerity, and that he, conscious of his error, merely replied, "I have broken my good battle-axe."

Monday, the 24th of June 1314, at break of day, the English army moved on to the attack.

The van, consisting of archers and spearmen, was commanded by Gilbert de Clare, the young Earl of Gloucester, nephew of the English king and cousin of

the Scottish, and by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Constable of England.

Edward in person brought up the main body—Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Giles d'Argentine, two experienced warriors, attending him ; but the ground was so narrow that it had not space to extend itself, and appeared to the Scots as one compact body. Maurice, Abbot of Inchaffray, placing himself on an eminence, celebrated mass in sight of the Scottish army. He then passed along the front barefooted, and exhorted the Scots in a few forcible words to fight for their rights and their liberty. The Scots knelt as he passed along. "They yield!" cried Edward. "See! they implore mercy." "They do," answered Ingelram de Umphraville, "but not ours; on that field they will conquer or die." The conflict was long and bloody. Bruce, perceiving that the English archers grievously annoyed his troops, ordered Sir Robert June 24, Keith, the Mareschal, with a few armed horsemen, to make a circuit by the right and attack the archers in flank. The archers, having no other weapons, were instantly overthrown, and, falling back, spread disorder throughout the army. ¹³¹⁴

The King of Scots advanced with the reserve.

The young and gallant Earl of Gloucester attempted to rally the fugitives, but was unhorsed and killed.

The Scots had particular orders from their king to save him, and would willingly have done so had they known him; but on that day he had refused to put on "*Togam propriæ armaturæ*"—that is, the upper garment on which his arms were depicted. In this we can trace his still lingering youthful affection for the Bruce.

The confusion became universal. At that moment the gillies, or attendants on the Scottish army, rushed down to have a share in the fray and the plunder. The English, supposing that fresh troops had arrived in aid of the Scots, fled with precipitation on every side. Many sought shelter amongst the rocks round Stirling Castle, and many rushed into the river and were drowned.

When Pembroke saw the day was lost, he constrained Edward to quit the field. Sir Giles d'Argentine, famed for his prowess in the Saracen wars, exclaimed, "It is not my wont to fly;" then spurring his horse, and crying out, "An Argentine!" he rushed into the battle and was killed.

Douglas, with sixty horsemen, pursued the English king. At the Torwood he met Sir Laurence Abernethy, who was hasting with twenty horsemen to join the English rendezvous. Abernethy abandoned the cause of the vanquished, and joined with Douglas in the pursuit. Edward rode without halting to Linlithgow. Scarcely had he rested there when the alarm came that the

Scots were at hand. Edward again fled, Douglas and Abernethy pressing hard upon him, and allowed him not a moment of respite. At length he reached Dunbar, more than sixty miles distant from the field of battle. There, the 'Seala Chronica' tells us, ap. Leland, t. ii. p. 547, "Counte Patrik of Marche ful gently reseivid King Edward into his Castel of Dunbar, and thus the king cam by water to Berwick."

It is said that Oriel College, Oxford, owes its foundation to a vow made by Edward at this time to the Virgin Mary to aid his flight.—'Antiq. Oxon.,' t. ii. p. 103.

The loss of the English, according to their own historians, in this battle of *Stirling* or *Bannockmoor*, as they call it (Walsingham, Leland, &c. &c.), was exceeding great. Of barons and bannerets, twenty-seven were slain and twenty-two made prisoners. Of knights, forty-two were slain and sixty made prisoners. Of esquires there fell seven hundred. Of common soldiers slain there is no certain report.

The privy seal of the English king fell into the hands of the Scots. This Bruce restored to Edward, on condition that he should not again use it; and it was accordingly broken up.

The dead bodies of the Earl of Gloucester and Lord Clifford were sent to be interred in England with all honours.

Ralph de Monthermar, the husband of Joane Plantagenet, and stepfather of Gilbert de Clare (both known as "Earls of Gloucester"), and "Sir Marmaduke Twenge," the husband of one of the four co-heiresses of the Bruces of Skelton, he set at liberty without ransom. They are both noted as brave commanders, and had probably been his friends and allies, as they were his connexions by marriage, in England.

On the side of the Scots few men of note fell, except Sir William de Vipont, and Sir Walter Ross, who was bitterly regretted by Edward Bruce. "Oh, that this day's work were undone!" he exclaimed, "so Ross had not died." (See 'Life of Edward Bruce.') The Earl of Hereford had retreated after the battle to the Castle of Bothwell. There he was besieged by Edward Bruce, and soon after capitulated. An exchange of prisoners now took place. The wife and daughter of Bruce, the Bishop of Glasgow, Wisheart, "that blind was made," and the young Earl of Marr, who had been nine years in England, under the tutelage of the Bishop of Chester, were now restored to Scotland. David de Lindesay, Andrew Moray, Reginald de Lindesay, and Alexander, his brother, were also exchanged for Sir John de Segrave and other knights taken at Bannockburn.

Edward Bruce and Douglas afterwards entered England by the Eastern Marches, penetrating as far as Richmond and Appleby, and returned home

laden with plunder. Walsingham says many English joined them, and that a hundred of that nation would have fled from two or three Scotsmen, so great was the panic.

The English king summoned a Parliament at York. He appointed the Earl of Pembroke, formerly guardian in Scotland, to be guardian of the country between the Trent and Tweed. The King of Scots sent Ralph Chilton, a friar, with overtures of peace. He wrote to Edward that a lasting concord between the two nations was his chief wish, and he desired a passport for commissioners to treat on his part.* Edward granted the passport, and appointed commissioners to treat with the Scots; but the conclusion of the war was not yet. The Scots were too prosperous to make concessions, and the English too much divided by faction to yield. Several raids into England during the winter followed.

About this time the unfortunate John Baliol died in France, leaving a son, Edward, heir to his pretensions on the throne of Scotland, and allied by marriage to the King of France.

Two more invasions of the north of England took place. Hartlepool and 1315. Durham were plundered, Carlisle and Berwick unsuccessfully besieged.

A Parliament was held at Ayr, consisting of the bishops, abbots, priors, arch- April 26. deacons, and other prelates of the Church; the barons, knights, and others of the community of the kingdom of Scotland—as well clergy as laity—to settle the succession.

1st. They became bound to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to Robert King of Scots, and his lawful heirs-male, and *that* against *all* men.

2d. With consent of the king, and of Marjory his daughter and apparent heir, they ordained that, in case the king should die without leaving heirs-male of his body, then his brother Edward, a man of valour, and one much tried in war for the defence and liberties of Scotland, should succeed to the kingdom; and failing him, his *lawful* heirs-male.

3d. With consent of the king and of Edward Bruce, it was provided that, failing lawful heirs-male, "*Marjory*;" and failing her, the nearest heir lineally descended of the body of Robert King of Scots should succeed to the crown; but under this condition, that Marjory should marry with the consent of her father, or, after his death, with the consent of the community or *States* of Scotland.

4th. Should the king and his brother die during the minority of the heir, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, to be Guardian, if he chooses to accept that

* The Scottish commissioners were—Sir Nigel Campbell, Sir Roger de Kirkpatrick, Sir Robert de Keith, and Sir Gilbert de la Haya. Passport granted September 18, 1314.

office, until the prelates, earls, barons, and others of the community of Scotland, should hold the heir fit to govern in his own person, &c. &c.

It appears that Randolph only accepted this charge in case of a minor heir-male; had Marjory or a daughter of hers succeeded, the husband or father might have been chosen Guardian. It is to be remarked that the States of Scotland declined to come under any obligations to the heirs-male of Edward Bruce.

The King of Scots gave his daughter Marjory in marriage to "Walter the Steward" of Scotland. The king made an expedition to the Western Isles, and subdued them — John of Lorn, driven from Scotland in 1808, having still maintained his sway over them. Otherwise Scotland enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity. Barbour says that Bruce had his vessels drawn across the Tarbat or narrow neck of land that joins Knapdale to Kintyre, thus fulfilling a prophecy that the Islands should only be subdued by one who sailed across Tarbat; and that the inhabitants consequently submitted.

The Irish of Ulster, oppressed by the English Government, had implored the aid of the King of Scots, and offered to acknowledge his brother Edward for their king. Consequently, immediately after the meeting of the Parliament at Ayr, Edward had embarked from thence, and landed at Carrickfergus with 6000 men on the 25th of May 1315. He was accompanied by Thomas Randolph, then styled Earl of Moray, by Sir Philip de Mowbray, Sir John de Soulis, Sir John Stewart, Sir Fergus of Ardrossan, Sir John Menteith, Sir John de Bosco, John Bisset, and John Campbell, called his nephew (but this he could not be, as his sister Mary did not marry Sir Neil Campbell until after her release from an English prison in 1310).

March 2, 1316. Marjory, the king's daughter, and wife of the Steward of Scotland, *died*, leaving a son "Robert," afterwards "King Robert II.," the first of our Stewart kings. Her death was occasioned by a fall from her horse near Renfrew, her husband being lord of that country. Her tomb still exists in Paisley Cathedral.

Meanwhile Edward Bruce's campaign in Ireland had been generally successful. Edmond Butler, the Justiciary of Ireland, had collected forces in Leinster in July 1315, and offered to assist the Earl of Ulster in repelling the invaders. "You may return home," said the haughty Earl; "I and my vassals will overcome the Scots." Butler withdrew, and left the conduct of the war to the Earl of Ulster.

The Scots made a sudden retreat, and, leaving their banner flying in the camp, made a circuit, and unexpectedly assaulted the flank of the earl's army, routed them, and made many prisoners. Amongst them was "Lord William

de Burgh" (called by a mistake of the transcribers in Cambden, "Lord William de Brus"), who appears to have remained with him.

Soon after this battle, Randolph repaired to Scotland to procure reinforcements, and returned to Edward with 500 men. They marched southwards towards Dundalk, and penetrated through Meath into Kildare. There they met Edmond Butler with a much superior force, and defeated him on the 26th of January, but Sir Walter Moray and some other knights were slain.

A great famine prevailed, and obliged Edward to return to Ulster—his soldiers subsisting on horse-flesh. Lord Montague now opposed them, but unsuccessfully.

Edward Bruce was solemnly crowned King of Ireland.

Soon after, the King of Scots determined to conduct reinforcements to his brother in person; and intrusting the kingdom in his absence to the Stewart and Douglas, he embarked at Lochryan in Galloway, and landed at Carrickfergus. The garrison of the castle of that place, which had long been blockaded, at length capitulated. After it was lost, an English force appeared and defeated a part of the Scottish army. In this encounter "Allan Stewart" was made prisoner. The annals of Ireland report that the Scottish army amounted to 20,000 men. By forced marches they passed through Lowth and entered Leinster, and after various encounters with English and Irish forces, prepared to invest Dublin. On its fate the existence of the English government in Ireland depended. The citizens burnt their suburbs, which might have facilitated the approach of an enemy; demolished a church to repair and strengthen their walls with its materials, and resolved to defend the city or perish amidst its ruins. The Earl of Ulster, suspected of favouring the Scottish invaders, as being the brother-in-law of King Robert, was seized and committed to prison by the Mayor of Dublin, a proceeding at once illegal and extravagant, for his interest as well as his honour made him the decided opponent of Edward Bruce. Dublin, however, was not attacked; and after a somewhat fruitless campaign, King Robert returned to his own dominions about May 1317.

May 2,
1316.

During his absence the English had made various attempts to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland. The Earl of Arundel invaded Jedburgh Forest, but was defeated by Douglas; he also repelled incursions into Teviotdale; and hearing that Robert Neville had boasted his desire to encounter him, Douglas advanced towards Berwick, and displayed his banner to provoke Neville to take the field, which he did, and was slain. The English also invaded Scotland by sea, and landed at Donibrisel on the coast of Fife.

Five hundred men, under the command of the Earl of Fife and the sheriff of the county, attempted to oppose their landing, but, intimidated by the superior

numbers of the English, made a precipitate retreat. William Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, met the fugitives. "Whither are you flying?" said he to the leaders. "You deserve to have your gilt spurs hacked off." Then, throwing aside his ecclesiastical vestments, he seized a spear, and cried, "Who loves Scotland, follow me." The English were driven back to their ships with considerable loss. When the king heard of the intrepidity of this prelate, he said, 1317. "Sinclair shall be *my* bishop;" and by the appellation of "The King's Bishop" he was ever after known. Bishop Sinclair was the brother of Henry Sinclair of Roslin.—See Keith's Catalogue of Bishops, p. 51. "He was right hardy, meikle, and stark" (Barbour, p. 344). About this time Pope John XXII. issued a Bull commanding a truce between England and Scotland for two years, under pain of excommunication.

Sept. He despatched two cardinals to Britain, and these cardinals sent two messengers to the King of Scots, who received them graciously—having consulted with his barons, "like a judicious person," as the despatch says from the cardinals to the Pope. He made answer, "that he mightily desired to procure a good and perpetual peace, either by their mediation or other means. He allowed the *open* letters from the Pope to be read in his presence, but would not receive the sealed letters addressed to "Robert Bruce, governing in Scotland," "*Gubernator Scotiæ*." "Amongst my barons," he said, "there are many of the name of Robert Bruce who share in the government of Scotland—these letters may possibly be addressed to some one of them, but they are not addressed *to me*, the King of Scotland." The messengers apologised, and requested the king to command a temporary cessation of hostilities. "To that," replied the king, "I cannot consent without the approbation of my Parliament, especially whilst the English daily invade and spoil my people." "While the title of king is withheld," said the messengers to their principals, "there is no hope of a treaty." Its being so, they unguardedly allowed, arose from the English at the Papal Court of Avignon. The cardinals, however, resolved to proclaim "The Papal Truce." Adam Newton, guardian of the Minorite monastery at Berwick, was charged with letters to the Scottish bishops and clergy. He found the king with his army making preparations for the siege of Berwick. When he was informed that the papal instruments still withheld his titles, he returned them, saying, "I will listen to no Bulls until I am treated as King of Scotland, and have made myself master of Berwick." The monk demanded a safe-conduct, or permission to pass into Scotland to deliver his letters to the clergy. Both were denied, and he was ordered to quit the country forthwith; but was waylaid during the night by robbers, and his letters and parchments destroyed.

Berwick was taken, and committed to the care of Walter the High Steward. March
The Scots then entered Northumberland, and took Werk and Harbottle by ^{28, 1318.}
siege, and Mitford by surprise.

In May they invaded Yorkshire, burnt Northallerton, Bouroughbridge, Scarborough, and Shipton, and forced the inhabitants of Rippon to pay a thousand merks redemption-money. Edward now induced the Pope to order the two cardinals to excommunicate Bruce and his adherents. He then attempted to raise a large army, which was to rendezvous at York; but faction and distrust obliged him to disband them.

Edward Bruce, contrary to the judgment of all his officers, engaged in battle Oct. 5.
with the English at "Fagher, near Dundalk," and was killed. The Lord Soulis, ^{1318.}
and John the brother of Walter the Steward, were also slain, and the Scots totally defeated. John Thompson, leader of the men of Carrick, collected the stragglers, and, through many difficulties, led them home. The death of Edward Bruce, and of Marjory the king's daughter, made some new regulations necessary with respect to the royal succession.

In December 1318 a Parliament assembled at Scone. The whole clergy and laity renewed their engagements of obedience to the king, and solemnly promised to assist him in the defence of the rights and liberties of Scotland, "*against all mortals, however eminent they may be in power, authority, and dignity;*" by these expressions, no doubt, intending to describe the Pope as well as the English king. They declared that whoever violated this engagement should be held in very deed a betrayer of the kingdom, and guilty of high treason without intermission.

It was enacted, "That if Robert, King of Scots, died without issue male, 'Robert Stewart,' the son of Marjory the king's daughter, should, as his nearest and lawful heir, succeed to the crown of Scotland."

In the event of the succession devolving on Robert Stewart, or any other heir of the king's body whilst under age, the king, with the unanimous consent of the Parliament, granted the offices of Tutor or Curator of the heir, and of Guardian of the kingdom, to James Randolph, Earl of Moray; and failing him, to James Lord Douglas. It was also ordained, "That forasmuch as, in certain times past, doubts had arisen, although without sufficient cause, by what rule the right of succession to the kingdom of Scotland ought to be judged, it was now declared and defined that it ought not to have been regulated according to the practice in cases of inferior fees and inheritances, since no such practice has hitherto been introduced in the succession to the crown; but that the *nearest male-heir* to the king, at the time of his death, in the direct line of descent, should succeed to the crown; and failing such male, the nearest female in the

same line ; and failing the *whole* direct line, the nearest male in the collateral line, respect being had to the right of blood by which the last king reigned."

Dec. 21, A truce was concluded between England and Scotland for one year.

1319. During the next two years much fruitless correspondence between the Kings of England and Scotland and the Pope ensued. Philip le Long, of France, also took part in attempting to make a treaty of peace between the two nations.

1321-2. The Earls of Lancaster and Hereford rebelling against Edward, wished to make peace with Scotland on their own account, and to proclaim Lancaster King of England by the name of "King Arthur." He wrote a letter to Douglas requesting an interview, "that we may," said he, "adjust all points of our alliance, and agree to live and die together." The Earl of Hereford, however, was slain, and Gloucester gave himself up, and was beheaded 22d March 1321-2. Douglas never seems to have trusted them.

Edward now informed the Pope that he had crushed his rebellious subjects and was preparing to invade Scotland. "Give yourself no further solicitude," said he, "about a truce with the Scots ; I am determined to establish peace by force of arms." 25th March.

The Scots in the mean time invaded England by the Western Marches, spoiled Lancashire, and returned home laden with booty.

In August, Edward, after requesting the Pope to enforce the sentence of excommunication against the Scots, crossed the Border with a formidable army.

King Robert, having ordered all cattle and flocks and everything of value to be removed from the Lothians and the Merse, fixed his camp at *Culross* on the Forth. His orders were so exactly obeyed that tradition reports the only prey that fell into the hands of the English was a lame bull at Tranent, in East Lothian! "Is that all that ye have got?" said Earl Warenne, when the spoilers returned to the camp ; "I never saw so dear a beast." Edward advanced to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, but, finding no supplies for his army, was obliged to retire, having lost many of his soldiers without having seen an enemy. His troops, in their retreat, plundered the Abbeys of Holyrood and Melrose, burnt Dryburgh, slew many monks, and carried off all that was of value.

Sept. 15, Edward, on his return to England, appointed Andrew Hartcla, Guardian of
1322. the Western Marches, and *David de Strathbolgie*, Earl of Athole, Guardian of the Eastern.

Soon after this the Scots appeared with a numerous army before Norham Castle. Edward was at Biland in Yorkshire, where the Scots, by a forced march, endeavoured to surprise him. He escaped with the utmost difficulty to

York, abandoning all his baggage and treasure to the enemy. Douglas led this attack; Randolph left the command of his division, and acted as a volunteer under his friend. The English were posted on an eminence only accessible by a narrow pass, which Douglas undertook to force. The King of Scots ordered the highlanders and men of the Isles to climb the precipice in which the English trusted; they obeyed, and the English fled.

John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, Henry de Sully, a Frenchman of quality, and many other persons of quality, were made prisoners.

The Steward, with 500 horse, pursued the English to York, and in the spirit of chivalry remained at the gates until evening, waiting for the enemy to come forth and renew the combat; but it does not appear that they did so, and the Scots pursued their incursions to Ripon and Beverly.

Andrew Hartcla, lately created by Edward Earl of Carlisle, was suspected by Edward of betraying his trust, and was arrested as a traitor, 1st February 1322-3, and executed March 23d.

Edward now demanded the opinion of his counsellors as to the expediency of a truce. Henry de Beaumont, on being asked his advice, refused to give it. Edward then commanded him to depart from the council, to which he replied "that he would rather go than stay." 1323.

His brother, Lewis de Beaumont, had by his desire been appointed Bishop of Durham—Henry promising that if he were so he would so well defend the frontier that it should be "like a stone wall" against the invasions of the Scots. "And yet," said the king, "your negligence has been so great that your territory and the adjacent parts have suffered more from the Scots than in the days of any of your predecessors."—*Fœdera*, t. iii. p. 994.

Edward had appointed his brother, Edmond Earl of Kent, to be sole Guardian of the Marches, in place of Hartcla and the Earl of Athole.

A treaty of peace was concluded by the mediation, it appears, of Henry de Sully, to endure until the 12th of June 1336.

Bruce, under the title of "King of Scotland," ratified the treaty at Berwick, 7th June 1323.

A very singular article was inserted—"that Bruce and the people of Scotland might procure absolution from the Pope; but in case there was no peace concluded before the expiration of the truce, that the sentence of excommunication should revive."

Edward, whilst negotiating this truce, employed his ambassadors at the Papal Court in widening the breach between Scotland and the Pope, requesting his Holiness not to give his sanction for electing Scotsmen to the Episcopal office in their native country, "because," said Edward, "the Scottish prelates

are they who cherish the nation in its rebellion and contumacy." This request, however, was denied. Randolph went on a mission to the Pope, and offered, on the part of his uncle, King Robert, that he should accompany the French king on his expedition to the Holy Land if it should take place, or send his nephew, Sir Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, in his stead. To this the Pope made answer that, until Bruce concluded a peace with England, and was reconciled to the Church, he could not receive him as a crusader, either in society with the French king or by himself. Randolph replied that his own wishes were most ardent for peace, for which he would labour if assisted by the good offices of his Holiness; but that for rendering such effectual, it would be expedient, and indeed absolutely necessary, that a Bull should be addressed to Bruce as *king*, and that any other, as had happened formerly, would remain unopened. The Pope hastily consented, and afterwards endeavoured to apologise to the King of England, saying he saw no other means of securing a lasting peace, and stating that "Henry de Sully," a person of known zeal for the honour and interest of England, was present at the conference. — 13th January 1323-4.

March 5, A son was born to the King of Scots at Dunfermline, and named *David*.

1323-4. Edward, the son of John Baliol (who died in France in 1314), had resided for many years on his paternal estates in Normandy, neglected by England and forgotten by the Scots. The English king now required his presence at Court. — 'Fædera,' 2d July and 20th August.

1324. Nov. 8. Commissioners met at York to treat of peace — Lamberton Bishop of St Andrews, and Randolph, for Scotland; the two D'Espensers for England; when nine more commissioners were appointed. The English fondly insisted on the claim of feudal sovereignty, but this the Scots would not admit, neither would they listen to the plausible proposal of having the controverted matters argued in presence of the Pope.

The Scots held possession of Berwick, and Edward prevailed on the Pope to withhold reconciliation with the Church until it should be given up; but the Scots chose rather to remain under sentence of excommunication than to yield up Berwick.

1326. A Parliament was held at Cambuskenneth. The clergy, earls, barons, and all the nobility of Scotland, there assembled, "unà cum populo ibidem congregato" (Fordun, l. xiii. c. 12), took an oath of fealty and homage to David, the king's son, and his issue; whom failing, to Robert Stewart, son of the king's daughter Marjory.

At this time Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the companion and colleague of Wallace, obtained in marriage the Lady Christian, sister of the king, widow,

1st, of Gratney, Earl of Mar, and mother of Donald, the young earl; and, 2d, of Sir Christopher Seton, taken and put to death by the English in 1306.

Walter Stewart, the king's son-in-law, died. His course of glory was short; April 9. had he lived, he might have equalled Randolph or Douglas.

Edward II. having been deposed, and his son Edward, a youth in his fifteenth Jan. year, being his successor on the throne of England, renewed his negotiations for ¹³²⁷ peace, and ratified the truce his father had made; but receiving intelligence that March 8. the Scots had assembled their forces on the Borders, and were resolved on war if the peace was not instantly concluded, he discontinued the negotiations, and summoned his barons to meet him in arms at Newcastle-on-Tyne in April.

Randolph and Douglas now led an army of about 20,000 men into England by the Western Marches, whilst Edward, at the head of about 50,000, met the invaders at Durham, but allowed them to spoil the country and retire beyond the Tyne without interruption; whilst about the same time King Robert himself advanced with a considerable force into Northumberland, and laid siege to Alnwick and Norham Castle with two divisions of his army,

“ And with the third host held hys way
Fra’ park to park, hym for to play,
Huntand, as all hys awne war;
And till thaim that war with hym thar,
The landis of Northumberland
That neyest to Scotland war lyand
In fee and heritage gave he,” &c. &c.

— BARBOUR.

Edward III., who had narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by the Douglas, and whose army was dispersed, sent messengers to the Scottish camp to treat for peace, and to offer the king's sister Johanna in marriage to King Robert's young son *David*; but preliminary to all negotiations Bruce required “that Edward should renounce *for ever* all feudal superiority which he and his predecessors had pretended to possess over the kingdom of Scotland.” To agree to this concession seemed beyond the powers of the commissioners; but a Parliament was summoned, a truce having been agreed upon during the continuance of the negotiations.

“ The King off England,
Throu counsaill of the Mortymar
And his Modyr, that that tyme war
Leaders of hym, that then young wess,
To King Robert to tret eff pess,
Send messengers; and swa sped they
That they assentit, on this way:
Shuld thar a perpetuall pess tak;

And thai a marriage shuld mak
 Off the King Robert's son Dawy,
 That bot fyve year had scarcely,
 And off '*Thane als the Tour*,'
 That syne wis off full gret valour.
 Syster she wis to the ying king
 That had Ingland in governing,
 And then of eild had sevyn year.
 And monyments and lettres, ser,
 That they of Ingland that tyme had
 That oucht agayn Scotland mad
 Intill that treytys up thai gaff.
 And all the clayme that thai mycht haff
 Intill Scotland *on ony maner*."

—BARBOUR, buke xx. p. 157.

March 1, 1328. In the Parliament at York the first important preliminary was adjusted, of all claim of superiority over Scotland being renounced.

"Edward III. willed and consented that the said kingdom, according to its ancient boundaries observed in the days of Alexander III., should remain unto *Robert King of Scots*, and his heirs and successors, free, and divided from the kingdom of England, without any subjection, right of service, claim, or demand whatsoever; and that all writings which might have been executed at any time to the contrary should be held as void and of no effect."

Sir D. Dalrymple says there are three copies extant of this treaty—one in '*Fœdera*,' t. iv. p. 337, from a copy in the '*Chronicle of Lanercost*;' another in Fordun, l. xiii. c. 12; and one more accurate still under the hand of Wardlaw Bishop of St Andrews, an. 1415. Henry Percy and William de la Zouche were the principal commissioners for England, Douglas for Scotland.

April 1328. Peace was concluded with Scotland by the treaty of Northampton. The original treaty is not extant; but from the writings of ancient historians it may be collected that the chief articles were the following:—

1st. There shall be a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

2d. The stone on which the Kings of Scotland were wont to sit at the time of their coronation shall be restored to the Scots. [The author of the Introduction to '*The Calendars of Antient Charters*' discovered a writ under the Privy Seal, 1st July 1328, by Edward III. to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, reciting, "That his council had, in his Parliament held at Northampton, agreed that this stone should be sent to Scotland, and requiring the Dean and Chapter, in whose custody it was, to deliver it to the sheriffs of London, who were to cause it to be carried to the queen-mother," but this appears never to have been done.]

3d. The King of England engages to employ his good offices at the Papal

Court for obtaining a revocation of all spiritual processes pending before the Holy See against the King of Scots, or against his kingdom or subjects.

4th. For these causes, and in order to make reparation for the ravages committed by the Scots in England, the King of Scots shall pay 30,000 merks to the King of England, 10,000 annually on St John Baptist's Day (the anniversary of the battle of Bannockburn !)

5th. Restitution to be made of the possessions belonging to ecclesiastics in either kingdom, whereof they may have been deprived during the war.

6th. But there shall *not* be any restitution made of inheritances which have fallen into the hands of either king by reason of the war between the two nations, or through the forfeiture of former possessors.

7th. But Thomas, Lord Wake of Ledel, Henry de Beaumont, Lord of Buchan, and Henry de Percy shall be restored to their lordships, lands, and estates, whereof the King of Scots by reason of the war had taken possession.*

8th. Johanna, sister of the King of England, shall be given in marriage to David, the son and heir of the King of Scots.

9th. The King of Scots shall provide the Princess Johanna in a jointure of £2000 yearly, secured on land and rents, according to a reasonable estimation.

10th. If either of the parties fail in performing the conditions of this treaty, he shall pay 2000 pounds of silver to the Papal territory.

It is to be remarked that by this treaty of Northampton Robert Bruce gave up all his paternal inheritances in England, great as they certainly were, feeling probably that they had ever been a stumbling-block, by their feudal obligations, in the way of the perfect independence of his predecessors.

There must also have been some article in the treaty, which is not now recorded, against Englishmen holding estates in Scotland, as it is provided by Statute 7, Parliament 1 of James III.: "That no Englishman have benefice, secular or religious, within the realme of Scotland, *after the form of the Act made thereupon by King Robert the Bruyse*;" and in 'Seala Chron,' ap. Leland, t. i. p. 552, there is an allusion to this: "But these lords" (Percy, Wake, Beaumont, and de la Zouche) "wold not agre upon *this* condition, that the Englichemen should leze such lands as they held in Scotland." Hence, in after days, "The Disinhérités or Querreleurs."

The Princess Johanna of England, then in her seventh year, accompanied by July 12. her mother, Isabella the Queen-Dowager, and the Lord Chancellor of England, and a magnificent suite, arrived at Berwick, where she was received by her young bridegroom *David*, then in his fifth year. Randolph and Sir James Douglas

* Such a condition was either expressed or implied with regard to Scotsmen, by which Sir James Douglas was reinstated in the manor of Fandon, &c., in Northumberland.—See 'Fœdera,' t. iv. p. 384.

accompanied him. King Robert was then suffering severely from the illness of which he died.

The marriage was celebrated in Berwick with great joy and magnificence.

The Ragman Roll, containing the names of those who had been obliged to do homage to Edward I., and other important records, were then returned to Scotland; but the "Stone of Destiny," on which the chair of the coronations at Scone had been wont to stand, was detained, contrary to the express article in the treaty; to fulfil its destiny in Westminster Hall.

King Robert received his son and his bride with a warm and affectionate welcome in Edinburgh; but soon after, "being grievously oppressed with the great sickness, so that there was no ways for him but death" (Froissart), he retired to Cardross on the Clyde, and there breathed his last on the 7th of June 1329, aged 55 years.

Elizabeth de Burgh, his queen, daughter of Richard, or Aymer Earl of Ulster, had died at Cullen on the 26th October 1327, leaving, besides Prince David, three young daughters.—Fordun, vol. ii. p. 288.

King Robert originally instituted a choir of twelve canons at Cullen to sing the requiem of his royal consort, who died during an occasional residence in an old mansion, the foundations of which still exist, near to where Cullen House now stands. The ancient Bede-house, still supported by the Findlater family for the like number of Bedesmen, is believed to be the continuation of this institution.—Cordiner's 'Banffshire,' 1788.

It also appears from the charter of the burgh of Cullen, "That Robert of Bruis, King of Scots, granted and gave in gift for ever, £5 of the money of the kingdom" (*i.e.*, 8s. 4d. sterling) "for the support of a chaplain in the parish church of the blessed Virgin Mary, of our burgh of Cullen, always to pray for the soul of our serene princess, Queen Elizabeth, consort of the said King Robert."—"Ecclesiastical History of Banffshire," by Cordiner, in his 'Antiquities of the North of Scotland.'

Her three daughters were—1, Margaret; 2, Matilda; and, 3, Elizabeth. The last not being mentioned by Bishop Leslie, Lord Hailes speaks doubtfully of her legitimacy; but her name of Elizabeth seems to prove that she was the daughter of the queen, probably younger than Prince David, and therefore less considered as to the succession; besides, the charter of Gask by her brother David II. in 1364, which Lord Hailes wished for, has now come to light.

The younger daughters of King Robert I. were:—

1st. Margaret who married first "*Robert Glen*," as appears by a charter of David II. to Robert Glen and "Margaret," the king's sister, of the lands of Pitedy, near Kinghorn, Fife. Margaret married secondly "William" fourth

Earl of Sutherland. They had a charter of the Earldom of Sutherland, dated 10th October 1345, by which it was converted into a regality. Margaret, Countess of Sutherland, died in 1358, leaving two sons, "John and William."

"John, Fitz and heir le Counte de Sotherland, est envoié à Londres, en Aug. 16, la compaigné de son père, pour demeurer devers le chancelleur," as a host-¹³⁵⁷ age for his uncle, the King David II. This John died of the plague at Lincoln, about Christmas 1361. William, his brother, became fifth Earl of Sutherland.

There appears to have been an elder son, "Alexander," who died young, on whom David, at one time, wished to settle the succession to the crown, to the exclusion of the Stewarts.

2d. Matilda married Thomas d'Isaack, and had two daughters; first, Johanna, married to John, Lord of Lorn; second, Catherine, died unmarried. Matilda died in Aberdeen, A.D. 1353 (Fordun).

3d. Elizabeth, married Sir Walter Oliphant of Aberdalgy. Crawford refers to the charter of 11th January 1364, whereby David II. erects the lands of *Gask* into a free barony, "*dilecto et fideli suo Waltero Olyfant, et Elisabethæ, spousæ suæ, dilectæ sorari nostræ.*"

As this charter is of a much later date than that to the Countess of Sutherland, it is probable that Elizabeth was much younger, and may possibly have been born when the queen died at Cullen, in October 1327, and been called after her.

The marriages of these sisters must have taken place when their brother David was in exile.

On the lamented death of the restorer of Scottish liberty, Randolph, Earl of¹³²⁹ Moray, in accordance with the Act of Settlement of 1318, became Regent of the kingdom.

Randolph was the son of the "Lady Isabel," Bruce's eldest sister, whose first husband was "Sir Thomas Randolph of Strathdon, Great Chamberlain of Scotland to Alexander III."

Bruce, on his death-bed, received the promise of his trusty friend "the Douglas," that he would carry his heart to the Holy Land. He probably wished to prevent any rivalry betwixt him and Randolph during the first portion of the regency, for he appears always to have feared a collision between these two, when not himself present to hold the balance. But it was a sad day June for Scotland when the good Sir James Douglas, accompanied by seven noble¹³³⁰ Scottish knights and twenty-eight squires of the first families in the country, set sail for Flanders. At the then great seaport of Sluys, he anchored for twelve days; and received on board whatever persons of good estate went to

pay their respects to him in right royal manner, with the sound of trumpets and cymbals, all the vessels for his table being of gold and silver.

At Sluys he heard that Alonzo, King of Leon and Castile, was carrying on a war with Osmyn, the Moorish Governor of Granada. The vows he had taken before leaving Scotland induced Douglas to consider it his duty to assist in this "*holy*" warfare before proceeding to Jerusalem; but his first field against the infidel proved fatal to him, who in the wars with England had seen seventy battles. In an action near Theba the Moorish cavalry were defeated, but Douglas and his companions, engaging too eagerly in pursuit, the Moors rallied and surrounded them. Douglas had cut his way through the enemy, but turned again to rescue Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, who was in extreme jeopardy. Both were slain; and with them fell Sir Robert and Sir Walter Logan. When surrounded by the foe, Douglas took from his neck the heart of Bruce, contained in a silver casket, and, casting it forward, exclaimed, "Now, pass onward as thou wert wont, and Douglas will follow thee, or die!"

His body and the casket were both found, and conveyed to Scotland by his surviving followers; and both were finally deposited in Melrose Abbey. It appears by a curious document addressed to his son, David II., and preserved in the "*Munimenta de Melros*," that at one time Bruce had desired that his heart should rest there. That his body reposes in Dunfermline is well known.

Nov. 24,
1331. David II. and his consort, Johanna, were *anointed* and crowned at Scone by the Bishop of St Andrews. David is the first King of Scotland who is recorded to have been "*anointed*" since the days of St Columba, when "*Aidan*" King of the Scots was inaugurated and anointed by him in Iona.

An original Bull of Pope John XXII., addressed to King Robert Bruce, empowers the Bishop of St Andrews, and failing him the Bishop of Glasgow, to anoint and crown the Kings of Scotland. (This Bull exists in the Advocates' Library.)

In the days of Edward I. many Englishmen had become possessed of large estates in Scotland, either by marriage or by forfeiture of their original lords. By the Treaty of Northampton, it was expressly provided that the estates of *three* of these English barons—viz., Henry Percy, Thomas Lord Wake, and Henry de Beaumont—should be restored to them. Percy was restored accordingly; but for many reasons the regent delayed the restoration of Beaumont and Wake. They had both violently opposed the Treaty of Northampton, and declared themselves enemies to peace with Scotland. They had leagued with the "*Disinhérités*," and had instigated Edward Baliol to an invasion. Edward III. had extended his protection to this attempt of Baliol's, yet at the same time demanded the restoration of Beaumont and Wake, its principal promoters,—the

former, in right of his wife, Alice Cumyn, claiming the lands and earldom of Buchan ; the latter, the lordship of Liddel, which would have opened an entrance into Scotland by the Western Marches.

The *disinhérités*, as they were called, openly gathered their forces under Edward Baliol and Henry Beaumont, intending to invade Scotland by the Marches. This, however, Edward would not allow, though he offered no impediment to their embarking at the mouth of the Humber with 300 horse and some infantry, with which they soon after landed at Kinghorn, in Fife. Randolph, the regent, in the mean time, had put himself at the head of an army to resist the hostile designs which he knew to be afoot ; but on the 20th of July he died suddenly at Musselburgh, without any apparent natural cause, and with strong suspicion of having been poisoned.*

The good Sir James of Douglas, whom Bruce had nominated to succeed him in the regency, was also dead.

Robert Stewart, "the grandson of Bruce," was only in his sixteenth year, and after much contention amongst the nobles, assembled in Parliament at Perth, Donald Earl of Marr, Bruce's nephew, was elected regent. A worse selection could not have been made. Carried prisoner to England when an infant, he was brought up and educated by the Bishop of Chester. He had even borne

* Barbour, who was about fifteen years of age at this time, thus records the Burial of Douglas, and of the Heart of the Bruce, and the Death of Randolph :—

"When on this wise Sir William
Of Keith has brought his bones hame,
And the good king his heart als,
And men had richly gart ma
With fair effeir, his sepulture—
The Earl Murreff that had the cure
That time of Scotland, haillily
With great worship he gart bury
The king his heart in the abbey
Of Melrose, where men prayeth ay,
That he and his have paradise.
When this was done that I devise
The good earl governed the land,
And held the power well to warrand.
The law so well maintained he,
And held in peace so the countrie,
That it was never or his day
So well, as I have heard old men say ;
But syne, alace ! poisoned was he
By a false monk, full traitorously."

Some editions substitute for the last line—

"To see his dede were greate pité,"

and some give both lines.

Wyntown says, vol. ii. p. 146,—

"For at Wemyss, by the sea,
Poysonyd at a fest was he."

arms against his uncle with the English army ; but when restored to his country in 1314, Bruce had employed him in subordinate positions, and found him wanting. He was now placed at the head of the large force collected by Randolph, but lingered with it at a distance ; whilst Alexander Seton, with a handful of soldiers, threw himself upon the English, and was cut to pieces.

Aug. 6.
Fordun ;
Tytler,
vol. ii.
p. 12.

Edward Baliol, advancing to Dunfermline, took possession of all the stores Randolph had collected ; and pushing on towards the Tay (his ships being ordered to sail round and anchor at its mouth), he encamped at Forteviot, on the Earn.

Some ancient chronicles assert that the Earl of Marr had entered into a secret correspondence with Baliol ; but he could scarcely have intended to involve himself, along with his whole army, in destruction. Keeping no watch, and allowing his soldiers to abandon themselves to riot and intemperance, he was surprised by the English marching upon them through Gask and Dupplin during the night, and making a frightful carnage.

Aug. 12.

The young Randolph, Earl of Moray, was that day slain, twenty-three days after his noble father. Also Robert, seventh Earl of Carrick, eldest son natural of Edward Bruce ; and Robert Bruce, natural son of King Robert ; Alexander Fraser, Chamberlain of Scotland, husband of Bruce's sister, the Lady Mary ; Murdoch, Earl of Menteith ; and the Regent Marr himself, with 12,000 men. The Earl of Fife was taken prisoner, after having 360 men-at-arms slain around him. All the chiefs fought nobly, and tried vainly to retrieve the first surprise. Another Scottish army, commanded by the Earl of March (as little fitted for the post as the Earl of Marr), was at hand ; but Edward Baliol was allowed to proceed to Scone, and there was crowned—Duncan, Earl of Fife, who now joined the English party, and Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, officiating. Perth, committed to the custody of the Earl of Fife by Baliol, was soon after taken by Sir Simon Fraser and Sir Robert Keith, and the Earl of Fife and his daughter made prisoners.

Sir Andrew Moray, husband of the Lady Christian Bruce, Countess of Marr, was elected regent. His first care was to send the young King David, then nine years of age, and his young queen to France, where they were well and honourably received. It was Sir Malcolm Fleming, Governor of Dumbarton Castle, who found means of conveying them to France. He also provided for the safety of the Steward, afterwards Robert II., who crossed over from Bute, where he at first took refuge after the battle of Hallidon ; and some authors assert that it was not until after that battle, that David and his queen went to France. However this may be, Sir Malcolm Fleming had them in safe keeping, and was rewarded by David in 1341 by a charter of the earldom of Wig-

ton, and by the Steward with an annuity out of the abbey and convent of Holyrood, drawn from the barony of Carse.

Thomas Bruce (afterwards ninth Earl of Carrick) also joined them with the men of Kyle.

The English king now drew near the Borders, and after many hypocritical declarations as to the solemn and conscientious observation of the Treaty of Northampton, dropped the mask, and declared the success of Baliol in Scotland was procured by the assistance of his good subjects, and with his express permission and sufferance. In return for this assistance Baliol acknowledged Edward III. as his feudal lord, and promised that he would be true and loyal to the English king and his heirs, "the rightful sovereigns of Scotland, and of the isles pertaining thereto."

He also became bound to put Edward in possession of the town, castle, and territory of Berwick, &c.; and affecting to consider the Princess Johanna of England as only betrothed to King David, he proposed himself as a more convenient match, and offered to provide for David Bruce in whatever way Edward should think fit. He lastly became bound to assist the English king in all his wars with 200 men-at-arms, raised and maintained at his own charges, under the enormous penalty of 200,000 pounds sterling; and if this money could not be raised, that Edward should be put in possession "of the remainder of Scotland and the isles."

But Baliol's hour of prosperity was short. Strong in the protection of England, he lay carelessly encamped near Annan, not aware of the approach of a body of horse commanded by John Earl of Moray, second son of the great Randolph, along with Sir Simon Fraser and Archibald of Douglas, brother of the good Sir James. By a sudden march from Moffat they surprised him at midnight, 16th Dec. 1332, when all who were with him were slain or put to flight. Baliol himself escaped with difficulty to England; his brother, Henry Baliol, was killed, as also Sir Walter Cumyn, Sir John Mowbray, and Sir Richd. Kirby. Alexander Bruce, second son nat. of K. Ed. Bruce, who had become eighth Earl of Carrick on the death of his elder brother Robert at Dupplin, had joined the party of Baliol after that defeat, and would now have been executed as a traitor, but for the interference of the young Randolph. He afterwards atoned for his short defection by fighting bravely in all the following engagements, and was killed at Halidon Hill with his father-in-law, Sir Archd. Douglas.

With the assistance of strangers and mercenary troops it had cost Baliol only seven weeks to gain a crown. In less than three months it was torn from him, and he was cast once more a fugitive and exile upon the charity of England.

Wyntoun says—

“The young Erle of Murrawe, ‘*Thon*,’
And Schir Archibald of Dowglas,” &c., &c.,

came suddenly upon Baliol’s party at Annan.

“Schir Henry de Baliol them agayne
With a staffe, foucht sturdily,
And dyntes delt rycht douchtly
That men hym luffit eftir his day.
Thar died than, Sir John the Mowbray,
And Alysandre the Brus was tane (8th Earl of Carrick.)
Bot *The Baliol* his gait is gane (Edward Baliol)
On a barnie hors, with leggis bare.
Swa fell, bot he escaped there.”

March 1333. Soon after the defeat of Edward Baliol at Annan, Sir William Douglas, keeper of Lochmaben Castle, was taken prisoner in a conflict with the English. He was eldest son of Sir James Douglas of Loudon, and a great commander,* and was generally known as the Knight of Liddesdale and the “Flower of Chivalry.”

Edward III. was much pleased with his prize, and ordered him to be kept in iron fetters.—‘*Rymer*,’ vol. iv. p. 552. At the same time Sir Humphrey de Bois, Sir Humphrey Jardine, and Sir William Carlyle, were amongst the slain.

The Regent Moray next attempted to storm Roxburgh Castle, where Baliol then lay; one of his esquires, Sir Ralph Golding, pushing far before the rest, was surrounded by the English; Sir Andrew, attempting in person single-handed to rescue him, shared his fate. Disdaining to yield to an inferior, he demanded to be led to the King of England, who was then at Durham, and was thrown into prison, where he remained for two years.

Scotland thus lost her two best soldiers, and was again without a regent.

July 19. Archibald de Douglas, half-brother of the good Sir James, now became regent; and in July following attempting to oblige Edward to raise the siege of Berwick, forgot the advice of King Robert, and making an attack on the English, who were advantageously posted on a rising ground at Halidon with a marshy hollow in their front, was totally defeated, and mortally wounded—only living to see himself a prisoner, and his army destroyed.

The army had been divided into four bodies. The first was led by John Earl of Moray, the son of Randolph; but as he was young and inexperienced in war, James and Simon Fraser, soldiers of approved reputation, were joined with him in command. The second body was led by the Steward of Scotland, a youth of 16, under the inspection of his uncle, Sir James *Stewart of Rosyth*.

The third body was led by the regent himself, having with him Alexander Earl of Carrick, and other barons of eminence. The fourth body, or reserve,

* We must not confuse him with the son nat. of the good Sir James, who died in France; nor with “William the Black Douglas, Lord of Niddesdale,” who married Egidia, daughter of King Robert II.

appears to have been led by the Earl of Ross ; with him was Kenneth Earl of Sutherland, and Murdoch Earl of Menteith, both of whom fell ; also, Malcolm Earl of Lennox, an aged baron, and one of Bruce's first friends ; John Campbell, Earl of Athol, nephew of the late king ; James and Simon Fraser, John de Graham, Alexander de Lindesay, and many other men of distinction.

The Regent,* mortally wounded, was left on the field and taken prisoner by the English.

The immediate consequence of this battle was the surrender of Berwick to the English, and the subsequent submission of almost the whole kingdom to Baliol, who traversed it with an army without finding any one to oppose him.

Five castles, however, held out for David :

Dumbarton, by Malcolm Fleming ; Urquhart, by Thomas Lauder ; Loch Leven, by Alan de Vipont ; Kildrummie, by "Christian the Bruce," whose son, the Regent Earl of Marr, had been killed at Dupplin, and whose third husband, Sir Andrew Moray, was a prisoner in England. Loch-Maben also was held by Patrick de Charteris.

Baliol, having thus repossessed himself of the Crown by foreign assistance, seemed determined to complete its humiliation. On the 10th February an ¹³³⁴ assembly of his party was held in Edinburgh, when Lord Geoffrey Scrope attended as commissioner from Edward, and many other Englishmen were there to forward their own and their masters' interests. Lord Henry Beaumont, David twelfth Earl of Athol, and Richard Lord Talbot, had their estates restored to them ; and a great many other Englishmen were rewarded with the lands of those Scottish nobles who had fallen at Halidon. The King of England had for his portion the town and county of Berwick, the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Ettrick, and the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, Dumfries, and Edinburgh, with the constabularies of Linlithgow and Haddington, and all their towns and castles.

* This Archibald de Douglas, Lord of Galloway, Regent of Scotland from March 1333 until July of the same year, was the half-brother of the good Sir James—*William the Hardy*, seventh Lord Douglas, having married first the sister of Lord Keith, who sent his two nephews, "*James and Hugh*," to be educated in France upon their father's second marriage with Eleanor de Ferrers, descended from Helena de Quincy, eldest daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway ; by this lady William seventh Lord de Douglas had also two sons (carried off by Bruce with their mother to Loch-Maben, as we may remember).

Of these, "Archibald," the eldest, became Lord of Galloway, and married "Dornagilla," only daughter of John Cumyn of Badenoch, by "Mary" his wife ("Joannem Cuminium," cui "Maria Dornagillæ Soror nupserat.")—*Rerum Scotticarum*, "*Liber Octavus*." Archibald, Lord of Galloway and Regent of Scotland, killed at Halidon Hill, left by Dornagilla his wife two sons ; first, *William*, who succeeded his uncle *Hugh* in 1343 as Lord of Douglas, and was afterwards created first Earl of Douglas ; second, Archibald Lord of Galloway, who left no *legitimate* heirs ; but William the Black Douglas, Lord of Niddesdale, was his son nat., who married the King's daughter "*Egidia*." The Regent's daughter Eleanor, or Alianore, married first Alexander de Bruce, eighth Earl of Carrick, killed with his father-in-law at Halidon, leaving an only daughter, Alianore.—See Earldom of Carrick.

After this, Baliol appeared before Edward at Newcastle, and did homage to him for the kingdom of Scotland and the adjacent isles! acknowledging him as his liege lord. Edward hastened to send governors to his newly-acquired dominions, and the friends of the young King David retreated to their mountain fastnesses. But soon dissensions arose amongst the English barons. A knight of the Mowbray name, died, leaving daughters, his co-heirs; but his brother, Sir Alexander Mowbray, claimed his lands, and Edward Baliol decided in his favour. The wives of Henry de Beaumont and Richard de Talbot were similarly situated, and they warmly espoused the cause of the disinherited daughters; whilst David Earl of Athol was the son of Joane Cumyn, co-heiress with Elizabeth the wife of Richard de Talbot. He was left at nineteen years of age, when his father died, in the ward and tutelage of Henry de Beaumont, Earl of Buchan, in right of his wife, Alice Cumyn, niece of the late earl, and married Henry's daughter Katharine.

Thus united by blood and interest, they retired to their strongholds; Beaumont, taking the law into his own hand, seized a portion of the disputed land which lay within his earldom of Buchan, and intrenched himself within his sea-girt castle of Dundarg; whilst Richard Talbot collected his vassals and prepared for war.

At this time Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell was released from captivity, and returned to Scotland; and the friends of Bruce, encouraged by the disunion of their enemies, began to reappear from their retreats. Edward Baliol, irresolute and alarmed, retired to Berwick, and reversed his decision in favour of Mowbray; but this step came too late to conciliate Beaumont, whilst it entirely alienated Sir Alexander Mowbray, who went over with his friends and vassals to the side of David Bruce, and cordially co-operated with Sir Andrew Moray.

Again the country was up in arms. Talbot, in attempting to pass into England, was taken prisoner and shut up in Dumbarton, and Sir Andrew Moray and Mowbray hastened to besiege Beaumont in Dundarg.

By cutting off the supply of water he was obliged to capitulate, and upon payment of a high ransom was permitted to retire into England.

Edward Baliol had conferred the large possessions of the Stewards upon Athol, against whom the national party now turned their arms, assisted by Robert the Steward and his vassals. Sir Andrew, by a rapid march, drove Athol into the wilds of Lochaber before he had time to collect any considerable force, and obliged him to surrender. Thus the confederacy of the Disinherited was broken up, and Baliol became once more a fugitive in England.

Geffrey or Godfrey de Mowbray, who had from Edward III. the charge of the Roxburgh district, married Isabel, widow of the young Regent, Earl of Marr, killed at Dupplin in 1332. In her right he claimed the offices of sheriff

of Roxburgh and keeper of Selkirk Forest ('*Fœdera*,' iv. 622), probably held by her father, Alexander Stewart of Bonkyll, heritably.

At this time Geffrey also joined the Scots. His wife, the Countess Isabel of Marre, retired into England, and obtained from Edward a grant of all her husband's chattels in England, and estates in the county of Northumberland. —'*Fœdera*,' iv. p. 635. Nov. 14.

Although it was now November, the English king determined upon a winter campaign ; but he was ill-attended by his barons ; and although allowed to pass unopposed through the lowlands, he only met Baliol with a body of troops at Renfrew, and held his Christmas at the castle there in great state.

Baliol's chief confidant and adviser at this time was Wm. Balloch, called by the English Bullock, an ecclesiastic of great ability, appointed by him Chancellor of Scotland, with the custody of the castles of St Andrews and Coupar, &c., &c.

At this perilous moment Patrick Earl of March returned to his allegiance April 1335.
to David Bruce.

The Earl of Moray, John Randolph, had escaped into France after the battle of Halidon ; he now returned to Scotland, and with *the Stewart* was appointed "Co-Regent of the Kingdom."

In April the Steward and the Earl of Moray, Regents, held a Parliament at Dairsy, near Coupar, in Fife, at which appeared Sir Andrew Moray, the Earl of March, Alexander de Mowbray, Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale, and many other barons ; the Earl of Athol also arrived with a formidable train, and bore himself with a haughtiness which the others could ill brook ; he sought to divide the Steward from the Earl of Moray, and so to perplex the national counsels, that nothing satisfactory was concluded. France attempted to mediate between Edward and the Scots, but the English Parliament rejected all terms of peace ; and in July Edward again invaded Scotland, devastating the country in one direction, whilst Baliol and Earl Warrenne carried fire and sword in another. On the 3d of August 1335, Edward III. issued an order dated from "Erthe" (Airth) on the Forth."—'*Fœdera*,' iv. p. 658.

Cumbernauld was taken by assault by Baliol. It was a part of the Badenoch property, now held by the Earl of Athol. Count Guy de Namur, who came to assist Edward, was taken prisoner with his followers by the Regent Moray, who in a moment of chivalry determined to escort him across the border. In returning, his party was attacked by the English Governor of Jedburgh Castle. Sir James Douglas was killed, and the Earl of Moray carried off prisoner to England.

Again Scotland was left with one young and inexperienced Regent—Robert, the High Steward and heir-presumptive to the crown ; and *he*, unfortunately, was much under the influence of Athol, who aspired to be his colleague.

Edward being now at Perth with his brother the Earl of Cornwall, five deputies were despatched to him by Athol, who concluded a treaty with him.

Aug. 18, 1335. "It was agreed that Athol and all other Scottish barons who came under his power should receive full pardon, and have their estates in Scotland restored to them. Athol had also his large possessions in England restored, and was immediately appointed by Edward '*Governor of Scotland*' under Baliol, after which Edward III. returned to England."

Athol immediately began to imprison and slay the friends of Bruce, and to seize and confiscate their estates, so as to fill the hearts of the people with the desire of vengeance. Sir Andrew Moray was soon chosen their leader, and hastened with such force as he could gather to raise the siege of Kildrummie Castle, held by his wife, the Lady Christian de Bruce, Dowager Countess of Marre—the principal stronghold of her family.

Athol was besieging the castle with 3000 men, but was surprised and killed in the forest of Kilblain by Sir Andrew Moray, the Earl of March, and Sir William Douglas. The scene of the battle of Kilblain is accurately described by Wynton:—

"There by an Aik died Earl Dawy
And sindry of his company."

A grey cairn still marks the spot where Earl Dawy fell, but no "*Aiks*" now exist on "*Aikie-brae*"—it is a wide dreary heath which lies beyond the pass of Cambusmay, on the Dee.

Thus perished David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athol, at the early age of 28; of royal descent, and possessing estates in England and Scotland beyond the rank of a subject, but wanting stability or good faith to profit by his position: and having, besides, an evil genius ever at his elbow, first as his guardian and afterwards as his father-in-law, in Henry de Beaumont.

Fordun. Dom^o Walter Cumyn also fell at Kilblain, and Thomas his brother was taken prisoner and afterwards beheaded. They were probably the sons or grandsons of Sir Alexander Cumyn, who were hostages for their father in 1297, after the taking of Dunbar, as Sir Walter appears to have been the chief man of his name.

Sir Andrew Moray, having thus secured the safety of his family, turned his attention to the blockade of Cupar Castle, and afterwards of Lochandorb, where Katharine de Beaumont, the widowed Countess of Athol, had taken refuge with her ladies and young son—*etat.* 3.

Baliol, in the mean time, made a treaty with "*John*, Lord of the Isles," the descendant of Somerled, engaging him to take his side by yielding to him, "*as far as in him lay*," all rights over "*Mull, Skye, Isla, and Gigha, with the lands*

of Cantyre and Knapdale, &c. &c., and the *wardship* of the young Earl of Athol; upon which conditions and concessions 'John of the Isles' bound himself and his heirs to be the liege men of Baliol."

This treaty was confirmed by Edward III., 5th October 1335.

Having fortified and garrisoned a chain of forts, and left a considerable force at Perth under his brother John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, Edward returned to England.

Soon after, about the end of October, the Duke of Cornwall died.

On the death of the Earl of Athol, a Parliament held at Dunfermline acknowledged Sir Andrew Moray Regent.

It was in November 1335 that the blockade of Lochandorb was commenced, and it was not until August 1336 that Edward III., by his rapid march from Perth to Brae Moray, rescued the Countess of Athol and her suite from the perils of capture or starvation.

Of this expedition Wyntoun gives a very distinct account. Sir Andrew was blockading Lochandorb, and was encamped between it and the low country—that is, on the north, whence all provisions had to be drawn—when the van of Edward's army was discovered by his scouts to be approaching. Had they come through Badenoch, as most writers suppose, they must already have passed Lochandorb, therefore it seems most probable that they came by Rothes and Pluscardine.

1336.

"That time the Erles wife, Davy,
 With other ladies that were lovely,
 Were in Lochindorb lyand;
 And when the King of England
 Heard that sa thai ladies is
 Envyron'd with thair innymis,
 He busked to reskue thaim, then
 With twenty thousand chosen men;
 And soon he passed the Scottish sea,
 And syne to Perth has tane his way.
 Sir Andrew of Moray then lay,
 With the men that with him were,
 In the wood of *Stronk-Altere*.
 That to King Edward was tald,
 Tharfore, wyn till him he wald,
 And came sa nere within a thraw
 That thair discoverowries athir saw;
 And some of thaim justyd were!—
 Schir Andrew, in *Stronk-Altere*
 Hearand his mess, wes stanand then;
 Bot there was nane of all his men
 That ever wes in his rowt that day
 That ony word durst till him say
 Qwhile he wes herend mess—for he
 Thereat sould not anoyit be.

Therefore thai made thim bowne, and bade
 Qwhile that he herd his mess all, hade
 Than have thai tald till him, how nere
 That the king and his gret 'ost were.
 He said, '*Na haste*,' whether perfoy
 His folk wald fayne have been away;
 For the gret 'ost was then so nere
 That sum but short space fra thaim were.
 His horse 'till hym thai brought in by,
 They wald he had been on blythely!
 He him dressit, his steed to ta'
 His cuisse-laynere * brak in twa!
 He gart bring him a little cofyne,
 A roue skyne † took he tharof syne,
 And schare a thawang—all at laynere—
 And with that fastened up his gere.
 I herd sere knyghtes sindry say,
 That thaim thought, never in thair day
 So rycht anoyous a byding
 As they had at that thongschyryng!
 He lap on syne, and in array
 Held well his folk, and held his way.
 And when the Inglis saw them then
 Hald sa togydder—all thair men
 They followed, nought of array,
 Bot in hale batale followyd thay
 Sa fast, that thai had been ourtane
 Na war, that thai had with them *ane*
 That kennyd hame a bye-way
 That even down 'twixt craggys lay, ‡
 Thro' that straye road that I deysve
 Thai gat weil fra thair innymys,
 And left nother man nor lad;
 And when the king saw that he had
 Tint thaim—of swilk cas was he wa',

* "*Cuisse-lanere*," the thong that braced his thigh armour on.

† A roe-skin.

‡ Sir Thomas Lauder remarks that "*Rait Cuaek*," the straight, or narrow, road, is still the Gaelic name for the pass to Randolph's Bridge, below Relugas; but as Sir Andrew Moray and his knights were on horseback, it is scarcely possible that he should have crossed there. The position he occupied when the English army was seen approaching, appears to me to have been the high ground above Altyre, still known as the *Stronach-Vec*. From that terrace you see all the country round; and if Edward's army crossed the Spey towards the east, they would be seen from thence crossing the Hill of Blervie and Rafford. Below Altyre, near Sluie, there is a ford on the Findhorn, little known or used, but which may be ridden when the water is low, and this is in a direct line with the "hame" they sought, whether it were at Darnawa' or Pettie (Sir Andrew's paternal property). Edward would follow them as far as the Blairs (or Flats) of Altyre, still known as "*the Blairs*," and there losing sight of them he rested for the night; having *gone northwards*, it is to be observed; making a detour to attack Sir Andrew before he liberated the Countess from her island prison.

After rescuing the ladies, we are told that he burnt and devastated the whole country, and then returned to the south. It does not appear that he ever crossed the Findhorn. Perhaps it was at this time that the Forests of Drummynd and the Leanach were destroyed.

And *northwards* on his gait did ga',
 He came to *Blare*, and thair they lay;
Eftir to Lochindorb cam thay,
 And the ladys with thaim has tane," &c. &c.

—WYNTON'S *Chronicle*.

Edward being engaged in preparing for his wars with France, paid little 1337. attention to affairs in Scotland; but Henry de Beaumont returned, and occupied himself in revenging the death of his son-in-law Athol on all who had been present at Kilblain.

Attempts were made to negotiate a peace by the Earls of Arundel and Salisbury, sent for the purpose, with full powers from Edward, which failing, they proceeded to lay siege to the Castle of Dunbar. The Earl of March chanced to Jan. 28, be absent, but the heroic daughter of Randolph, his countess, better known as 1338. "*Black Agnes*," performed all the duties of a gallant commander, and obliged them to raise the siege; whilst Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie and the Knight of Liddesdale cleared the county round Edinbro' and Teviotdale of the English intruders.

The Earl of Salisbury nearly fell a victim to his own machination. He had, as he imagined, bribed one of the gatekeepers to allow the English to enter. The gate was found open, and as Salisbury was about to enter in, John Copland, one of his attendants, pressed on first; the portcullis was let down, and Copland, mistaken for his lord, remained a prisoner. When the besiegers hurled great stones against the battlements from their warlike engines, the countess, in scorn, ordered one of her female attendants to wipe off the dust with a handkerchief; and causing a huge piece of rock to be let fall upon the great fabric called the "sow," which had been raised against the walls, she called out, scoffingly, "Beware, Montague, for farrow sall thy sue."

After remaining before Dunbar for about nineteen weeks, the English were June 10. forced to retire, intrusting the care of the Borders to the Northumbrian barons.

"Alexander Ramsay's band," as it was called, consisting of many valiant knights and gentlemen, inhabited the caves of Hawthornden, and issuing thence as opportunity occurred, did wonderful deeds of valour; many good names were amongst his followers.

Herries and Halliburton, Dishington and Dunbar. "To be of Alexander Ramsay's band," was considered a branch of military education requisite for young gentlemen who meant to excel in arms.

About this time died the Regent, "*Sir Andrew Moray*." The colleague of Wallace in early life, as his father had been before him, he had never varied in his patriotism; nor during forty years of warfare and tribulation, when so many

brave men lost heart and failed, did he ever for a moment despair of freeing his country from the invader.

Robert the Steward succeeded him as Regent.

The new regent began by laying siege to Perth, and by sending the Knight of Liddesdale to France to ask for aid. By policy he brought over William Bulloch, and gained from him the strong Castle of Coupar, continuing Bulloch as its governor, and giving him as high offices as he had under Edward.

1339. Baliol withdrew from Perth, which was taken by the Steward, as also the Castle of Stirling; and the enemy were soon dislodged from every post north of Edinbro'.

1341. By a device of William Bulloch's, Edinburgh Castle also was taken by the Knight of Liddesdale.

May 4, 1341. David and his consort Johanna landed from France at Inverbervie in Kincardineshire.

1342. John Randolph Earl of Moray, who was taken prisoner by the Governor of Jedburgh Castle in 1335, was exchanged for the Earl of Salisbury, who had been taken prisoner in France.

William Bulloch, suspected of treasonable practices, or envied as the chief favourite and councillor of the young king, was accused of treachery and thrown into prison at Lochindorb, where he perished of cold and starvation. David's first public act, although well-intentioned, was injudicious, and led to sad results. Alexander Ramsay had taken the strong Castle of Roxburgh from the English by escalade, and David immediately made him "Sheriff of Teviotdale," an office which William Knight of Liddesdale then held. From that moment Douglas, who had been the friend and companion in arms of Ramsay, became June 10. his bitter enemy, and, breaking into the Church of Hawick, where Ramsay awaited the attendance of the crown vassals to hold a court, Douglas surrounded him with his armed followers, and conveyed him, bleeding and laden with chains, to the Castle of Hermitage, where he died of starvation.

For some years there were constant inroads on the Borders. The Earl of Moray burnt Penrith, King David serving under him. Lochmaben was besieged and taken, after which there was a truce till 1346, when David, instigated by France, again undertook to invade England. His army was appointed to rendezvous at Perth. Reginald, or Ronald of the Isles, came with his followers, and was assassinated by the Earl of Ross in the monastery of Elcho; after which the earl and his followers withdrew to their fastnesses.

The Knight of Liddesdale, who had been pardoned by the king at the instance of the Steward, advised David to abandon his enterprise against England, but his barons urged him on. Marching through Northumberland and the

bishoprick of Durham, which he wasted, he pitched his camp at Bear Park, within sight of Durham. William de la Zouche, Archbishop of York, heading the northern barons, prepared to oppose the Scots.

At Neville's Cross, near Durham, they met in battle, and the Scots were Oct. 17. utterly defeated.

John Randolph Earl of Moray, who commanded the right wing, was slain, and the Knight of Liddesdale made prisoner, as also the Earls of Fife, Menteith, Wigton, and about fifty other barons.

The king, dangerously wounded by an arrow in the head, still fought bravely like the son of Robert Bruce, until overpowered and taken by an English knight named Copland.

The Steward and the Earl of March, who commanded the left wing, made good their retreat, though not without loss. The Earl of Strathearn; David de la Haya, constable; Robert de Keith, the marischall; Robert de Peebles, chamberlain; and Thomas de Charteris, Chancellor of Scotland, together with many of the great barons, were among the slain. David was taken to London and lodged in the Tower. The English army entered Scotland and took the castles of Roxburgh and Hermitage. Baliol, who then resided on his estates in Galloway, joined them, and wasted the Lothians, Clydesdale, Cunningham, and Niddesdale.

The Steward was again elected Regent.

Jan.

William Lord Douglas, son of Archibald, Regent in 1333, and nephew and heir of his uncle Hugh, who died in 1343, returned at this time from France, where he had been educated. He expelled the English from Douglasdale and took possession of Ettrick Forest.* 1347.

John de Graham Earl of Menteith had formerly sworn fealty to the English king, and Duncan Earl of Fife had done so to Baliol. Edward III., who was before Calais, which place he took the following August after a tedious siege, ordered both of these earls to be tried and condemned to death, sending the condemnation along with the order for trial from France. The Earl of Menteith suffered as a traitor; but the sentence against the Earl of Fife was not executed, probably from his connection with the royal family; his mother, Mary de Monthermar, having been the niece of Edward I.

Negotiations were set on foot for the liberation of King David; and Johanna, Oct. his queen, was permitted to visit him after he had been two years in captivity. 1348.

He does not appear after this to have been kept in much restraint, as, on the 23d April 1349, we find that he appeared at a tournament at Windsor. The

* William Lord Douglas had a charter from David II. in May 1342, and probably *first* returned with David at that time.

harness of his horse was of blue velvet, with a pale of red velvet beneath it, with a "*white rose*" embroidered thereon. This is the earliest mention of the Scottish "*white rose*," afterwards so well known as the badge of the Stewards.

"*The flower that I loe best; the rose that's like the snaw.*" It appears to have had no connection whatever with the white rose of York, and to have been much more ancient.—'Lord Haile's Annals.'

1351. The King of Scots obtained leave to visit his dominions on giving hostages.* The Knight of Liddesdale had entered into articles of agreement with Edward III. inconsistent with his duty to his country; and dark negotiations were suspected by the Scots between David and the Douglas, of making over the succession to the King of England; but the papers were carefully destroyed, and the particulars have not transpired.

These negotiations being unsuccessful, David was remanded to London.

July 13, 1354. A treaty was at length concluded at Newcastle for the ransom of King David; 90,000 merks, in yearly payments of 10,000, was the sum agreed upon.

A truce was completed for nine years, in which all the allies of England, and especially Baliol, were included.

Twenty young men of the first families were given up as hostages for the king.

The Knight of Liddesdale had made a treaty for himself in 1352, placing his allegiance to Edward before that to his own king, Edward engaging to release him from his captivity, and to make him a grant of the territory of Liddesdale and Hermitage Castle, &c. &c.; and that he should give up his only daughter and his nearest heir-male as hostages, to remain in the custody of the English king for two years.

In August 1353, the Knight of Liddesdale, while hunting in Ettrick Forest, was waylaid and killed by his kinsman and godson, "William Lord Douglas," in revenge, it is said, for the murder of Ramsay and Berkeley.

Oct. 8, 1354. Edward again obtained possession of Hermitage Castle by a treaty with Elizabeth, widow of Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale, who did homage to the English king, and admitted an English garrison. Not long after she married Hugh Dacre, brother of William Lord Dacre, who was appointed keeper of

* Seven young men of the first families in Scotland were given up as hostages. These were—

1st. John, son and heir of the Steward, afterwards king, by the title of Robert III.

2d. John Dunbar, son and heir of the Earl of March.

3d. John, son and heir of the Earl of Sutherland, and nephew of the king.

4th. Thomas Fleming, grandson of the Lord Wigton.

5th. James Lindesay, son and heir of David Lindesay.

6th. Hugh Ross, brother and heir-presumptive of the Earl of Ross.

7th. Thomas Moray, brother and heir-presumptive of John Moray, Lord of Bothwell.

Hermitage Castle, 1st July 1355. Elizabeth was daughter and heiress of Sir John Graham of Abercorn.

Edward III. had at the same time been carrying on negotiations with Baliol, who, weary of being a nominal sovereign, resolved to renounce Scotland for ever.

Baliol made an absolute surrender to Edward of all his private estates in Scotland (*apud* Roxburgh). Jan. 20, 1355-6.

On the same day he made an absolute surrender to Edward of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, "by delivery of a portion of the earth of Scotland, and also by delivery of his golden crown. For this surrender he gave *eleven* reasons, the principal of which was the approach of old age, and the dangers of a disputed succession; the near relationship by blood in which he stood to the English king, and his expectation that by his valour the wicked would be overcome, and through his wisdom and clemency the good protected; and that the union of the two nations would promote their strength, safety, and advantage."

In return for so great a gift, Edward became bound to pay 5000 marks to Baliol, and to secure him in an annuity of 2000 pounds sterling.

Edward III., after waiting for some days at Roxburgh in hopes of the submission of the Scottish barons, marched into Scotland, desolated the country, and then retreated, not without considerable loss.

This inroad was long remembered in Scotland as the Burnt Candlemas.

The partisans of Edward were expelled from the west, but David Bruce was still detained in England. The battle of Poitiers having taken place, and the King of France also being a prisoner in London, there was a truce concluded for two years between Edward III. and the French. The Scots, negotiating for themselves, concluded a truce with England for six months.

David II. was conveyed to Berwick, where conferences for peace were held. Aug. The English *now* demanded 100,000 marks for the king's ransom. 1359.

In a Parliament held in Edinburgh this was agreed to, and a treaty was concluded at Berwick. Many hostages were given, and a truce, until the ransom should be paid, was stipulated. Sept. 26.

David, on his release, held a Parliament at Scone, laid the treaty before the three Estates, and obtained their consent to its ratification.

Some curious negotiations were carried on betwixt England and France, and France and Scotland, all diametrically opposed to each other. 1360.

The plague broke out in Scotland. The Earl of Angus died of it. David himself retired into the north to avoid infection. 1361.

There he quarrelled with his cousin, the Earl of Mar, and besieged and took his castle of Kildrummie, but soon received him into favour again.

Johanna, consort of David Bruce, had been in England since before the death 1362.

of her mother in 1358, and died there about this time. Leland says, t. i. p. 568, "The Quene of Scotland, sister to King Edward, cam out of Scotland to Wyndesore to speke with him; and after, was with her mother, Quene Isabel, at Hertford, and there dyed."

1363. The King of Scots, in a Parliament at Scone, proposed to the three Estates that, in the event of his dying without issue, they should choose for their king one of the sons of Edward III., and he earnestly wished that the choice might fall on *Lionel*, Duke of Clarence. This, he said, would be the means of establishing perpetual tranquillity. The Duke of Clarence would be able to maintain the national liberties, and the English king would renounce for ever all pretensions to the sovereignty of Scotland. The Estates instantly and unanimously made answer that they would "never permit an Englishman to reign over them; that in the days of Robert Bruce, the Stewart had been acknowledged presumptive-heir to the crown by acts of settlement and solemn oaths of the three Estates; and that he and his sons were brave men and fit to reign."

Jealousy and distrust arose in the minds of the people, and many of the nobility formed associations or *bands* for mutual support—amongst others, the Stewarts, with the Earls of March and Douglas.

- May. The malcontents took up arms. The king also armed, and the malcontents submitted on a general amnesty being proclaimed. David now returned to London, and involved himself in new negotiations with Edward, a plan being formed that, in default of David and his heirs-male, the King of England for the time being should become King of Scotland.

David Bruce was one of the four kings then in London who meditated a new crusade against the Sultan of Cairo. "John of France," "Waldemar of Denmark," and "Lusignan of Cyprus," were the other three.

About this time King David married, secondly, Margaret Logie, daughter, it is believed, of Sir John Logie of that Ilk.

In the MS. of Fordun she is called "*Magna domina, honestis ac nobilioribus orta natalibus.*" In '*Fœdera*' there is a passport to "*Johannus de Logy, de Scotia, cum xii. equitibus,*" 26th October 1367. Be her parentage what it will, all writers agree that she was exceedingly beautiful. Leland says, "The King of Scottes took to wife, by force of love, one Margaret Logy." Her power over him, however, was of short endurance; bitter animosities arose between them. Yielding at first to *her* suggestions, it is said, David had ordered the Steward and his three sons, "John, Robert, and Alexander," to be imprisoned; but now he applied to the Scottish bishops and obtained a divorce, and on her disgrace the Stewarts were released from prison, and reinstated in the favour of the king. There is little doubt she was the victim of their faction, with whom the Scottish

bishops were in league. Escaping from Scotland, Margaret found means to present herself to the court of Avignon.

She appealed to Pope Urban V. from the sentence of the Scottish bishops. 1370. The cause was warmly agitated, and depended long ; and Fordun remarks that the Pope threatened to lay the kingdom of Scotland under an interdict ; but the issue is not certainly known. As, however, on the 22d February 1370-1, David II. died in the Castle of Edinburgh, in the 47th year of his age and the 42d of his reign, these proceedings must have fallen to the ground. David was buried in the church of the Abbey of Holyrood, before the great altar ; and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his nephew, " Robert, the Steward of Scotland," first of the Stewart line.

I.

SCANDINAVIAN ORIGIN OF THE BRUCES FROM THE NORWEGIAN JARLS OF ORKNEY AND CAITHNESS.

IN referring to our "Norman ancestors," we seldom look back beyond the days of "William the Conqueror," and think it enough if our first-known progenitor came with him from the opposite coast of Gaul; but the *Normans* or *Northmen* had themselves been conquerors and strangers in that land but a few generations before.

It is to Scandinavia, therefore, and to its sagas, that we must look for the history of our pagan ancestors and their conversion to Christianity. The scalds who wrote these sagas or chronicles of their times were mostly Icelanders; but from the days of Harald Haarfager, families had become so dispersed that heritable interests and rights of property in Iceland and Orkney were involved in what was going on in Northumberland and Norway, as well as at Drontheim. The *odh-al* or *udal* holding was the only tenure of land recognised in Scandinavian kingdoms. It was transmitted by Odin's followers to their offspring as the dearest of their free institutions. It was a tacit entail upon the primal occupant and his heirs, inalienable whilst *one* udal-born descendant should exist to claim it—or to reclaim it from the stranger, if alienated in his absence or childhood. The sagas, therefore, were far from being fairy tales, as some appear to suppose, but were registers of public and private events, by means of which each man might claim his rights on his return from distant lands, as we shall see *Hallad* did when he gave up his Orkney earldom and returned "to take up his udal rights" in Norway.

Christianity had been prevalent amongst the Saxons since 640, and from a still earlier period amongst the converts of St Columba; but as late as the eleventh century the Northmen were pagans. Rollo, who went out from among them to conquer Normandy, was baptised there A.D. 912; but it was not until 995 that Sigurt II. and his people were forcibly baptised by Olaf Tryggevesson; and only after his death at Clontarf, A.D. 1014, do we find the

first traces of Christian feeling and practice in our first ancestor of the *Bruce* name.

To Scandinavia, therefore, we must look as to our fatherland, and to its sagas for our udal rights, at least of lineage.

Let us, then, refer to Harald Haarfager's Saga.

King Harald Haarfager, or the Fair-haired, succeeded, when he was ten years 861. of age, to the dominions of his father, Halfdan the Black. His mother, Queen Ragnhilda, daughter of Sigurt Hiort, a king in Ringerige, had a brother, "Guttorm," who was Harald's guardian. Harald sent to ask "Gyda," daughter of King Eric of Hordaland, in marriage, but she refused unless he made himself king of all Norway; for in those days there were kings over each district, and although Halfdan the Black had united several under his sway, yet many other kings still remained. Upon this Harald vowed to be *sole* king, and with Guttorm's help he became so.

Harald fought and conquered in many battles, and over each district he set an earl, in place of the king he had subdued. At last, after the battle of Haversfiord, A.D. 885, he became sole King of Norway, and made Drontheim his capital. Many of the discontented fled, and it was then Iceland and the Farøe Isles were discovered and peopled. There was also a great resort to Shetland, and many took to viking in the West Sea. In winter they were in the Orkney Isles and the Hebudes, and in summer they marauded in Norway, and did great damage. Therefore, one summer, King Harald sailed with his fleet right out into the West Sea. First he came to Shetland, and slew all the vikings who could not save themselves by flight; then he sailed southward to the Orkneys, and cleared *them* of all vikings; and then to the Hebudes, and slew many vikings who had men-at-arms under them. He then plundered far and wide in Scotland itself, and had a battle there. Afterwards he went to the Isle of Man, but the people had all fled.

In this war fell "IVAR," eldest son of Earl Rognvald. Earl Rognvald, son of Eistein Glumré, was Harald's greatest friend; and when the kings were conquered, Rognvald was made Earl of North and South Möre or Mœri, and afterwards of Raumdal also; and it was at a feast at Rognvald's house in Mœri that Harald received the name of "Haarfager," Fair-haired, having taken a bath and had his hair cut and combed, after ten years, for he had made a vow not to do so till he had conquered all Norway: so Earl Rognvald called him "*The Fair-haired*," and all men thought it just.

Now, when Ivar fell, King Harald gave Earl Rognvald the Orkney and Shetland Islands as a compensation for his loss; but Rognvald immediately gave both these countries to his brother "*Sigurt*," who remained there; and

Harald, before sailing eastward, gave him the earldom. And Sigurt subdued for himself "Katenes, or the Nes," and the Sudrlands* as far as Exjalsbakki (the Oichel river?), and invaded Moray, where he had a great battle with a Scottish earl, "Malbridga-Tonn," near Burghead, and killed him. Having cut off his head, he hung it at his saddlebow, and a projecting tooth wounding his leg as he rode, he soon after died of the wound. His son "Guttorm" succeeded, but died childless within a year, when the earldom reverted to Earl Rognvald,† who gave it to his sons, and in their line it continued for 556 years.

We have seen that about the year 885, Harald Haarfager having become sole King of Norway by the decisive battle of Haversfiord, many of the discontented inhabitants, flying from his supremacy, established themselves in the Shetland and Orkney Islands, whence they often returned to commit piratical depredations on their native land.

On the authority of Adamnan, 'Vit. Columbæ,' we learn that these islands were inhabited circa 565 by a Pictish colony, probably from the coast of Caithness, and that they were partially Christianised by his followers; but when Scandinavian armaments ravaged the English and Irish coasts circa 735, the cavernous and indented shores of these islands became the favourite haunts of the vikings, where they hid their spoils until a fitting time arrived to carry them to their homes.

Here, we are told, Regner Lodbrog and his chosen friend Hæstings resorted between their expeditions to France and Italy. It was therefore quite natural that the discomfited warriors of Norway should seek an asylum in these, as yet, unappropriated isles, and equally so that they should follow the marauding propensities of their country as a means of living.

Harald Haarfager, however, having subdued all foes at home, pursued these outlaws across the seas with a great force, and conquered them, in company with his friend "Earl Rognvald the Wise and the Mighty," and erecting the Orkney and Shetland Isles into an earldom, conferred them on Earl Rognvald as a *solatium* for the loss of his eldest son "Ivar," who had fallen in those wars.

Earl Rognvald was the son of "Eistein Glumré," otherwise called "Ouslein the Noisy," who was the son of "Thebotan" Duke of Sleswick and Stermarce A.D. 721, who fled into Norway by reason of the Danish tyranny, and married

* The name clearly shows its Scandinavian origin: it was *to them* the Sudrland, whilst to the inhabitants of the mainland it would have been "the Northernland."

The new *county* of Southerland was originally included in the earldom of Caithness until 1197, when it was forfeited by the rebellion of the earl. Between 1222 and 1245, "William Dominus de Sutherland," filius et hæres Hugonis Freskin, is first mentioned.

† He was sometimes called Ranald-möre-jarl, "Regenvald and Ranver" (always synonymous), also Earl Moeran. *Möre* signifies "*seaboard*," hence our *Moray*.

"Jocunda," daughter of Huntheafer King of North and South Mœri. Thebotan married, secondly, Ascrida, daughter of Rognvald, son of Olaus, King of Norway, whose sons were—I, Rognvald; 2, Sigurt.

King Harald had already made Rognvald Earl of North and South Mœri, and afterwards of Raumdal also, in Norway, and to these dominions he preferred to return, and begged the king to bestow the Orcades on his brother "Sigurt."

I. Sigurt, therefore, became the first Jarl of Orkney and Shetland, and soon made himself very powerful, conquering Caithness, or the "Ness," Ross, Moray, and the Sudrlands (Sutherland). Elgin is said to have been founded by him, and called after his favourite general, "Helgy."

Authors differ as to the precise date of Sigurt's settlement in Orkney; but it must have been some years earlier than is generally stated, as Harald Haarfager was twelve years old on his accession in 861, and forty when his sons became jealous of the power of Earl Rognvald and his family, which would be in 889, and certainly the Orcadian earldom had been settled some years before that.

We are not told how long Sigurt held it, nor the date of his death; but all authorities agree that he died at "Burghead,"—the "Phoroton Strapedon" of the Romans, the "Broch" of the Danes and Norwegians—after a great battle, in which he killed his opponent, the Scottish earl, "*Melbridg*"* (probably the grandfather of Macbeth); but the dead man's projecting tooth did what his armed hand could not do, and inflicting a wound on Sigurt's leg as he carried off the head slung to his saddlebow, caused his death.

Some accounts say that he was buried at Burghead, others that his followers transported his remains to the banks of the Ekkial (Oichel river), and that his tomb still exists at a place called Ekkjalsbacca.

Earl Sigurt married "Jucunda," daughter of Olaus the White, King of the Danes in Dublin. With her brother, "Thorstein the Red," he entered into a partnership, and they overran Scotland, and took possession of all north of the Oichel river.

The Earl of Caithness at that time was Dungal or Duncan, *the first* on record. From him Dungal's-bae, or Duncansbay, derived its name. "Unnar," the mother of Thorstein, induced him to marry Thorstein's daughter "Groa."

II. Gulturm or Gulthorm, Sigurt's only son, succeeded, but dying within a year without heirs, the earldom returned to Earl Rognvald, who was still alive; therefore this must all have happened before the year 898.

And here we may remark that, although Harald had appointed sixteen earls in Norway—one over each district—when he suppressed the small kings, they appear to have been merely collectors of his *scatts* or land-tax, with the ex-

* "*Mal* or *Melbridg*," "the servant of Bridget;" a favourite saint in those days.

ception of "Rognvald the Wise and the Mighty," whose family were the only *hereditary* nobles under the Norwegian crown exercising a kind of feudal power. The earls of Orkney of this line became almost independent, only paying military service and a nominal quit-rent when *obliged* to do so.

III. Hallad or Halloden was next sent by his father, Earl Rognvald, to be Jarl of Orkney, but, finding the vikings troublesome, soon returned to Norway and took up his udal rights again. When Earl Rognvald heard this he was ill pleased, and said his sons were very unlike their forefathers. Then said his son "Eynor," "I have enjoyed little affection or honour amongst you, and if you will give me force enough, I will go west; and I promise you, at any rate, what will please you, that you shall never see me again." So Earl Rognvald gave Eynor his son a ship fully equipped, and he sailed for the West Sea in harvest. When he came to the Orkney Isles, two vikings, "Thorar Treaskæg" and "Kalf Sturfa," were in his way with two vessels, and he attacked and took them both, and slew the vikings. He was therefore earl, and a mighty man over those seas.

IV. Eynor was ugly and blind of an eye, but very sharp withal. He was called Turf Eynor, because he taught the people to cut turf for fuel, there being no wood in Orkney.

Besides "Ivar," who was killed, Earl Rognvald had five sons—1, Thorer, who became his successor in Mœri; 2, Hallad or Halloden; 3, Eynor; 4, Hrollong; 5, Rollo or Rolf Ganger, the famous conqueror of Normandy, whose mother was "Hilda," daughter of Rolf Næfia. Earl Rognvald's daughter Hilda or Heldina married "Sigurt Rice," King Harald's son.

893. Meanwhile King Harald had married Gyda and many other wives; and it is recorded that when he took to wife "Ragnhilda the Mighty," daughter of King Eric of Jutland, he put away *nine* wives. Ragnhilda was the mother of "Eric Blodyaxe," the most beloved son of the king, who intended him to be head king over all the others, but the people preferred Halfdan the Black.

By Asa he had four sons. Gulturm, the eldest, was fostered by Duke Gulturm, uncle to the king—who poured water over him, calling him by his own name—and Harald gave him his uncle's government of Viken when he died in his bed at Tonsberg before 893.

Halfdan the Black and Halfdan the White were twins, also sons of "Asa" and Sigfröde also. By Gyda, daughter of Eric King of Hordaland, he had "Alaf," his daughter, Hrærick, Sigtrig, Fröde, and Thorgill—the two last were kings in Ireland. By Swanhilda, daughter of Earl Eistein, he had Olaf Geirstadalf, Biorn, and Ragnar Ryskill. By Ashhilda, daughter of King Dagson,

he had Dag, Ring, Skirra, and Ingigred. By Snæfrid, a beautiful Laplander, Sigurt Rice, Halfdan Haaleg, Gudrod Liome, and Rognvald Rettilbeen.

After a time, as the sons of Harald Haarfager grew up (when he was about forty years of age, circa 889), they became jealous of the power of Earl Rognvald. Two of them, "Gudrod Liome" and Halfdan Haaleg, assembled forces, and surrounded Earl Rognvald's house, and burnt him and sixty men in it. Then Gudrod took possession of the earldoms of Mœri and Raumdal; but Halfdan took three long ships and sailed for Orkney. King Harald assembled a large force and drove his son Gudrod out of Mœri, and banished him, and installed "Thorer the Silent," eldest son of Rognvald by Hilda, daughter of Rolf Næfia, in his father's dominions, giving him his daughter "Alaf Arbot" in marriage.

When Halfdan Haaleg arrived in Orkney, Eynor, who was earl there, fled at first to the mainland, but soon came back and had a battle with Haaleg, who was defeated and took to flight. Eynor and his men lay all night upon the ground, and in the morning sought the whole island for Haaleg. Then Eynor said, "What is that I see upon the island of Ronaldsha? Is it a man or a bird? Sometimes it raises itself up, and sometimes it lies down again." They went and found that it was Halfdan, and they took him prisoner, and killed him by cutting a spread eagle on his back, to avenge the burning of Earl Rognvald. Then Eynor sang:—

"Where is the spear of Hrollong? Where
Is stout Rolf Ganger's bloody spear?
I see them not—yet never fear!
For Eynor will not vengeance spare
Against his father's murderers, though
Hrollong and Rolf are rather slow,
And silent "Thorer" sits and dreams
At home, beside the mead-bowls' streams."

LAING'S *Sea-Kings of Norway*.

When the tidings of Haaleg's death reached Norway, his brothers took it much to heart, and thought his fate demanded vengeance. So King Harald ordered a levy and proceeded to Orkney in great force, and Eynor fled to Katenes; but men and messages passed between them, and at last a conference was held, when the earl submitted to the king's decision that *he* and his *people* should pay him sixty marks of gold. But Eynor took upon himself to pay the whole fine on condition that the people resigned to him their udal rights, which thus became vested in the earl, and so continued until the days of Sigurd Lödvison (ante 1014).

When King Harald was seventy years of age, he had another son by "Thora," who came to be king, and was called "Hakon the Good," or "Hakon Adalstein's

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fostre"—Athelstane's foster-son—for his father sent him to England to be fostered by King Athelstane, who had him baptised and brought up a Christian. Hakon was much beloved by all good men, and especially by Athelstane, who gave him a sword, of which the hilt and handle were of gold, and the blade so fine that it cut through a millstone to the centre eye; and the sword was called "Quernbiter." He was the youngest of all King Harald's sons, and the only one who escaped being murdered by Eric Blodyaxe.

Rollo or Rolf, sometimes called the "Ganger," Earl Rognvald's son, became a great viking. He marauded in England, and in summer he landed on the coast of Norway and made a cattle-foray; and King Harald hearing of it, assembled a Thing, and made Rollo an outlaw all over Norway. When Rolf Ganger's mother "Hilda" heard this, she hastened to the king to entreat his pardon, but the king was so angry that he would not listen. Then she sang:—

"Think'st thou, King Harald, in thine anger,
To drive away my brave Rolf Ganger,
Like a mad wolf, from out the land?
Why banish Næfia's gallant name-son,
The brother of the brave udal men?
Why is thy cruelty so fell?
Bethink thee, monarch, it is ill
With such a wolf at wolf to play,
Who, driven to the wild woods away,
May make the king's best deer his prey?"

LAING'S Sea-Kings of Norway.

912. Rollo went over the seas, west to the Hebudes, or Sudreyar, our Sodor and Man, and from thence to Valland, where he subdued a great earldom, which he peopled with Northmen, and from them it was called Normandy.

When King Harald's son "Eric" was twelve years old his father gave him five long ships, with which he sailed first to the Baltic, and then southward to Denmark, Friesland, and Saxonland, on which expedition he spent four years. He then sailed into the North Sea, and fought many battles and won many victories. When he came back to Finmark his men found in a Lapland hut a girl whose equal for beauty they never had seen. She said her name was "*Gunhilda*," and that her father dwelt in Halogoland, and was called "*Ozur Fote*." "I am here," she said, "to learn Lapland art from two of the most knowing Laplanders in Finland, and they both want me in marriage."

They were out hunting then, but when they returned Eric's men lay in wait for them and slew them, and carried off Gunhilda to their ships. Eric then sailed southwards to Halogoland, and sent for Gunhilda's father to meet him, and offered to take her in marriage, to which Ozur Fote consented. This

Gunhilda became famous in Scandinavian history for her beauty and talents, and infamous by her wickedness.

When King Harald Haarfager was eighty years of age he became infirm and unable to exert himself; then he set Eric beside him on the high seat, and gave him command over all the land. But Halfdan the Black also set up a high seat for himself, and many of his brothers and nephews supported him, especially Biorn's son Gudrod and Olaf's son Tryggve, foster-brothers, for Biorn was dead, and Olaf fostered his son. Now Olaf took to himself the county of Viken.

Two years after Halfdan the Black died, and people said Gunhilda had bribed a witch to poison him.

Then the people of Drontheim took "Sigurd" to be their king.

Harald lived three years after he had given Eric the supreme authority.

Eric and Gunhilda had a son on whom Harald poured water and gave him his own name, with the promise that he should be king after his father Eric.

Most of his daughters he married to his earls, and many noble families are descended from them.

King Harald Haarfager died in 936, according to Schöning. He was buried in a mound in Kormsund, and his gravestone was thirteen and a half feet high, and stands to the west of the church. Some remains of the mound and the stone are still to be seen, it is said, at the farmhouse of Gar, or Gaard, at the present time.

The next winter after the king's death Eric took all the revenues of the middle country, but Olaf took all those eastward in Viken, and their brother "Sigurd" all those of Drontheim.

Eric was very ill pleased with this, and, levying a large force, went out against them. Both brothers fell, and Eric subdued the Viken; but Gudrod and Tryggve, Biorn and Olaf's sons, fled to the uplands.

Eric Blodyaxe was a handsome man, strong and fortunate in war, but evil-minded, unfriendly, and silent.

Gunhilda was the most beautiful of women, clever, with much knowledge, and very lively, but false and cruel in disposition. Their children were seven sons and one daughter—1, Gamle; 2, Guttorm; 3, Harold; 4, Ragnfrid; 5, Ragnhilda; 6, Erling; 7, Gudrod; 8, Sigurd.

All of them handsome and of good appearance.

From Hakon the Good's Saga:—

Hakon, Athelstane's foster-son, was in England when he heard of his father's death. He immediately made ready to depart. King Athelstane gave him good ships and men, and fitted him out excellently. 936.

He came to Norway in the harvest-time, and heard of the death of his two brothers, and that King Eric was then in Viken. Then Hakon sailed northward to Drontheim, where he met Sigurd Earl of Lade, the ablest man in Norway. He gave Hakon a good reception, and they made a league; and Sigurd proposed Hakon to the Bonders at a numerous Thing as their king. Then Hakon himself stood up and spoke, and the people said to each other as they heard him, "Harold Haarfager is come back again, and grown young." He promised to give every man udal rights on the land he lived on. So he was chosen king by acclamation at Drontheim, being then fifteen years of age. The news flew to the uplands, and through the whole land, like fire in wild grass.

Hakon went a progress in spring, and was proclaimed king at every Thing. The people, rejoicing in getting back their udal rights, streamed to him in multitudes.

Tryggve and Gudrod, his brother's sons, came to him, and complained of the evil Eric had wrought. Hakon gave them the title of kings, and the dominions that Harald had given their fathers.

Early in spring King Hakon collected great forces, and Eric also levied people in the middle country; but not collecting many, and not feeling strong enough to oppose Hakon, he sailed out, with those who were with him, to the West Sea. *First he went to Orkney*, and then south towards England, plundering wherever he could land.

Then Athelstane sent a message to Eric Blodyaxe, offering him dominions under him in England, saying that King Harald, his father, had been his good friend, and that he wished to do kindly by his children. Then an agreement was made between them, "that Eric should take Northumbria as a fief from King Athelstane, and that he should defend that land from *Danes* and *all* vikings—that Eric and his wife, and all his followers, should be baptised and adopt the right faith; all of which was accepted.

Then Eric made his capital at York (Jorvic), *where Lodbrog's sons had been*.

Northumbria is called the fifth part of England, and was principally inhabited by Northmen.

Danes conquered it circa 787, and held it under independent princes until 953, when earls nominally subject to the British crown succeeded.

King Eric had many men about him and little land, so he went a cruise every summer, and plundered much in Shetland, the Hebudes, Iceland, and Brettland.

940-1. Athelstane died after a reign of fourteen years and some weeks. His brother Edmund or Jatmund, who succeeded, was no friend to the Northmen, and it was reported that he would set another chief over Northumbria.

Now when King Eric heard this he set off on a cruise to Orkney, and from thence he took the young earls "Arnel and Erlend," two sons of Turf Eynor; and from the Hebudes many vikings followed him. First he sailed to Ireland, and took from thence all the men he could; then to Bretland, and marauded there; then to England, and all the people fled before him. King Edmund had set up a king, called "Olaf Sitrieson," to defend the land, and he had a great battle with Eric at Stanemore, A.D. 944, in which great numbers fell on both sides.

Towards the end of the day, Eric and five kings with him were slain. Three of these were Gutturm and his two sons, Ivar and Harek. There fell also Sigurd and Rognvald, and Turf Eynor's two sons, "*Arnel and Erlend*." Those who escaped went and told Gunhilda and her sons. Then they, hopeless of peace, made ready to depart from thence with all their goods, and with all the men who would follow them.

First they steered for Orkney, where Turf Eynor's eldest son, "*Thorfin Haussakliffer*," was Earl, and they took up their station there for a time.

Eric's sons subdued these Islands for themselves, and took *scatt* (tribute) there, staying all winter, but going on viking cruises in summer to the west, and plundering in Ireland and Scotland. But when they heard that there was enmity between Hakon the Good and "Harald Gormson," the King of Denmark, they left Orkney and came to Denmark, where they were well received, and had great fiefs given them. And King Harald Gormson took Harald Ericson to be his foster-son, and he was brought up at the Danish court; his brother, Gamle Ericson, was older. "Ragnhilda," their sister, was married in Orkney to "Arnfin," a son of Earl Torphin Haussakliffer; and when they left Orkney Earl Torphin took his earldom again. About this time great dissensions arose between Earl Hakon and his people on the subject of religion; Earl Sigurd of Lade, truly attached to the king on the one side, and to the customs of his country on the other, tried to keep peace between them. Sometimes King Hakon unwillingly took part in those unholy sacrifices to *Thor*, *Odin*, &c., making the sign of the † over the cup, which Earl Sigurd represented to the people as the figure of *Thor's* hammer. At last open hostilities commenced, and the sons of Eric and Gunhilda took advantage of the troubles to come in force from Denmark. Many battles ensued; in one of these "Gamle Ericson" was drowned; in another, Guttorm Ericson was slain, so that Harald was now the eldest of Gunhilda's sons. At last Hakon himself died of a wound he received in battle. He was lamented both by friends and enemies. Hakon was a good Christian when he came to Norway, and intended to set up Christianity there, but found much opposition at the *Things*. Sigurd

Earl of Lade, was one of the greatest men for the sacrifices, as his father, Hakon of Lade, had been. Sigurd always presided at the sacrifices *for the king*, who kept Sunday and Friday fasts, and some tokens of the great holidays. He tried to entice to Christianity those that were dearest to him; and many, out of friendship to him, allowed themselves to be baptised, and some laid aside sacrifices.

He sent to England for a bishop and other teachers, and when they arrived in Norway he made it known that he would proclaim Christianity in all the land.

At the meeting of the great "Troste Thing," however, this question was warmly debated, and the result was a compromise—the Bonders declaring that, much as they were devoted to him in other respects, they must part from him as their king if he would not allow the sacrifices to be offered for "*peace*," and "*a good year*," as his father had done.

To this Sigurd urged him to consent.

King Hakon left one only child, "Thora," a daughter. So he told his people to send a message to Gunhilda's sons, that they should be kings over the land, A.D. 963.

We nowhere find the exact date or manner of Earl Eynor's death; but when Eric Blodaxe had his wars in Northumbria, Thorfin Haussakliffer, or the Scull-cleaver, reigned in his father Eynor's stead; and his two brothers, "Arnkell and Erlend," were killed with Eric at the battle of Stanemore, having been carried off by Eric, with all the followers they could collect, to regain his Northumbrian earldom, circa 942.

V. Thorfin Haussakliffer succeeded his father. He was a generous man, and a great warrior, and died a natural death in his bed, and was buried in the island of South Ronaldsha. He married "Grelog or Gariola," daughter of Dungal or Duncan, Earl of Caithness, and left five sons. 1st, Havard, surnamed the Happy, who D.sp.; 2d, Hlödver or Lödovic; 3d, Arfin; 4th, Liot; 5th, Skuli.

944. It was in this Thorfin's day, after the battle of Stanemore and the death of Eric Blodaxe, that Gunhilda and her sons came to seek refuge in Orkney, and during their stay usurped its revenues; but having hopes of recovering Norway by the aid of the King of Denmark, they resorted to his court, leaving Ragnhilda, the only daughter of Gunhilda, in Orkney—married to "Arnfin," Torphin's third son. Ragnhilda soon contrived his death, and married "Havard" his eldest brother.

VI. Havard, having come into possession of the earldom, ruled with the strictest justice; and the country, in his time, abounded in corn and all the necessaries of life, so that his people called him "Havard the Happy," because he made them so; but Ragnhilda soon took into her confidence his sister's son,

"Einar Kliningis," and persuaded him that she would marry him, and make him earl if he would murder his uncle.

To this he consented at last, and going with a party of ruffians he attacked and killed Havard in the town of Stennis in Orkney, and the place was thereafter called "Havard's *teigur* or conflict." As soon as it was known that Havard was slain, the whole country loudly reprobated this Einar as a most bloody and wicked man, and no one more so than Ragnhilda. Then she sent for another sister's son, "Einar Hardhioptus" or Hardmouth, and upbraided him and the family generally for not avenging the death of so good a man as Havard, and declared that she would spare neither pains nor expense to bring the ruffian to punishment, and that whoever succeeded in apprehending him should be Earl of Orkney. Hardhioptus answered that it was generally believed that she dissembled in all she spoke, but added, "be fully persuaded that no other reward will be accepted but the earldom, and yourself as my wife."

Then he went and stabbed "Einar Kliningis," who dreaded no harm from his hands. As soon as Ragnhilda heard of this, she sent an address to her brother-in-law "Liot," appearing to be transported with joy at Havard's murder having been avenged, and proposing marriage to him, which was accepted. Hardhioptus, grieved beyond expression for having killed his friend, and being disappointed of the reward of his treachery, attempted to take the earldom by violence, but the country had a greater regard for the sons of Torphin Haussakliffer than for him, and he was soon after killed by order of Liot. About this time Skuli, the brother of Liot, sailed for Scotland, and obtained a gift of the earldom of Catenes from the king. As this took place between the years 944-60, it must have been in the reign of Indulf, son of Constantine II. Liot and Skuli had continual contests; at last Liot defeated Skuli and a Scottish army in the Dales of Catenes; but being afterwards attacked by another Scottish force under "Malbridig," brother of Finleikr-jarl, the father of Macbeth, in the neighbourhood of Loch Shin, Liot, although victorious, died of his wounds a few days after, and was buried at Stennis, where his grave still remains, near the church.

Liot was succeeded by his brother Hlödver.

VII. Hlödver or Lodovic, second son of Torphin Haussakliffer, succeeded Havard. His first wife was "Effrica," daughter of Somerled Prince of Argathelia, by the daughter of *Olaus the Swarthy*, King of Man. His second wife was "Audna," daughter of Kiarval King of Ireland, by whom he had *Sigurt II.* of that name. His daughter Grelotta married Baldwin of Clapham, son of Edmund or Jatmund, King of England. Another "Nereider or Swanlunga" was given in marriage to Earl Gille.—See *Burnt Njal*.

VIII. Sigurt II., surnamed Dan Digre, or the Stout, and also known as "Sigurt Lödvinson," married "Thora," only child of Hakon the Good, by whom he had three sons, Somerled, BRUSEI, and Eynor. He was very powerful, and besides holding Catenes *against* the King of Scotland, is said to have ruled Moray, Ross, Suderland, and the Dales.

Being challenged by "Finleikr-jarl," Maormer of the sons of Croeb (Cromarty and part of Ross), to fight a battle with him on a certain day in the Scidensian Marshes (the mossy ground near Spittal Hill), he first gave back to his people of Orkney their udal rights, which had been resigned to Turf Eynor in 893; and receiving from his mother "Andna" a charmed standard, on which she had embroidered a raven with spread wings and open beak, which was destined ever to bring victory to the chief, but death to the standard-bearer, he defeated Earl Finliec after losing three standard-bearers. Besides the contest for power, there had been blood between their houses for several generations—Sigurt, the first Earl of Orkney, having killed Melbridg-Tonn, the father or grandfather of Finliec-jarl, near Burghead, and having afterwards fallen a victim to the envenomed tooth of his dead foe. Another Melbridg, the brother of Finliec, was the father of Macbeth, whose name Torfæus translates into "Comes Magbraddus." "Malbridg" means the servant of St Bride or St Bridget, a favourite saint in those days, showing that those Maormers were Christians—converts of St Columba—whilst our ancestors of Orkney were still pagans.

In Burnt Njal we find as follows :—

PEDIGREE OF THE EARLS OF ORKNEY TO THIS DATE.

"Sigurt was the name of an Earl who ruled over the Orkneys.
(X^d.* at Clontarf, A.D. 1014.)

He was the son of Hlödver or Lodovic,
The son of Thorfin, the Skull-splitter,
The son of Turf Eynor (died ante 942),
The son of Rognvald, Earl of Mœren—X^d. 898,
The son of Eistein the Noisy."

And again, "Kari † was one of Sigurt's body-guard, and was gathering scatts from the southern isles for Earl Gille. And the Earls *Hundi* and *Melsnate* killed Hallward of Thraswich, Earl Sigurt's brother-in-law. So Sigurt gathered a large and mighty host to drive those earls out of these realms, and they came south to Katenes. The earl had these realms in Scotland—Moray and Ross, Suderland, and the Dales. There came to him men from those realms and said

* Killed.

† An Icclander.

that the earls were a short way off with a great host. Then the earl turned his host thither, and the name of the place was "Duncansness," above which they met, and it came to a great battle between them. Kari turns to meet Earl Melsnate, and Melsnate hurls a spear at Kari; but Kari caught the spear, and hurls it back through Melsnate. Then *Earl Hundi* fled; and they chased the fleers until they heard that King Malcolm was gathering a host at Duncansbay. Then the earl took counsel with his men, and it seemed best to all not to fight against such a land force; so they turned back."—*Burnt Njal*, from 1003 to 1033.

Besides Donald Bain, Malcolm Cænmore is said to have had another brother, Melsnate, Melnare, or Oberard. "Earl Hundi" must have been their grandfather, "Crynan," Abthane of Dunkeld and the Hebudes, the husband of Bethoc. In the sagas, "the gracious Duncan" is sometimes called "Earl Hundason," and "the king, whose father was only an earl;" for succession to the throne through a female was contrary to the laws of Scandinavia, and this was the first instance of the kind in Scotland.

Harald, the eldest surviving son of Eric Blodaxe, became chief King of Nor- 963.
way; and Gunhilda, under the title of "King-mother," held the most authority. There were also many chiefs in the land—"Tryggve Olafson" in the Eastland; Gudrod Biornson in Westfold; and "Sigurd Earl of Lade," in Drontheimland; but by means of messages and embassies it was settled that they should hold their lands of Gunhilda's sons, as they had done from Hakon. Little good is recorded of this Harald, except the incident from which he derived his name. Once he went on board a ship, laden with skins, which had just arrived from Iceland, and the captain complained that no one would buy them. Then King Harald asked for a skin, and wrapped himself up in it, and all his suite did the same. Next day every one came for skins, so that there were not half enough; and from that time King Harald was called "*Harald Graafeld*" (Grey Skin).

Soon after "King Tryggve Olafson" and "King Gudrod Biornson," two grandsons of Harald Haarfagers, were killed by Gunhilda's sons; and they sought also to kill Earl Hakon, but he sailed to Denmark and remained all winter with the Danish King, "Harald Gormson." At last Hakon worked upon the king to send messengers to his foster-son, Harald Graafeld, to offer to give him up his fiefs and lands in Denmark if he would come and be invested in them. In summer, therefore, after much consultation with his mother and his friends, Harald went with three long ships, and landed at Lymfiord, on a narrow neck of land, where the Danish king was expected. But Earl Hakon had persuaded Gormson to send a cousin, named "Gold Harald" (who troubled him in Denmark, demanding half the kingdom), to meet Harald Graafeld, that he

might, as Hakon said, conquer a kingdom for himself. So Gold Harald came with nine ships, and challenged Graafeld to battle, who was slain urging on his men, most of whom fell with him. Then Earl Hakon persuaded the Danish King that Gold Harald might still be untrue to him, and that it would be better to kill him. So the earl went and gave battle to Gold Harald, and took him and hanged him on a gallows.

977. Then the Danish king ordered a levy of men all over his kingdom, and sailed with 600 ships; and he had with him "Earl Hakon," "Harald Grænske" (a son of King Gudrod), and many other great men, who had quitted Norway on account of Queen Gunhilda's sons.
978. When he came to Tonsberg, swarms of people joined him, and he gave Earl Hakon the command of all who came from Norway. He also gave him the government over seven districts, with all the king's rights and estates.

And to Harald Grænske he gave several districts, with the title of king; for he descended in the male line from Harald Haarfager, but Earl Hakon did not, and Harald Haarfager had ordained that the title of king and its rights should be conferred *on his own male* descendants alone.

When Gunhilda and her sons heard the tidings they tried to raise troops, but not finding men enough, they fled to Orkney, as they had done formerly, and remained there a while. There were in Orkney then, the Earls "Arnfid," "Harvard," "Liot," and "Skuli," besides the reigning jarl, "*Lödvar*," the sons of "Torphin Haussakliffer." Gunhilda's daughter "Ragnhilda," married successively three of these brothers.

KING OLAF TRYGGEVESSON'S SAGA.

When King Tryggve Olafson was slain by Gunhilda's sons, about the year 971, his wife, "Astrid," fled with her foster-father and some faithful followers.

Her father, "Eric Biodaskalde," was a powerful man, but she would soon have been discovered had she taken refuge with him, so she concealed herself in a small island in a lake, and there her son was born, and water was poured over him, and he was called Olaf, after his grandfather Olaf, the son of Harald Haarfager.

When winter came, and the nights were long and cold, they had to leave this concealment, and went to Eric, who concealed them in an out-house.

Soon after, all Astrid's attendants left her, except her foster-father and his young son Thorkil, two servant girls, and her child. Harald Graafeld and his brothers had sought for her, but could hear no tidings.

The spring after, Gunhilda sent spies to the uplands, and afterwards a band of thirty men, to bring Tryggve's son to her; but Astrid and her son escaped, and came to Sweden to Hakon Gamle (the Old), where they remained a long time, and had a friendly welcome. Then the king-mother (Gunhilda) sent ambassadors to the King of Sweden, desiring the child to be sent to her. The king received the ambassadors kindly, and sent them to Hakon Gamle, but he would not give them the boy without his mother's consent; so they returned home to tell Gunhilda that they had only *seen* Olaf.

Astrid had a brother, "Sigurd," who had been long in Russia, in great favour with King Vladamar; and Astrid wished to go to her brother. She had been two years in Sweden, and Olaf was three years old. As they sailed out of the Baltic they were captured by vikings of Esthonia.

Olaf was separated from his mother. A man of Esthonia, "Klerkon" by name, got him for his share, with his foster-father Thoralf, and Thorkil his son. Klerkon killed Thoralf because he was too old to work, and he sold the two boys to another Esthonian named Reas, and Recon his wife, with whom they abode six years, and were well treated.

"Lodin," a man of good family and fortune, being in Esthonia, saw in the market a woman who was to be sold as a slave, and looking at her, he saw it was "Astrid," who had been married to King Tryggve, but much changed from what she had been when he saw her last. After speaking a little while, Astrid begged him to buy her, and bring her home to her friends. "On this condition," he said, "I will bring thee home to Norway—that thou wilt marry me."

Then Astrid, knowing that Lodin was a man of high birth, rich, and brave, she promised to marry him; and he bought her, and took her home to Norway, and married her there with her friends' consent.

Their children were—"Thorkel Nefia, Ingerid, and Ingegerd." Astrid had also two elder daughters by King Tryggve, full sisters of Olaf Tryggvesson, "*Ingiobiorje* and *Astrid*."

Ingiobiorje became the wife of "Rognvald or Regenwald Walfsen," Earl of Gothland, whose daughter, Ostrida, *was the first wife of Rognvald Bruce-son*.

Sigurd, Astrid's brother, coming into Esthonia with a great retinue on King Vladamar's business, happened to see in the market-place a very handsome boy, who was evidently a foreigner, and asked him his name and quality. He answered that his name was "Olaf Tryggvesson." Then Sigurd knew that he was his sister's son, and asked him how he came there, which Olaf told him.

Then he bought both the boys, but did not tell Olaf his relationship, but took him with him to Novogorod.

One day in the market-place Olaf recognised "*Klerkon*," who had killed his

foster-father, and Olaf clove his skull with a little axe he had in his hand, and then ran and told Sigurd what he had done.

Then Sigurd took him to Queen Allogia's house, and begged her to protect the boy ; for in Novogorod there is a law that any one shall be put to death who slays another. And the queen protected Olaf, and he remained in her house. He was nine years old when he came to Russia, and he remained there nine years.

There was a law in Novogorod that no man of royal descent was to remain there without the king's permission.

So Sigurd told the queen of what family Olaf was, and she spoke to the king, and begged him to help a king's son whose fate had been so hard ; and the king promised to do so, and received him at his court, and treated him nobly, as a king's son.

Olaf was the handsomest of men, and excelled in all bodily exercises every man that ever was heard of in the North. He was highly esteemed by the king, and beloved by the queen. King Vladamar made him chief over all his men-at-arms, and he was very lucky in war, and very generous and popular ; but many envied him, because he was so favoured by the king and queen. Olaf observing this, and also having a great desire to travel to the land where his family had formerly kingdoms and power, begged to be allowed to depart.

First he landed in Vendland.* Now the king of that country had three daughters, and the eldest daughter, "Geyra," had the government of that part where he landed. He was well received at her court, and that same winter married her, and was ruler, along with Queen Geyra, over her dominions.

Olaf made many warlike expeditions in defence of Queen Geyra's kingdom, and also went viking into Sweden, &c. Then the Emperor Otto assembled a great army, and with it was King Burislaf (Geyra's father), with a large force, and his son-in-law Olaf.

Harald, the Danish king, sent Earl Hakon of Lade with an army of Norsemen to defend his kingdom on that side. They fought a hard battle near the Danish wall, or Danawerk, which the emperor could not gain, but retreated to his ships and crossed to Jutland. At last the emperor and the Danish king met at Mousey Island. There Bishop Poppo instructed and baptised the Danish king and his whole army. The emperor went back to his own kingdom in the Saxon land. King Harold Gormson held fast by his Christianity to his dying day ; but Earl Hakon, after being baptised, got on board ship with many priests and learned men, whom the king had given him, and being detained for a time waiting for a fair wind, as soon as he thought he could put

* The present Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and East Russia.

out to sea and get clear off, he put the learned men on shore, and went right out into the ocean, and remained a heathen to the end of his days.

Gunhilda's sons had embraced Christianity in England, but when they came back to rule in Norway they made no progress in spreading Christianity; only they pulled down the temples and cast away the sacrifices when they could.

King Ragnfrid and King Gudrod now alone remained of all Gunhilda's sons. After Ragnfrid had been a year in the Orkneys, he sailed to Norway with long ships and many men. Hearing that Earl Hakon was at Drontheim, he steered northward to Stad, and plundered in South Mœri, and some men joined him. Then Earl Hakon met him in Mœri with more men, but fewer ships.

Hakon was defeated in a sea-fight, but landed his men. Ragnfrid did not venture to land.

Then Hakon went to Drontheim and stayed there all winter. In spring there was another battle, and Ragnfrid was defeated and fled.

Olaf was three years in Vendland, when his wife, "Queen Geyra," died. Olaf felt his loss so great that he had no pleasure in Vendland after that. He provided himself with war-ships and went out viking—first in Friesland, next in Saxland, and then all the way to Flanders. Afterwards Olaf sailed to England and ravaged the land; then north to Northumbria and Scotland, where he marauded far and near.

Then he went to the Hebudes and to Man. He ravaged round Ireland and in Brettland, and westward to Valland, and marauded there.

When he left the west, intending to sail to England, he came to the Scilly Isles. There he met a hermit, a learned man, who prophesied, and told him many things that came true; and when Olaf inquired how he came to have such wisdom, the hermit replied that "The Christian's God let him know all that he desired;" and he brought before Olaf many proofs of the power of the Almighty.

Then Olaf agreed to allow himself to be baptised, and all his followers were baptised with him.

In Autumn, Olaf sailed from Scilly to England, but in a friendly way, for England was Christian, and Olaf himself was Christian now.

At this time a summons went through the country to hold a "Thing" (Parliament); and to this Thing came "Gyda," sister of Olaf Quaron, who was King of Dublin in Ireland. She had been married to a great earl in England, and after his death she was ruler of his dominions. Many great men paid their addresses to her, and it was on her account this Thing was held, that she might choose a husband.

They were all dressed in their best clothes, but Olaf was there in his bad-weather dress, with a coarse over-garment. Gyda went round and looked at

each. Now when she came to Olaf she looked at him straight in the face, and asked what sort of man he was ?

He said, " I am called Ola, and a stranger here."

Gyda replied, " Wilt thou have me if I choose thee ?"

" I will not say *no* to that," answered he ; and he asked her what her name was, and family, and descent ?

" I am called Gyda," said she, " and am daughter to the King of Ireland, and was married in this country to an earl who ruled over this territory. Since his death I have ruled over it, and many have courted me, but none to whom I should choose to be married."

She was young and handsome. They afterwards talked over the matter together and agreed, and Olaf and Gyda were betrothed. Alfin, one of Gyda's suitors, was very ill pleased at this, and challenged Olaf to single combat, each to have with him twelve men.

When they met, Olaf told his men to do exactly as they saw him do. He had a large axe, and when he saw Alfin was going to cut at him with his sword, he hewed away the sword out of his hand, and with the next blow struck down Alfin himself.

So it fared with all Alfin's men ; and they were bound and carried to Olaf's lodgings. Then he ordered Alfin to quit the country, and never to appear in it again. And Olaf took all his possessions, and married Gyda, and lived sometimes in England and sometimes in Ireland.

Now Swend Tweskiæg, King Harald Gormson's son, asked his father for part of his kingdom, but Harald would not hear of dividing his Danish dominions. Then Swend collected ships, and had a battle with his father, in which King Harald had a severe wound, of which he died ; and Swend was afterwards chosen King of Denmark. Then Swend wished to get rid of Earl Hakon, whose son Eric, hearing of it, prepared a war-levy, and had a battle at sea with some of Swend's friends, and defeated and dispersed them.

Earl Hakon, in the mean time, hears some rumour of a man named " Ole," over the North Sea, who was looked upon as a king. It was said this man was from Russia, but he knew that Tryggve Olafson had a son called Olaf, who went east to Russia in his childhood, and was brought up by King Vladamar, and he guessed *that* must be he.

The earl had a viking friend, " Thorer Klakke," and to him he gave a commission to go a merchant voyage to Dublin, and to discover who this " Ole " was.

Should he find out that he was Olaf Tryggvevesson, or any of the royal race of Norway, he was to endeavour to bring him into the earl's power. Thorer found

Ole at Dublin, with his wife's brother, King Olaf Quaran, and immediately made acquaintance with him. Ole inquired much about Norway and the upland kings, &c.—which of them were in life? and what dominions they held?

He asked also about Earl Hakon, and how he was liked? Thorer replied that he was so powerful that no one dared to speak but as he chose, but *that* came of there being no one else in the country to look to, for that most men would prefer a king of Harald Haarfager's race, could a suitable one be found. As they talked often in this way, Ole discovered to Thorer his name and family, and asked whether he thought the Bonders would take *him* for their king if he were to appear in Norway?

Thorer praised his talents and encouraged him very much. Then Olaf's desire to seek the heritage of his fathers grew very strong. Accompanied by Thorer, he sailed with five ships first to the Hebudes and then to the Orkneys. At that time Earl Sigurt (Lödver's son) lay at Osmundswall, in the island of Ronaldsha, with a ship of war, on his way to Caithness. The king ran in to the same bay, because the Pentland Firth could not be crossed at that tide. When the king was informed that the earl was there, he sent for him; and when Sigurt came on board, Olaf told him that he must be baptised, and all the people of the country likewise, or he should be put to death directly, and the island laid waste with fire and sword. So the earl, and all the people who were with him, adopted Christianity, and were baptised; and the earl took an oath to the king, and went into his service, and gave him his son "Whelp" or "Dog" as a hostage, and Whelp went with Olaf to Norway.

Olaf then went out to sea eastward, and landed at Möster Island, which was 994. the first land he touched in Norway, and he had high mass sung in a tent, and afterwards a church was built on that spot.

Thorer said it would be the best plan not to say who he was, but to fall upon Earl Hakon by surprise. King Olaf did so, sailing to Drontheim at a time Earl Hakon was in discord with the Bonders. Olaf came into the fiord with five ships, and Erlend, Earl Hakon's son, came against him, but was put to flight, and killed in the sea whilst swimming on shore. They learnt then that the Bonders had driven away Earl Hakon, and that he had fled, and all his troops been dispersed. The Bonders then came to meet Olaf, and took him to be their king to the joy of both, and resolved, one and all, to seek out Earl Hakon; and so great was their enmity against him that they named him "*Hakon the Bad.*" He was concealed in a swine-stye with one of his followers named "*Karkar,*" and Olaf stood on a big stone near the stye, and made a speech to the people, and Hakon and his thrall, Karkar, heard it. During the following night Karkar killed Hakon with a large knife, and cut off his head, and carried

it to Lade, where Olaf was, and told him what he had done, and Olaf had him taken out and beheaded.

Earl Eric, Hakonson, with Swend, his brother, and all his relations and friends, fled to the King of Sweden, who gave them a good reception; and Swend married Holmfrid, daughter of the Swedish king; whilst Eric married "Gyda," daughter of the King of Denmark, "Swend Tweskiæg, or the Forkbeard," and made themselves very powerful.

After this, King Olaf dwelt amongst his relatives and the friends of his father in Viken during a whole summer, and then he summoned together his mother's brothers and his step-father, and his brothers-in-law, and their friends, to speak to them on the subject of establishing Christianity in the kingdom, and he declared that he would either "convert all Norway to Christianity or die." He said he trusted to them to promote this work, and would make them all great and powerful if they would do so. Then they all promised as he wished. From that time his whole attention was turned to that one object. He summoned the people to a Thing, and they arrived well armed, and when they were met resolved to choose three men, the best speakers of the whole, to argue with the king, and to decline to accept anything but the old law if the king should require it of them.

First the king rose and spoke good-humouredly to them, but let them know that he expected them to receive Christianity, and that those who should speak against him, or not receive his proposal, must expect his displeasure and punishment, and all the ills in his power to inflict. When he had ended, the most eloquent of the Bonders stood up, but when he would begin, a cough seized him, and such difficulty of breathing, that he could not utter a word, so that he had to sit down again. Then another stood up, resolved not to let an answer be wanting, but he became so confused that he could not find a word to say, and all the people laughed, so that he had to sit down again. Now the third stood up to make a speech against King Olaf, but he became so hoarse and husky that no one could hear a word he said, and he had to sit down. So there being no one to answer King Olaf, there was no opposition, and all agreed to what the king proposed. All the people of the Thing, therefore, were baptised before they separated, and the Thing was dissolved. And so Olaf went through all the land, and insisted upon all men becoming Christian, and using every sort of cruelty against those that resisted.

In Lade, the king ordered a great feast to be prepared at Møre, about the time of the great sacrifices being offered. And the day after the chiefs had been assembled and feasted, the king stood up and said (the Thing being seated), "We held a Thing at Troste, and there I invited the Bonders to be baptised,

but they, on the other hand, invited me to offer sacrifices to their gods—as King Hakon, Athelstane's god-son, had done—and therefore it was agreed between us that we should meet at Møre, and there make a great sacrifice. Now if I, along with you, shall turn again to making sacrifices, then I will make the greatest of sacrifices that are in use, and I will sacrifice men!—but I will not select slaves or malefactors for this, but will take the greatest men only, to be offered to the gods;” and for this he named twelve of the principal men present. All these, he said, he would offer in sacrifice to the gods for peace and fruitful seasons, and ordered them to be laid hold of immediately. Now the Bonders, seeing that they were not strong enough to make head against the king, submitted to his pleasure and were baptised, and took an oath to hold by the right faith, and to renounce sacrifices to the gods; and the king kept these men hostages till they sent their brothers or sons in their stead.

Olaf destroyed the temple of Thor, and caused all the Icelanders in Norway to be baptised, and sent priests into their country.

After Olaf had been four years king in Norway, “*Gudrod*,” a son of Gunhilda's, came with many ships of war from England, and landed in Viken.

Now when the country-people saw that a large army was come upon them, they desired peace on any terms, and offered Gudrod to send a Thing message over all the country, and to accept him as their king.

When King Olaf's friends heard this, they gathered men, fitted out ships, 998, 999. and went with them to Viken, and attacked Gudrod with fire and weapons in the house where he lay, and killed him, and dispersed his followers, and so all the sons of King Eric Blodaxe and Queen Gunhilda were dead.

Earl Eric, son of Earl Hakon of Lade, was at this time with the Danish king, Swend Forked-beard, whose daughter “*Gyda*” he had married. Now King Swend had a sister, “*Thyri*,” who had been promised in marriage to old King Burislaf of the Vends (father of Olaf's first wife), but she refused to go to be his queen. Then King Burislaf sent an Earl Sigvald as his messenger to King Swend, and persuaded him to send Thyri, who went unwillingly and with many tears. With her went her foster-father, Otsur Aakeson, a man of great power, and other attendants; but after dwelling seven days amongst the heathen, and neither eating nor drinking with them, she and her foster-father ran away in the dark, and hid in the woods. At last they came to Denmark, but Thyri was afraid to remain there, knowing that her brother would send her back to Vendland. She went on, therefore, secretly to Norway, and was kindly received by King Olaf. Thyri was handsome and well spoken, and the king had pleasure in her conversation; so it came into his head that it would be a good match, and asked if she would marry him; and she considered what

luck it was for her to marry so celebrated a man, and after some more conversation King Olaf took Thyri in marriage.

The following spring Queen Thyri often complained to King Olaf, and wept bitterly over it, that she, who had so great property in Vendland, had no goods or possessions here that were suitable for a queen, and that King Burislaf, being so great a friend of Olaf, could deny him nothing, if they were to meet. Then she taunted him with being afraid of her brother, King Swend, on which King Olaf sprang up, and with a loud oath declared he never had been afraid of King Swend, and that if they met he should give way before him.

Soon after this the king convoked a Thing, and proclaimed that he should go abroad on an expedition out of the country, and would raise both ships and men.

Then he sent a message, both south and north, along the sea-coast, and up in the interior of the country, to let the army be gathered. He ordered "the Long Serpent" to be put into the water, along with all his ships, both small and great. "The Long Serpent" he would steer himself. He had sixty ships of war, with which he sailed past Denmark, and into the Sound, and on to Vendland.

He appointed a meeting with King Burislaf, and the two kings spoke very friendly about the property, and King Olaf got a good account of all he required, and passed much of the summer there, and found many of his old friends. The Danish King Swend had married "Sigrid the Haughty," the greatest enemy Olaf had, because he had broken off his marriage with her.

She urged King Swend Twieskiæg to give battle to Olaf, saying he had reason enough, as Olaf had married his sister Thyri without his leave.

Then King Swend sent messengers to Olaf, the Swedish king, and to Earl Eric, to meet him with an army, that they might together make an attack on King Olaf Tryggevesson.

The Swedish king and Earl Eric were ready enough for this, and assembled a large fleet and army, with which they sailed southwards to Denmark, and arrived there before King Olaf had gone eastward.

Now there was a traitor, "Earl Sigvald," who had married "Astrid," King Burislaf's third daughter, and he pretended to be the friend and ally of King Olaf, but was really a spy of King Swend: so he detained Olaf in Vendland till the Danish fleet was ready to meet him, and then he joined his forces with Olaf's and they sailed together, seventy-one vessels in all. All the small vessels, sailing fastest, got out to sea first. Then the earl sailed next with his eleven ships, and the king followed with his large ships, also eleven in number.

The Danish King Swend, the Swedish king, and Earl Eric were there with all their forces, and they went out to Svald Island to see the vessels sailing out to sea. Several vessels passed, but still not the "*Long Serpent*," King Olaf's own ship. It was the largest ship that ever had been built in Norway. The length of the keel that rested on the grass was seventy-four ells. It was in the form of a dragon, and had thirty-four benches for rowers. The head and the arched tail were both gilt, and the bulwarks were as high as a sea-going ship. An agreement had been made amongst the chiefs that they should divide Norway in three parts, but whoever boarded the "*Long Serpent*" first should have her, and each should have the ship he cleared for himself.

Earl Eric had a large ship of war which he used on his viking expeditions, and there was an iron beard or comb above, on both sides of the stem, and below it a thick iron plate, which was down quite to the gunnel. Now when Earl Sigvald's ships appeared, they turned in under the island, and the other ship-commanders who followed called out, asking why he sailed that way. The earl answered that he was waiting for King Olaf; but, as soon as the king appeared in his long ship, the whole enemy's fleet came rowing towards him from out of the Sound. When his people saw this, they begged the king to hold on his way, and not to risk battle with so great a force. The king replied, "*Strike the sails!* never let men of mine think of flight." Then he ordered all his war-horns to sound for his ships to come close together. The king's ship lay in the middle, and the "*Little Serpent*," commanded by Thorkel Nefia (his half-brother), on one side, and the "*Crane*" on the other; and they made fast the stems, the large ship most in advance. King Swend laid his ship against the "*Long Serpent*," outside him lay Olaf the Swede, and on the other side Earl Eric.

Then the combat began. Earl Sigvald held back, and did not join the fray. King Swend and King Olaf the Swede were soon obliged to fly and take refuge in other ships, but Earl Eric laid the "*Iron-beard*" side by side with the outermost of King Olaf's ships, thinned it of men, cut the cables, and let it drive—then against the next and did the same; and as fast as people fell on board his ship, Danes and Swedes came in their place.

At last it came to this—that all King Olaf's ships were cleared except the "*Long Serpent*," which King Olaf steered himself; but his men were mostly killed, many being drowned by jumping into the sea, trying to board the enemy's vessels.

At last King Olaf, and Kolbiorn the marshal, both sprang overboard, each on his own side. They tried to seize Olaf to bring him to Earl Eric, but he threw his shield over his head and sank beneath the waters.

Kolbiorn fell *upon* his shield, so that he could not sink so quickly. He was taken up, and supposed to be the king, so he was brought in a boat to Eric; but when the earl saw who it was, he gave him his life. At the same time all the king's men who remained in the Serpent sprang overboard, and Thorkel Nefia, the king's half-brother, was the last who did so.

Now the whole force raised a shout of victory, and Earl Sigvald and his men put in their oars and rowed towards the battle with ten ships, but the eleventh was a Vendland cutter, manned with the men of "*Astrid*," Sigvald's wife, who was the sister of "*Geyra*," King Olaf's first wife; and a report went abroad that King Olaf had swam, diving under the long ships, until he came to the Vendland cutter, and that Astrid's men had conveyed him to Vendland; but, however this may be, King Olaf Tryggevesson never came back to his kingdom of Norway.

By Thyri, his queen, he had a son, who was christened "Harold," but he only lived one year, which was a great grief to both. This is the only child of King Olaf that we hear mentioned.

After this Earl Eric became master of the "Long Serpent," and steered it from the fight. He also got four districts in the Drontheim county, besides Helogoland.

Swend, his brother, married to Holmfrid (King Olaf of Sweden's daughter), got from him the government of his portion of Norway—the Danish king retaining Viken, as he had held it before. This was about the year 1000.

King Olaf Tryggevesson died A.D. 1000, after which Earls Eric and Swend Hakonson, and their sons, held the government for fifteen years.

From 1015 to 1030 King Olaf the Saint reigned. He was the son of Harold Grœnskæ, one of the grandsons of Harald Haarfager, by Aasa, daughter of Gulbrand.

1013. Swend Tveskjæg, King of Denmark, reigned in England, but dying suddenly in his bed in 1014, King Ethelred, who was then in Valland (Flanders), returned, and invited all men who would, to enter into his service. Then Olaf the Saint came with a great band of Northmen and assisted him. They steered for London, where the Danes had reared a great work on the other side of the river, called *Sudrviki*, *Southwark*, and there was a bridge there which the Danes stoutly defended. Olaf roofed over his ships, and sailed up under the bridge, and cast ropes round the piles on which it was built, and rowed off as hard as he could, and so the piles gave way and the bridge fell. Thereafter Sudrviki was stormed and taken, and the river being free, they surrendered the Tower, and Ethelred became king once more.

During this time, two earls, "*William* and *Robert*," ruled successively over

Normandy. Their father was "Richard Earl of Rouen," who was the son of Richard, the son of William Long Spear, who was the son of "Gange Rolf," or Rollo, the earl who first conquered Normandy; and he again was a son of Rognvald the Mighty, Earl of Mœri and Raumdal.

And as they have long reckoned themselves kin to the chiefs in Norway, every Northman found a friendly country in Normandy, if he required it.

So to Normandy King Olaf came, and remained all winter in the river Seine, in good peace and quiet.

In Olaf Tryggvesson's saga it is recorded that Olaf, on his way from 994-5. Ireland to Norway to take up his rights of sovereignty there, met Earl Sigurt's fleet in Osmundswall Bay, where they were both weather-bound and unable to pass the Pentland Firth. Olaf sent for Sigurt, and claimed his allegiance, and told him that he and all his people must be baptised and become Christians, otherwise he would lay waste all the islands with fire and sword. Sigurt, it is said, doubted at first whether Olaf's religion was better than his own faith; until Olaf, holding a drawn sword over the head of *Whelp* or *Hundius*, Sigurt's son, declared that none should be spared until he conformed. So the earl and all who were with him were baptised, and took an oath to Olaf; and "*Whelp* or *Hundius*" went with him to Norway as a hostage. The king left several learned divines to instruct the people, and took his leave in a friendly manner. He said that, as Eric's sons were all dead, he considered that all the dominions that held of Harald Haarfager were now *his*. He was aware that Ranghilda, Eric's daughter, still lived in these islands, but that her crimes had been so great, that by the judgment of all good men she deserved to be condemned to death. Earl Sigurt's son *Whelp* soon died in Norway. He appears to have been the heir of his great-grandfather, Duncan Earl of Caithness. (There is some strange connection between the names "Duncan" and Cani, Hundius and Whelp.*)

After that, when Sigurt heard of his son's death, he threw off his allegiance

* At this period we find "Cani," "Whelp and Hund"—sometimes even "Dog"—used as a name, and apparently synonymous with Duncan.

Even at Florence, in the "Church of Sta. Maria Novella," built in 1350, a large fresco, representing the Church militant and triumphant, has a pack of black and white spotted dogs (the colours of the Dominicans) driving away a pack of savage wolves, who had attacked the lambs of the Church.

Some of the Florentine authors, opposed to Savonarola and the Dominicans, called him "*Hound of the Lord*," which, says the author of 'Romola,' was accepted by themselves, and pictorially represented in a fresco painted for them at Florence by "Simone Memini." It is in the Capella dei Spagnuoli. The sheep and lambs are, in the fold of the Church, guarded by the Domini-cani.

This, too, appears to have been the origin of the name of the once powerful family of the Cheynes, spelt in the old charters "Le Chen, and Le Chien."

In the charter of "William the Lion," granting "*Inverugie*" to this family, they are nominated "Bernardo Cano, filio Gulielmo Canis," which proves the name to be derived from the dog, and not from the oak, as some imagine.

to Olaf, and entered into a treaty with Malcolm II., King of Scotland, whose daughter *Alice*, or *Olith*, he married, by whom he had a son called Torphin Earl of Caithness, by gift of his grandfather, and afterwards of the Orkneys also.

It appears to me, however, more than probable that this Alice was Malcolm's granddaughter—the daughter and not the sister of Bethoc—for in one saga it is said that Torphin was supported by “King Duncan, his mother's brother.” Alice must have been dead before Sigurt went to Ireland, as King Sitric offered him *his mother* in marriage.

1014. Earl Sigurt went with a fleet and a considerable force to assist “Sitric with the Silken Beard” in his wars with his step-father, “Brian Biorn,” King of Dublin. Before his departure he took his young son “*Torphin*,” then in his fifth year (the only child of Alice, who appears to have been dead), to his grandfather the King of Scotland, and left his island possessions in charge of his three elder sons, who were to divide that inheritance in case of his death. It would appear that Catenes was destined to be Torphin's portion, as it probably had been Whelp's, as Earl Sigurt certainly held it, probably from *Dungal* his maternal grandfather.—See Torphin Hausakliffer.

On Christmas-day, 1014, was fought the fatal battle of Clontarf, famous in Irish history, in which both Sigurt and Brian were killed. Many signs and wonders are reported to have foretold the loss of their chief in Orkney.—See Gray Ocle., No VIII.; as one instance, “On the Fatal Sisters, Choosers of the Slain.”

“ Weaving many a soldier's doom,
Orkney's woe, and Randver's bane,
Low the dauntless earl is laid
Gored with many a gaping wound,
Fate demands a noble head,
Soon a king shall bite the ground.”

Somerled, *Brusée*, and Eynor, the three elder sons of “Sigurt Lödvinson,” succeeded their father in his island possessions which he held from the King of Norway; whilst upon the Torphin, then five years of age, his maternal grandfather, Malcolm King of Scotland, conferred the counties of Catenes and the Suderlands, with the title of earl, and sent good men with him to assist in ruling. His territory extended to the Oichel river. On the death of Somerled, which took place soon after, Earl Torphin demanded *his* third of the islands also. Eynor objected that Sutherland and Caithness—which had been subject to his father *Sigurt*—were much more valuable than a third of the Orkneys; but Brusius waived his claim, and said that he did not desire more than the third part, which already belonged to him. Then Eynor took possession of two-thirds and became very powerful. He often went in summer on viking expeditions, call-

ing out great numbers of the people to join him. He was very severe, and exceedingly proud and overbearing, and there came a scarcity in his lands in consequence of the services and money exacted from the Bonders; whilst in Brusée's country there was peace and plenty, so that *he* was the best beloved. Many of the Bonders fled from Eynor's lands, and most of them went to Torphin in Caithness, but some went to Norway and other countries.

Now Torphin, being grown up, sent again to demand his *third* of the islands ^{1020,} from Eynor, which not being conceded, he collected a war-force in Caithness. ^{ætat. 11.} As soon as Earl Eynor heard that, he collected people and determined to defend his country. Earl Brusius, too, collected men and went out to meet them. At last it was agreed that Torphin should have a third part, and that Brusée and Eynor should lay their *two* parts together, and that Eynor should rule over them, but that the longest liver and his *heirs* should inherit the whole; and this seemed reasonable, as Brusée had a son, *Rognvald*, but Eynor had no son.

Now there was a rich and powerful man named "*Thorkell*," son of Aamond, who dwelt at Sandvic in Pomona (Hrossay or Mainland), and he and his father having interceded with Eynor in favour of the oppressed Bonders, were obliged, in consequence, to leave the island—for Eynor had declared that they should not come to the next Thing "in a whole skin." So Aamond told his son to leave the country, and he, going to Caithness, became the instructor and foster-father of the young earl, and so came to be called "*Thorkell Fostre*." Now Torphin sent this Thorkell to the islands to gather his scatt; but he came suddenly back to Caithness and told the earl that Earl Eynor would have murdered him, had not his friends and relations given him notice to escape; for Eynor gave Thorkell the chief blame of the dispute about the islands; so Torphin encouraged Thorkell to go to Norway to King Olaf. That king conversed much with him, and found him a high-minded man of good understanding. The king found a great difference in the account he gave of the two earls, for Thorkell spoke much in favour of Earl Torphin, but had much to say against Eynor.

Early in spring the king sent a ship west over the sea, with an invitation to Earl Torphin to visit him in Norway, which the earl did not decline.

Torphin met with a very kind reception in Norway, and stayed till late in the summer; and when he was preparing to return, King Olaf made him a present of a large and fully-rigged long ship. In autumn Earl Torphin arrived in Orkney; and when Earl Eynor heard of it, he went on board his ship with a numerous band of men. Then Earl Brusius came up to his two brothers to mediate between them, and a peace was concluded and confirmed by Olaf.

Thorkell being now at peace with Earl Eynor, it was agreed that they should

each give a feast to the other, and that *first* the earl should be Thorkell's guest at Sandvic. The earl went accordingly, but was not cheerful, and the day they were to depart (Thorkell accompanying them) he sent men before to examine the road. These men came back to Thorkell and said they had discovered *three* ambushes, and believed there was deceit on foot. Thorkell lengthened out his preparations and collected people around him. At last he came into the hall in which Eynor was sitting, followed by an Icelandman named "Halvard," who locked the door after him; and the earl asked him, "Art thou ready at last, Thorkell?"

Thorkell answers, "Now I am ready," and strikes the earl upon the head, so that he fell upon the floor!

Then they went out at the opposite door where all Thorkell's men were standing, ready armed. The earl's men went in and took up the earl, but he was already dead, and nobody thought of avenging him. Thorkell went to his ship and came safe to Norway, where he was well received by King Olaf.

After Earl Eynor's fall, Brusée took that part of the country which he had possessed, for it was known on what conditions Brusée and Eynor had entered into partnership. Although Torphin thought it would be more just that each of them should have half the islands, Brusée retained the two-thirds all that winter. In spring they held Things and meetings about it. Torphin would not be content with less than half. Brusée replied, "When I took my heritage from my father I was satisfied with a *third*, and now I have succeeded to another third in heritage, after my brother, according to a lawful agreement between us; and although I cannot maintain a feud with *thee*, my brother, I will seek some other way." For Torphin had both a greater dominion and also the aid of his mother's *brother* (?) the King of Scotland.

1022. So Brusée went east to Olaf (the Saint), King of Norway, in the seventh year of that king's reign, and took with him Rognvald his son, then ten years of age. Brusée declared his errand, and was well received, and asked help to defend his kingdom of Orkney. In his answer, the king began by showing how Harald Haarfager had appropriated to himself the udal rights of Orkney, and how Eric Blodaxe and his sons had taken scatt there, and Olaf Tryggevesson also; and now that he, having the heritage, would give them to "*Brusée*" as a fief, on his becoming his man. That if he would not accept these terms, he would win back the islands to himself.

After consideration and consultation with his friends, the earl accepted these terms. Soon after, Torphin arrived expecting to be well received, and the king made the same proposition to him; but Torphin said that he could not be his

vassal, as he was an earl of the Scottish king, and owed fealty to him. But Thorkell Fostre, who was in Norway, told him that he was in Olaf's power, and had better accept the conditions offered. So the king ordered a general Thing, to make known to the public his agreement with the Orkney earls.

Brusée to have one-third, and Torphin one-third, as they formerly enjoyed them, "but the other third which Eynor had, I adjudge as fallen to *my* domain, &c. &c." The earls agreed to this. Then Torphin asked leave to depart, and took Thorkell with him. But Earl Brusée remained, and the king sent for him and said, "It appears to me, earl, that in thee I have a man on the west side of the sea on whose fidelity I can depend. Therefore I intend to give thee *two parts* of the country, which thou formerly hadst, to rule over; for I will not that thou shouldst be a less powerful man after entering into my service than before."

Brusée was thankful to get the two-thirds, and soon after set out, and came 1022. to Orkney in autumn; but *Rognvald Bruceson* remained with King Olaf, being then ten years of age.

Rognvald grew up to be one of the handsomest men that could be seen. His hair long, and yellow as silk. He was a very able, superior man, both of great understanding and polite manners.

After the brothers returned west, Torphin was usually in Caithness, and Brusée took two-thirds of Orkney under his rule, and Torphin set men over his third; but it was left to Brusée alone to defend the islands, which were much scourged by vikings. Brusée complained of this, and Torphin offered to take the two-thirds and leave Brusée one-third, and to defend the land for the whole; and although this did not take place at once, it seemed to have been so (according to the sagas) when "Knud or Canute the Great" subdued Norway, and Olaf fled, A.D. 1030.

Earl Brusée died, circa 1033.

Torphin was the most powerful of all the Orkney earls. He had under him the Orkneys and Shetland Isles and the Hebudes, besides very large possessions which he had conquered for himself in Scotland, Galloway, and Ireland.

The earldom of Caithness having been confirmed to him by his grandfather, Malcolm II., was ever after held of the kings of Scotland, although his father Sigurt, and his grandfather Torphin Haussakliffer, who married Grelotta, daughter of Duncan, the last native earl, appear to have held it by hereditary succession almost independently. 1014, ætat. 5.

In 1033, at the time of his brother Brusée's death, Torphin must have been twenty-four years of age, and his nephew, Rognvald Brucesson, twenty-one or

twenty-two, as we are told that he was ten years old when his father left him with King Olaf the Saint in Norway, in the seventh year of that king's reign.

Brusée was by all allowed to be the most just and equitable of all the earls, Torphin the most powerful; and they differed much in appearance as well as temper.

Torphin gave early indications of a covetous, daring, and turbulent spirit. His hair was black, his eyebrows large, his visage frightful; he was of tall stature, and his body lean; but he was altogether the soldier, both as to person and genius. He lived until 1064, two years before Harald Hardraada fell at Stanemore, and William of Normandy conquered England, and in the seventh year of Malcolm Cænmore's reign in Scotland, when he must have been fifty-five years of age, and not the very old man historians imagine; so that it is the less strange that Malcolm Cænmore should have married his widow, "Ingio-bierge," daughter of Finn Arnesön, who was probably much younger.

Earl Brusée and his two brothers, Somerled and Eynor, were grown up when their father was killed at Clontarf in 1014. As long as they were co-earls of the Orcades, Brusée was ever the peacemaker in their contests. He was of a mild and peaceful disposition, fair complexion, and of an obliging manner to all around him.

Soon after we hear of Rognvald Bruceesson as resident in Gottland or Gothland, "a very powerful earl," and being much esteemed, both in Sweden and Norway.

At that time an Olaf reigned in each; and it was much desired by the people of both countries that a treaty of alliance should be made betwixt them. Olaf of Norway was well disposed towards peace, and sent ambassadors and offers of friendship, and asked "Ingigerd," daughter of the King of Sweden, in marriage. But Olaf of Sweden was a proud man, and would not hear of this; nor would he call Olaf of Norway a king, but only "the thick man." Then the people assembled a Thing, and *insisted* upon a treaty with Norway, and made the king promise to give his daughter in marriage to Olaf the Holy; and Earl Rognvald was appointed to make the feast. But still no preparations were made for the marriage, although Ingigred wished it, and had sent Olaf a present of a richly-embroidered cloak, lined with costly fur.

King Olaf made great preparations for his bridal, and came with many ships and a great retinue, to a place called Kong-hille, but could hear nothing of the Swedish king, nor what were his designs.

Then he sent messengers to Gothland to Earl Rognvald, to ask him how it came to pass that the Swedish king did not come to the meeting agreed upon. The earl replied that he did not know; "but as soon," said he, "as I hear, I

shall send some of my men to King Olaf, to let him know if there be any other cause for the delay than the multitude of affairs, as it often happens that the Swedish king's movements are delayed by this more than he could have expected."

Rognvald appears to have had a difficult part to play between the two kings, one of whom was his friend and cousin, whilst from the other he now held "*Gothland*," having married "*Ostrida*," daughter of Rognvald Walfsen, of whose dominions he had become earl. As the summer advanced, all men were anxious to know the king's intentions, whether to keep the agreement with King Olaf, or to break his word, and with it the peace of the country; but no one was so bold as to ask the king, although they complained to Ingigred, and besought her to find out what the king intended. But she had no inclination to do so, as he appeared quite enraged whenever Olaf the Thick's name was mentioned.

One morning early the king rode out with his dogs and falcons and his men around him. When they let slip the falcons the king's falcon killed two black-cocks in one flight, and three in another. The dogs ran and found the birds, and the king ran after them, took the game from them himself, and was delighted with the sport, saying, "It will be a long time before most of you have such success." They agreed to this, adding that, in their opinion, no king had such luck in hunting as he had. As the king reached home, Ingigred, his daughter, was just coming out of her lodging, and she turned round and saluted him. He saluted her in return, and laughing, showed the birds, and told of the success of the chase.

"Dost thou know of any king," he said, "who made so great a capture in so short a time?"

"It is, indeed," she said, "a good morning's hunting to have got five black-cocks; but it was still better when, in one morning, the King of Norway took five kings and subdued all their kingdoms."

When the king heard this, he sprang from his horse, turned to Ingigred and said, "Thou shalt know, Ingigred, that however great thy love may be for this man, thou shalt *never* get him—nor he thee. I will marry thee to some chief with whom I can be in friendship, and not to this man."

Ingigred now having full certainty of the king's intentions, sent immediately men to West Gothland to Earl Rognvald, to let him know that the agreement made with the King of Norway was broken, and advising the earl and the people of Gothland to be upon their guard, as no peace from the people of Norway was to be expected. When the earl got this news, he sent a message through all his kingdom, and told the people to be cautious, and prepared in case of

war or pillage from the side of Norway. He also sent men to King Olaf "*the Thick*," and let him know the message he had received, and likewise that he wished himself to hold peace and friendship with Norway.

When this message came to King Olaf it made him both angry and sorry, and for some days no one got a word from him. At last he held a House-Thing with his councillors, and Biorn arose and took the first word. He told how he had proceeded eastward last winter to establish a peace, and how kindly Earl Rognvald had received him, and, on the other hand, how crossly and heavily the Swedish king had received the proposal; "and the agreement," said he, "was made more by the strength of the people and the aid of the earl, than by the king's goodwill."

People talked variously about Earl Rognvald: some said he was King Olaf's sincere friend; others thought that he might have had it in his power to warn the Swedish king to keep his promise, and the agreement concluded between them. Sigvat the poet often spoke of Earl Rognvald to King Olaf, and told him he was his best friend, and offered to go to him in Gothland, and, if possible, to get the settlement of the agreement. The king thought well of this plan; and early in the winter Sigvat and two friends left Sarpsburg, where Olaf was spending the winter, and proceeded eastward over the hills to Gothland. At last, after a severe journey, Sigvat arrived at Earl Rognvald's, and was entertained well and kindly at his house for a long time. The earl learnt, from letters sent by Ingigred, that ambassadors from King Jarisleif of Russia had come to King Olaf of Sweden, asking his daughter Ingigred in marriage; and that King Olaf had given them hopes he would agree to it.

Now Olaf had another daughter, "Astrid:" though she was not so high born on the mother's side, yet she was beautiful and agreeable, and in no respect behind her sister "Ingigred;" and at this time she came to Earl Rognvald's court, and a great feast was made for her; and Sigvat saw her there, and Rognvald asked Sigvat if the King of Norway would not marry "Astrid," the king's daughter. "If he will do that," said he, "I think we need not ask the Swedish king for his consent."

So Rognvald sends the news of Jarisleif's suit to Olaf of Norway by Sigvat the scald, and the king was very much cast down, and said he expected nothing but evil from King Olaf, but wished he might return it in such a manner as Olaf might remember. Then they spoke much of West Gothland, and of the beauty of "*Astrid*;" and the king listened with pleasure, and said, "The Swedish king will scarce think I will dare marry a daughter of his without his consent."

Then the king inquired about Earl Rognvald, and if he be *truly* our friend? Sigvat said, "Earl Rognvald was the king's *best* friend." Then messengers

were sent to Earl Rognvald's court with *tokens*, which Olaf himself sent to the earl, to place confidence in him. Without delay Earl Rognvald made himself ready for a journey, as did Astrid, the king's daughter. And the earl took one hundred chosen men of his courtmen, and sons of his bonders, who were carefully equipped in all things ; and they rode northwards to Sarpsburg. They came there at Candlemas. King Olaf put all things in the best order to receive them, and the feast lasted some days.

The king, the earl, and Astrid had a conference together, and the result of it was that Earl Rognvald contracted Astrid, daughter of the Swedish King Olaf, to Olaf of Norway, with the same dowry which it had before been settled that her sister Ingigred should have had. King Olaf, on his side, to give the same bride-gift that had been intended for her sister.

Therefore an *cke* was made to the feast, and King Olaf and Queen Astrid's marriage was drunk with great festivity. Earl Rognvald then returned to Gothland, and the king gave the earl many great and good gifts at parting ; and they were the dearest of friends, and so continued whilst they lived.

In spring thereafter came ambassadors to treat further of the marriage of Ingigred. Then she said, "If I go east, to marry King Jarisleif, I must have as my bride's-gift the town and earldom of Ladoga." The Russian ambassadors agreed to this. Then said Ingigred, "If I go east to marry King Jarisleif, I must choose the man in Sweden whom I think most suitable to accompany me, and I must stipulate that he shall not have a less title, or in any respect less dignity, privilege, and consideration, *there* than *here*." This also the king, her father, and the ambassadors agreed to, and gave their hands upon it in consideration. "And who," said the king, "is the man thou wilt take with thee as thy attendant?"

"That man," she said, "is my relation, *Rognvald Bruceesson*." Then the king replied : "I have resolved to reward Earl Rognvald in a different way for giving away my daughter (Astrid) to my greatest enemy. I will hang him up this winter." But Ingigred begged her father to be true to the promise he had given his hand upon. So it was agreed he should go out of Sweden with Ingigred, and not return whilst Olaf Ericson lived.

Ingigred immediately sent him these tidings, and he made ready, and rode to East Gothland, and there got into a vessel with his retinue, and joined Ingigred, and they proceeded together to Russia. Then King Jarisleif married Ingigred, and their sons were—"Valdemar and Visiwald and Halte the Bold."

Queen Ingigred gave Rognvald the town of Ladoga and the earldom belonging to it ; and he was there for a long time, and fought many pitched battles, and became very famous in the wars there.

We next hear of Rognvald Bruceesson at the battle of Stiklestad, where King Olaf the Holy fell, on the 29th July 1030. In that battle he saved and carried off from the field Harald Hardrada, the young brother of Olaf the Holy, who
 1030. was wounded. When sufficiently restored to health to travel, he crossed over into Sweden, where he found Rognvald and many of his brother's men, and remained there all winter. Harald was then fifteen years of age. Olaf the Saint, or "the Thick Man," was King of Norway for fifteen years, and was thirty-five years old when he fell, having been in twenty pitched battles.

In spring Harald and Rognvald took ship and went to King Jarisleif in Russia, where Harald and Eyllif, Earl Rognvald's son, were made chiefs over the landwehr men of the king, and Rognvald fought many battles there.
 1034. Harald went to Constantinople and became chief of the Væringers, and made campaigns in the Saracen lands and in Sicily, and took great riches and spoil.

Then he came back to Constantinople with his troops, and after staying there a little while, began his expedition to Jerusalem. In these various campaigns he is said to have fought eighteen pitched battles.

After clearing the country round Jerusalem, and the road to the Jordan, of robbers and other disturbers of the peace, he gave great gifts to the Church of the Holy Cross, and returned to Constantinople, whence with great difficulty he escaped from the Empress Zoe, who wished to detain him there. A chain was drawn nightly across the Dardanelles; but Harald, with two of the Væringer galleys, on board of which he placed all his people and his treasure, on coming to the chain, made his men all go to the farther side, so that the front of the galley rose over the chain; then he made them change, and brought the front of the vessel down on the other side.

The second galley was not so fortunate; it broke upon the chain, and several of his people were lost.

Harald had asked for the hand of Maria, a beautiful niece or cousin of the Empress Zoe, and been refused. Determined to show that he might have carried her off by force had he chosen, he caused his people to take her out of the palace by night, and put her on board his galley, and after taking her a little way, set her again safely on shore.

On arriving in Russia, Harald obtained from King Jarisleif his daughter Ellisoff, or Elizabeth, in marriage; and after remaining there all winter, began to think of returning to Norway, where Magnus, a young boy, a son of his brother Olaf, then reigned.

1030. King Swend, a son of King Canute, had been sent with his mother, "Alfifa," to be king in Norway. He was but a child, and the people being tired of

Danish lawgivers, and considering the wrong they had done in killing their good King Olaf the Saint, sent to *Ladoga* for young Magnus, his son, then ten years old ; and he came with Earl Rognvald, who fostered him, and all the Norsemen there ; and Kalf Arneson and his brother Finn and others joined them, and Swend's party was defeated, and Magnus declared king, ætat. 11. He reigned till 1047.

Magnus was not "*Astrid's*" son, but she treated him as if he had been, and 1035. gave all her gold and jewels to pay his men. Astrid was then in Sweden with her brother, King Onoud (ossia Jacob) Olafsson, where she received them, and they passed over the Kiel ridge of the country into Norway, and took Swend's people by surprise, and met with no opposition ; and King Swend went into Denmark to his brother Hardicanute.

Of Harald then we hear :—

" The fairest cargo ship e'er bore
From Russia's distant eastern shore,
The gallant Harald homeward brings—
Gold, and a fame that scald still sings.
The ship through dashing foam he steers,
Through the sea-rain to Sweden veers,
And at Sigtuna's grassy shores
His gallant vessel safely moors."

And again :—

" The gallant Harald now has come
To *Gotha*,* half-way from his home,
And on the river-frontier stands,
To fight with Swend for life and lands."

It does not appear that Earl Rognvald ever returned to Sweden, or that any of his family remained there, and we are left in ignorance of their career, with the exception of Eyliff's, who accompanied his father to Russia, and became one of the chief commanders of the landwehr men there, with Harald Har-draada, until A.D. 1034.

" Where Eyliff was, one heart and hand,
The two chiefs had in their command."

— So says THIODOLF the scald.

And it appears most likely that the friends went together to the east, but we hear nothing of Eyliff's *returning* with Harald, and believe, from the dates, that he and his brother Ulf then joined their cousins in Normandy, and on being received into the Roman Church became the *Regenvald* and *Robert*

* Gothland, not the island only, but the province, appears to have been the stepping-stone between Ladoga and Norway.

Brusée who then became known there ; whereas Mr Drummond makes Regnvald, "*Rognvald*" the father, and Robert, his son by a marriage in Normandy—which could not be, as Rognvald was fully engaged in Russia, Norway, and Orkney until his death in 1046, and Robert, his son, was a councillor of Robert the Magnifique, between 1030 and 1035, when that duke died. But to return to Harald Hardrada. When he came to Norway, he at first made friends with Swend ; but finding that "Magnus," his own brother's son, had been elected King of Norway, he went to meet him, and they came to an agreement to divide the kingdom and all their movable property equally, and to reign together, Magnus being chief king. This agreement was brought about by Earl Rognvald, who had fostered Magnus at Ladoga, and was now with him—having been the friend of his father Olaf, and of Astrid, his kind step-mother, as well as of his sister Ingigred, whilst he had saved Harald Hardrada's life at Stiklestad.

Then Harald had his caskets opened, and he had an ox-hide spread out, and all the gold and jewels turned out upon it. Scales and weights were brought, and it was all divided by weight into two equal parts, and all the people wondered that so much gold should have come together in one place in the northern countries. But it was understood that it was the Greek emperor's wealth—for, as all people say, there were whole houses there, full of red gold.

So Harald gave one half of all this wealth to his nephew Magnus, and great gifts of arms and vestments to his courtmen. And Magnus gave Harald one half of Norway to reign over. Earl Rognvald remained some time with King 1035. Magnus, but he had heard of the death of his father, Earl Brusée, in Orkney in 1033, where he was greatly beloved and regretted, and that Earl Torphin ruled over all the earldom. At last, though unwilling to part with him, King Magnus sent Earl Rognvald west to the Orkneys, and desired that Earl Torphin should let him have his father's heritage. At first Torphin gave him the two-thirds his father had held, but afterwards, there being a scarcity in his lands, he claimed the third which King Olaf had given to Earl Brusée. This Rognvald would not agree to, but offered him half of the islands, and neither of them would yield.

Then they had a great battle in the Pentland Firth, for Torphin had raised a powerful army in Scotland and the Hebudes, and embarked with them in Caithness, in order to transport them to Orkney ; but crossing the Pentland Firth he met Earl Rognvald steering for Caithness with thirty large ships, whilst Torphin had sixty, but of far less size.

In the offing appeared six large ships under the command of Kalf Arneson,

who had led the peasant army against Olaf the Holy at the battle of Stiklestad (pretending to the last to be the king's friend). Now he had been sent by Magnus the Good to support Earl Rognvald, with a promise of forgiveness and restoration of his lands in Norway if successful. But he was again a traitor.

Earl Torphin's wife, "Ingiobiorge," was his niece (not his sister, as some authors state, for all agree that she was the daughter of Finn Arneson, his brother); so that waiting till the combatants were far spent, he rushed in, and decided the day in Torphin's favour. On this battle there is a long saga.

Thus sings the bard:—

"Thy cutters, dashing through the tide,
Brought aid to Earl Torphin's side,
Tinn's son-in-law; and people say
Thy aid made Brusée's son give way.
Kalf, thou art fond of warlike toil,
Gay in the strife and bloody broil;
But here, 'twas *hate* made thee contend
Against Earl Rognvald, the king's friend."

Then Earl Rognvald, hoisting his sails, escaped by favour of the night, and steered back to Norway, where he was affectionately received by King Magnus, who invited him to stay with him as long as possible, or altogether, if agreeable to him. However, not long after, Earl Rognvald acquainted the king that he had a great desire to return to Orkney. The king thought it impracticable at that season of the year, and wished him to wait for spring, when a large force could be prepared to go with him; but Earl Rognvald preferred going with one ship only, and in the beginning of winter, when he could land without suspicion. Kalf Arneson had been sent to govern the Western Isles by Earl Torphin, who was himself in Orkney, having taken up his quarters on Mainland with very few men about him. Earl Rognvald had a fair wind, and he came so suddenly upon the place, that he had all the doors guarded by armed men before any one was aware of his landing, and the house in which Torphin was, set fire to, and none allowed to escape (as was supposed) except women and servants. Torphin, however, broke through a vaulted roof, and taking his wife "Ingiobiorge" in his arms, made his escape, under cover of night and the clouds of smoke, to a small boat which lay in a creek, and came to Caithness. Rognvald, supposing that Torphin had perished in the flames, took possession of all Orkney, and by messengers proclaimed himself ruler of Torphin's dominions in Katenes and the Hebudes. Torphin remained quietly amongst his friends in Caithness, his escape known to few; but about Christmas he came privately to the island

Christ- of Little Papa, and set fire to the house in which Rognvald dwelt, and al-
mas, though he escaped from it, he was afterwards betrayed by the barking of a little
1046. favourite dog, and taken prisoner by Thorkell Fostre, who put him to death
himself, as he had done his uncle Eynor many years before, after vainly ordering
his people to do so.

After this, Earl Torphin subdued all the earldom. At one time he became
a regular viking, infesting the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and even
making incursions into England, where he fought three pitched battles with
the best troops of Hardicanute, and returned home laden with spoil.

1047. About the beginning of spring King Magnus heard of Earl Rognvald's death,
and was much afflicted thereat, but being engaged in war, he could not send an
army to Orkney to be avenged on Torphin. That autumn King Magnus died,
and Harold Hardraada became sole King of Norway.

Of Torphin it is said that, before his death, being seized with remorse for his
crimes, he made a pilgrimage to Rome and was absolved by the Pope from all
his sins. Also that he came as a penitent to Norway, with two galleys, to a
harbour where the king's ships were, and walking into the principal cabin of
the king's ship, clad in a long white robe, whilst the king was at dinner, saluted
his Majesty with profound homage, and taking bread from the table began to
eat. The king returned the salutation, and offered the cup that was before him
to the stranger, and then asked him who he was. He answered, "Torphin."
"Art thou not Earl Torphin?" the king sternly inquired.

"So men call me in the western world," said the earl; "and I am come
here with two ships of twenty seats each, well provided to fight under your
Majesty's banners, if agreeable to your Majesty; and in all time coming, both
I and all the men I can muster shall be at your Majesty's service, to atone
for past offences."

All forgave him except one man, who came to claim satisfaction for the
slaughter of his brother, who had been slain with Earl Rognvald, but he him-
self had been allowed to escape to take the news to Norway.

Then said Earl Torphin, "I never fancied it could be said of me, that I was
too merciful, and slew one man too few, that you should be here to accuse me
before his Majesty."

The king was very wroth and said, "He seemed sorry that he had killed so
few of his subjects!"

Having allowed Torphin to break bread with him, King Harald did not
think it consistent with his dignity (or perhaps with his convenience) to bring
him to account at that time for his crimes, and said he might accompany him
on his expedition to Denmark, which, however, ended peaceably—Swend recom-

mending Harald rather to turn his arms against England, an advice he afterwards followed.

On Torphin's return to Caithness he lived a quiet and devout life, giving up piracy, and attending to the government and improvement of his people.

He built a church at Birsa, in Mainland, and dedicated it to Christ, and, dying in 1064, was buried there.

By Ingibiorge, his wife, daughter of Finn Arneson, he left two sons, "*Paul* and *Erlend*,"—after his death, joint earls of Orkney and Caithness (for their descendants, see Appendix).

Ingibiorge "the Earl Mother" married, secondly, Malcolm Cænmore, King of Scotland after Macbeth's death, in 1058.

Their son "Duncan," for a short time king after his father's death, is termed a bastard by all the Romish chroniclers of the sainted Queen Margaret (who became Malcolm's second wife in 1070), and her sons—but was not so considered by those sons themselves. That Torphin and Malcolm were cousins within the prohibited degrees, and that no dispensation had been obtained from the Pope for this marriage, was doubtless the cause of the stigma.

Amongst the inscriptions brought to light by Mr Farrer's late excavations at the Maes House in Orkney, is one—"Ingibiorge, the fair, the widow." "Many a proud woman has walked stooping here;" or, "Many a woman has walked stooping here, who owned great wealth."

Was the "Maes House" of Lodbrok's sons at one time the shelter of Earl Torphin's widow? or was its vaulted roof that one through which Torphin made his escape with Ingibiorge in his arms when all the other buildings were consumed?

Harald Hardraada, finding that he had no chance of conquering Denmark, turned his thoughts towards England, now in a disturbed state—Harald Godwinson having, on the death of Edward the Confessor, seized the crown, and having in his possession all the treasure of the late king, whilst his brother, Earl Tosti, was at the head of the army. Jan. 5, 1066.

The latter invited Harald to assist him in conquering England—having also gathered forces in Valland, and the Low Countries. King Harald Hardraada then caused a levy of half the fighting-men in Norway, and put to sea with about 200 ships. He took his queen Ellisoff, and her two daughters, Maria and Ingigred, with him, and also his son Olaf, and left his son Magnus to be consecrated king should he not return. Harald sailed out into the ocean, landing first in the Shetland Isles, and afterwards in Orkney, from whence he took a great armed force, and the earls *Paul* and *Erlend*, the sons of the late Earl Torphin; but he left behind him there the queen and her daughters.

Then he sailed towards England and landed in Cleveland, where he met with no opposition. Next he came to Scarborough, where he had a battle and burnt the town. At Holderness a large force had been assembled to oppose him, but still he was victorious. Then he sailed upon the Humber, and landed. In York there were two earls—Earl Morcar and Earl Walthiof of Huntingdon, and they had an immense army. Harald awaited them on the Ouse, and they

Sept. 30. were defeated and put to flight—Earl Walthiof and those who escaped with him taking refuge in the Castle of York. Earl Tosti had now joined Harald, and they advanced to take the castle, as far as Stamford Bridge. The people were dismayed and saw no hopes of resisting, and the men in the castle therefore held a council and sent messengers to Harald with an offer to deliver up the castle into his power. All this was soon arranged, and the king ordered a Thing to be appointed for Monday morning, to name officers to rule over the town, to give out laws, and bestow gifts; and in the evening returned to his

1066. ships very merry. That same evening after sunset, King Harald Godwinson came from the south with a numerous army, and was received into the city with great joy, and all the gates and walls were so guarded that the Northmen

Oct. 14. received no intelligence. On Monday morning Harald of Norway ordered the battle of trumpets to be sounded for going on shore; and he divided his men—two of each Stamford division to land, and one to remain on board; and for watching the ships there Bridge. remained, the king's son Olaf, and the earls Paul and Erlend, and Eystein Oire, son of Thorbery Arneson, to whom Harald had promised his daughter Maria. The weather being fine and hot, the men laid aside their armour and went on shore only with their shields, helmets, and spears, and girt with swords, and some with arrows and bows, and all very merry. Now as they came near the castle a great army seemed coming against them, and a cloud of dust as if from horses' feet, and under it shining shields and bright armour.

The king halted his people and called to him Earl Tosti, and asked him what this could be?

The earl's counsel was to turn about as fast as possible, to get weapons and reinforcements from the ships, but King Harald preferred sending three of his fleetest horses, with three of his briskest lads, to tell the people to come quickly to their relief. Harald Godwinson came on with an immense army, both of cavalry and infantry. Harald of Norway rode round his array on a black horse to see how every part was drawn up, and the horse stumbled, so that the king fell off. He got up in haste, and said, "A fall is lucky for a traveller." The English king said to the Northmen who were with him, "Do you know the stout man who fell from his horse, with the blue kirtle and the beautiful helmet?" "That is the king himself," say they. The English king said, "A

great man and of stately appearance, but I think his luck has left him." Then twenty horsemen all clothed in armour rode forth and asked, "Is Earl Tosti in this army?" The earl answered, "It is not to be denied that ye will find him here." Then the horseman said his brother, King Harald, would rather give him a third of England to rule over, than that he should fight against him. Earl Tosti answered, "Had this been offered last winter it might have saved much bloodshed. But if I accept this offer, what will he give King Harald for his trouble?" The horseman replied, "He has spoken of this, and will give him seven feet of English ground, or as much more as he may be taller than other men."

Then said the earl, "Go and tell the king to get ready for battle, for never shall Northman say with truth that Tosti left King Harald of Norway, when he came west to fight for him, to join his enemy's troops. We will die with honour, or gain England by victory!" Then the horsemen rode away. King Harald said to the earl, "Who was that man who spoke so well?" The earl replied, "That was King Harald Godwinson." Then a fierce battle was fought, victory hanging in the balance, when an arrow hit the King of Norway in the windpipe, and that was his death-wound. For a time there was a pause in the fighting, and again Earl Tosti was offered peace, and quarter for the Norsemen who were alive, but they all declared they would not accept it from the English. Eystein Oire now came from the ships with his men, and the conflict was sharper than ever; so many Englishmen fell that the others had nearly taken flight. At last the Northmen were so exhausted that many fell without a wound, and darkness stayed the slaughter. Eystein was killed. Olaf Haraldson, a young boy, had not gone on shore with the others, and Harald Godwinson gave him leave to go away with the men who had not fallen in battle; but he himself turned round with his army to go south, for he had heard that William the Bastard was subduing the south of England for himself with a large army. Olaf sailed from the Humber, and came with the Earls Paul and Erling to the Orkney Isles, where it was found that Maria, the king's daughter, had died the very day and hour of her father's fall—so that people said those two had only one soul! Queen Ellisoff, with Ingigred her daughter and her step-son Olaf, remained in Orkney all winter and then returned to Norway, taking with them Skule, Earl Tosti's son—called the king's foster-son—and his brother Ketil Krok, and from them are descended many great people.

With the death of Earl Rognvald Bruceesson in 1046 ended the connection of his descendants with the Orcades, and, as far as we know, with Sweden and Norway.

It is said that "when the earl left Gothland to accompany his kinswoman the Princess Ingigred to Russia, a certain 'Eymund' became chief man in his

place"—but *not* earl ; "and that, tired of the follies and ill temper of Olaf the Swede, he called a Thing, and caused him to be deposed," and "'Onond' (ossia Jacob) his son to be made king in his stead." Afterwards, however, the father and son agreed to reign together ; and Olaf of the Blackcocks became mild and amiable, and even came to be on good terms with his son-in-law, Olaf of Norway. This was ante 1030.

We have brought down the history of his contemporaries, Torphin and Harald Hardraada, twenty years later, and find no mention of Earl Bruceesson's descendants in either country, either as friends or foes. It is not likely that they could be well satisfied with the part Harald took with respect to their father's murderers, considering that it was to Rognvald Bruceesson that Hardraada owed his life and his crown.

Rognvald appears to have been Brusée's only child, and although the history of his life and death can be more distinctly traced than that of almost any other of his race, yet many strange errors have crept into all the genealogies concerning him, confusing him with his father, his father-in-law, and his descendants who first settled in Normandy. Thus, in one saga he is said to have had for his first wife "Ingiobiorge, daughter of King Tryggve and Queen Astrid, and sister of Olaf Tryggevesson." Now this lady was his senior by at least forty years—her brother Olaf, a posthumous child, having been born in 971 ; whilst from another saga we find that this Ingiobiorge was really his mother-in-law, as her marriage is therein distinctly recorded with "*Regenwald Walfson*," Earl of Gothland in Sweden, or "*Rognvald, the son of Ulf*," as was his designation in Norway, whose daughter, "Ostrida," was Bruceesson's first wife. Ulf, Regenwald's father, and Queen Sigrîd the Haughty, Olaf's mother, were brother and sister, so that Regenwald and Olaf the Swede were first cousins. Regenwald sent ambassadors to Olaf Tryggevesson (of Norway) to ask his sister Ingiobiorge in marriage, as he much desired to be his brother-in-law. Olaf said his sister herself must decide. She replied that her brother had always treated her kindly since he returned amongst them, and that she would agree to any proposal of his, "so that he did not marry her to a heathen man."

Olaf remained all that winter with Thyri his queen, and his sister Ingiobiorge, at Nidaros. In spring again came ambassadors from Earl Regenwald to receive his answer, and the king said he would give his sister in marriage to the earl provided he would keep the true faith, and cause all the subjects he ruled over to be baptised. Then the marriage-feast was made at Nidaros, and Earl Regenwald and Ingiobiorge set out to return to West Gothland ; and Olaf sent learned men with them to baptise the people, and teach them the true faith."

It was "*Ostrida*," daughter of Regenwald Walfson and Ingiobiorge, that

Rognvald Bruceesson married, and the mistake arises from a passage (or probably from its translation) wherein it is said that "*Ingjorbjorge*," *the wife of Earl Rognvald*, "was the principal instigator of his interference about the treaty and the marriage of Olaf of Sweden's daughter with Olaf the Saint," as she never could forget the part the Swede had taken against her brother Olaf Tryggevesson. But *this* Rognvald means the "son of Ulf."

Brucession was himself the earl before he accompanied Ingigred to Russia; and probably "*Ostrida*" was dead, as it is merely said they had two sons, "Earl Ulf" and "Earl Eyliff." Of Ulf we hear nothing more; of Eyliff, that he was well received in Russia with his father, and made, along with Harald Hardraada, a commander of the king's landwehr men. We can scarcely fancy that these young Norsemen remained idle in a foreign land where their father had other ties; whilst Harald went to the East and became a famous leader of the *Væringers*, and amassed great wealth. It was no longer the practice of those more Christian days for youths of ten or twelve years of age to demand long ships and armed followers, to go forth as vikings and make their fortunes by piracy; but that they sought their fortune in Eastern or European warfare there can be but little doubt, and afterwards settled amongst their kinsmen in Normandy.

That the *Regenwald* and *Robert de Brusle* of this date were the Earls Ulf and Eyliff of Rognvald's Swedish marriage, received into the Church of Rome by those more Christian names, appears to me quite clear. In most genealogies it is stated that Rognvald *himself* settled there, and married Felicia de Hastings as his second or third wife; but we have shown that this was impossible, as his whole life is fully accounted for, from ten years of age, until his death in 1046.

His second wife was "*Arlogia*," daughter of Duke Waldamer, by whom he had a son, "*Waldamer*," brought up in Russia, from whom the Lords of Sharbatow and Merode claim descent. To Waldamer probably the earldom of Ladoga, and governorship of the Castle of Aldeigorburg, a strong fortress situated in an island in the Ladoga Lake, were appropriated, when Rognvald Bruceesson returned to Norway with his foster-son, King Magnus, then in his eleventh year, and afterwards died, in his attempts to recover his earldom in the Orcades, A.D. 1046. 1035.

Rognvald had also a daughter, "*Ingreda*," married to "*Turbrand*," son of Gulbrand, a noble of Norway, ancestor of the *de la Vals* of Seaton in England. He was murdered by Aldred, son of Uchtred, Earl of Northumberland.—See Pedigrees of the Nevilles and Dunbars.

Another daughter, "*Margarita*," married Thorbrand the Bold, a Danish noble.

And in Russia he had two daughters married—"Hamilliana" to Ottalo, surnamed "*the Brisk*," Prince of Russia, nephew of Waldamer; and "*Arlogia*,"

married to Thurstan du Beck, who came to England with the Conqueror, and was related to Robert de Hastings.—See Taylor's Notes on Wace's Chron. Norm. Conq., p. 209.

"The name of 'Russians'" (according to Gibbon, vol. x. p. 219) "was first divulged in the ninth century by an embassy from Theophilus, Emperor of the East, to the Emperor of the West, 'Louis, son of Charlemagne.' The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the Great Duke or Czar of the Russians. Detecting in them the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, whose names were already formidable in France, they were detained by Louis whilst the Greeks were dismissed. The Scandinavian origin of the princes, if not of the people, of Russia, may be confirmed and illustrated by the national annals, and general history of the north."

"The Baltic was the first scene of the naval achievements of the vikings. They visited the eastern shores, the silent residence of Fennic and Sclavonian tribes; and the primitive Russians of the Lake of Ladoga paid a tribute—the skins of white squirrels—to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of 'Varangians or Corsairs.' Gradually, by choice or conquest, they obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect, till at length 'Ruric,' a Scandinavian chief, became the founder of a dynasty which reigned 'above 700 years.' As long as the descendants of Ruric were considered as aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the swords of the Varangians, distributed estates and subjects to their faithful captains, and supplied their numbers with fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic coast. But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deep and permanent root into the soil, they mingled with the Russians in blood, religion, and language; and the first Vladimir had the merit of delivering his country from foreign mercenaries. They had seated him on the throne; his riches were insufficient to satisfy their demands; but they listened to his pleasing advice, that they should seek, not a more grateful, but a more wealthy master."

Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction of the Varangians into the Eastern Empire. Each day they rose in confidence and esteem at Constantinople as the imperial guard, and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen from "*the Island of Thule*."

"On this occasion," says Gibbon, "the vague appellation of *Thule* is given to *England*, and the new Værangians were a colony of the English and Danes who fled from the yoke of the Norman Conqueror."

The "Island of Thule" never could have been intended to designate "*England*;" but very probably the Northmen who left the Humber after Harald Hardrada's defeat, and sought refuge in Orkney, and also those who were *then*

the victors, but were soon after overcome by the Conqueror at the battle of Hastings, and very likely took refuge for a time in Iceland, may *thence* have joined their more fortunate countrymen in the East.

Eighty-four years after the death of Earl Rognvald BruceSSon in Orkney, we find *Sir Rayner de Brus* holding the Castle of Subeibeh at Cæsaria Philippi, in Palestine—doubtless a grandson of Earl Rognvald, for the names are identical. In Mr Drummond's 'History of the Bruces,' he gives upwards of twenty-four different spellings of their name ; and the name of their first progenitor, "Earl Rognvald of Mœri," underwent many changes, as held in different countries by his descendants ; and often the same individual is designated "Rognvald, Ronald, Ranver, Rayner, Regnald, or Reginald," according to the fancy or the idiom of the writer. 1130.

II.

THE BRUCES IN NORMANDY.

Between 1028-1035. REGENWALD DE BRUSSÉE married Felicia de Hastings, daughter of Robert de Hastings, descended from the viking-friend of Regner Lodbrok. — (See Hastings.)

1066. Her brother, Robert de Hastings, came to England with the Conqueror, and became Lord of Fillongley in Warwickshire, Portgreve of Hastings in Sussex, and Dispensator or Steward to William I. in 1087.

In some pedigrees this Regenwald de Brussée is made to be Rognvald Brucesson, who was, as we have seen, killed in Orkney in 1046; and Felicia is called *his* second wife: whereas his second wife and family were Russian, and remained in that country after his death, being nearly related to its sovereigns. It appears to me, therefore, quite clear that Regenwald and Robert, who settled amongst their cousins in Normandy, were the "Earl Ulf and Earl Eyliff" of his first Swedish marriage (with "*Ostrida*," daughter of Regenwald Walfson), who, having followed the fortunes of Harald Hardraada in the East, amassed, like him, great riches, and were thus enabled to build those castles in Normandy which still bear their name, and to endow abbeys, the records of which still exist. That they should have assumed more Christian names on being received into the Church of Rome is quite natural—"Regenwald," after his father and grandfather, and Robert, after the reigning duke. Their ceasing to be the friends and allies of Harald Hardraada, too, is easily accounted for, from the little pains he took to avenge the death of their father, "Earl Rognvald," to whom he owed his life and crown, and his receiving his murderer into his service. This will account for their not being on Hardraada's side at the battle of Stamford Bridge; for long before that date they were peacefully settled in Normandy.

Robert de Bruis or Brusée became a Privy Councillor of Robert le Magnifique, father of the Conqueror, who was Duke of Normandy from 1028-1035. And as the sons of Earl Rognvald Brucesson disappeared from Russia in 1031, this would prove him to be *the brother*, and not the son (as Mr Drummond makes him),

of Rognvald and Felicia. It does not, however, seem unlikely that "*William*," who came over with Robert de Bruce, was their son. "*Les Sieurs de Bruis*" would seem to indicate the heads of two families, rather than father and son. Soon after 1066 Robert de Brus died, and William became Lord of Brember in Sussex, with large possessions in southern counties—like Robert de Hastings, his mother's brother, as we suppose—whilst "*Adelme*" and his race had all their possessions in the north.

Another reason for supposing these two families to spring from cousins rather than brothers is, that in the southern house of "*de Braose*" the name of Reginald still recurs, but Robert *never*, whilst Robert and Adam succeed each other in the northern branch.

Robert de Bruis built the Castle of Brusée, or Brix, in the diocese of Contances, near Valognes.

Le Chateau d'Adam is also mentioned as one of his possessions. He married "*Emma*," daughter of "*Allan Lord of Brittany*," by whom he had "*Alan*," who remained Lord of Brix in Normandy; second, Adelme or Adam, who came to England with Queen Emma in 1050, and retired into the north on her death in 1052.

Robert de Bruis had also three daughters: first, Philena, wife of Woolstan Lord of Paston, ancestor of the Earls of Yarmouth; second, Hortolina, wife of Henry de Ferraris, who came in with the Conqueror; third, Amicia, wife of St Aymer de Tours.

Agnes, daughter of Waldeve or Waldonius, Earl of St Clair, is said to have been the wife of a Robert de Bruis who came over with the Conqueror, and died soon after. This may have been another son of the first Robert's, or Agnes may have been his second wife.

We may here remark that there are upwards of twenty-four ways of spelling the name in the records of France, England, and Scotland; de Brus and de Braoise being most common in Britain.

William de Brusse, we find in the Roll, "*de ceux queux viennont en Angleterre avesque Roy William le Conqueror.*" "*Les Sieurs Brusse, avec deux cens homez.*"

I. William de Brusse became Lord of Brember in Sussex, in which county he had forty-one lordships, also twelve in Dorsetshire; and others in Berkshire, Wiltshire, Surrey, and Hampshire. He endowed many monasteries in France with lands in England. One of the charters bears date 1076. He was living in 1085-86. He signs his name "*de Braiosa*," as witness to a grant of William the Conqueror to the Abbess of Caen in 1080.

Monsieur le Prevost considers Brieux or Broicæ, three leagues from Falaise,

to have been a Norman castle of the Bruces; and in support of this we find "William de Falesia" one of the witnesses to a grant of this William de Braiosa's to the Priory of Sele. His seal appended to this grant is given in Dugdale's 'Monasticon.'

II. Philip de Braose, his son, adhered to William Rufus, in the ninth year of his reign, against Robert Courthose, Duke of Normandy. Philip, it is believed, died in the Holy Land. He married "Aanor," by whom he left two sons,— "William de Braose," his heir—of whom hereafter—and "Philip or Pierre," to whom Henry II. granted the honour of Limerick in Ireland, leaving him in charge of that kingdom with twenty soldiers under him.

He married Eva, who remarried W. Baron of Nas.—Excerpt, é Rot. Fin. 4, Henry III.

In Cartwright's 'Sussex,' vol. ii. p. 224, 173, the seal of Philip de Braose is given as affixed to a grant to the Priory of Sele.

It appears that, after the first generation, this branch always spelt the name with an "a,"—"Braose, Braoise or Breoise, or de Braiosa,"—probably from the broader pronunciation of the counties in which they lived.

III. William de Braose, eldest son of Philip, became the first Baron of Gwentland, Brecknock, and Abergavenny, "jure uxoris," having married, ante 1150, Bertha, second daughter and co-heiress of Milo, Earl of Hereford, with whom he got the lordships of Abergavenny, Brecknock, and Gower, which passed with *Eva* de Braose, a daughter of one of his descendants, into the possession of William Baron Cautilupe, in 1250; and from one of his daughters they passed into the family of Hastings. Besides William, his heir, he left a second son, Reginald, perhaps the Sir Rayner of Subeibeh.—See page 225.

IV. William de Braose, son of *William*, married "Maude de St Valerie de la Haia," who was seized, with her children and grandchildren, by King John in the tenth year of his reign, and starved to death in Windsor Castle.

King John, finding his kingdom under the ban of the Pope, took the sons and nephews of his principal nobles as sureties for their remaining faithful; and the king's messengers coming to William de Braose, his wife Maude stepped forth and told them that she would not suffer *her* children to come into the hands of him who had murdered his own nephew, Prince Arthur; whereupon, to avoid the king's anger, De Braose fled with his wife and children to Ireland, where his brother Pierre was in charge of the kingdom. Maude sent to Isabella the Queen, amongst other rich gifts, a herd of 400 cows and a beautiful bull, to interest her in their behalf. The cattle were milk-white, with the exception of the ears, which were red.

His disputes with the king lasted long: at length his lands were forfeited,

and he fled beyond seas, and died at Paris in 1212. Davenport's tragedy of 'King John and Matilda' records her hapless fate.

V. It appears to have been her eldest son "William," and his children, who were famished with her. He married Maud, daughter of Richard, Earl of Clare. The second son "Giles" was consecrated Bishop of Hereford in 1200, and died in 1215. He was one of the bishops who placed King John under the interdict with his whole realm of England, causing all the church-doors to be closed, for which he was compelled to fly to escape the king's vengeance, who seized upon all his temporalities. He was also one of the parties to the charter of King John in 1214, by which he granted the freedom of election of bishops to the clergy, on which the present system of "Congé d'élire" is founded. Of Bishop Giles de Broase there is a fine effigy in Hereford Cathedral.

VI. Reginald succeeded his brother the bishop, and by degrees was restored to the king's favour; and partly in John's reign, and partly in Henry Third's, got back the greatest part of his father's possessions. He married a daughter of Llewelyn ap Jorwath, Prince of Wales.—See Jones's 'Brecknock,' p. 126. A grant to the priory of Sele, with the seal of "*Reginald de Broase*" attached, may be seen in Cartwright's 'Sussex,' wherein, "for the souls of William, his father; Matilda, his mother; William, his brother; Giles, his brother, Bishop of Hereford; and his own soul," he confirms the three grants, viz. of William, his grandfather's grandfather; Philip, his grandfather's father; and William, his grandfather. Brember in Sussex appears to have been restored to his nephew "John de Broase," who married "Margaret," daughter of Llewelyn, Prince of Wales.

VII. William de Broase, Reginald's son, married "Eva," daughter of William le Marischall, Earl of Pembroke.

VIII. William, their son, married, 1st, Isabella, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester; 2dly, Agnes, daughter of Nicolas de Moulis; 3dly, Mary, daughter of William, Lord Roos, and widow of Sir Ralph Cobham, who afterwards married "Thomas of Brotherton," Earl Marshall, son of Edward I. This lady died A.D. 1361, same year.

IX. Thomas de Broase was found heir to his grandmother, Mary de Roos. He married "Beatrix," daughter of Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March, widow of Edward Plantagenet, son of Thomas Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, Marshall of England. Thomas de Broase died seventh Richard II.; of him there is a fine effigy in Horsham Church. With their three sons, who died without issue, the male line of this branch became extinct. Their daughter, Beatrix, married Lord Saye. But the line of Richard de Broase, son of Agnes de Moulis, is

traced in Bloomfield's 'Norfolk,' down to the year 1627, as Lords of Topecroft in that county, and of Wenham in Suffolk.

In the chancel of the Church at Toddington, in Bedfordshire, is a monument in white, red, and black marbles, to one of this family, with this inscription :—

In Memorium fratris posuit Soror,
Alisia Bruse, Amoris ergo.

GYLIS BRUSE, Esqr., youngest sone to Sir John Bruse,
of Wenham in Suff., Knyght, who, cominge to
Toddington to visyte his Syster, Alice Bruse, then
attending on y^e Right Hon. y^e Lady Cheyne, there
Dyed y^e 13 of March 1595, and was by hes saye Syster
here entombed y^e 14 of March, Regno Elizab. 38.
Ætatis suæ 33.

This shows how long particular baptismal names were continued to be used in one branch of the family—Reginald, in its various modifications; William and Giles in the southern branch; Adam and Robert in the northern—and from this we may conclude that the "*Sir Rayner or Reginald*," of the twelfth century, who held Subeibeh, was of the Lords of Brember.

"Kul'at es Subeibeh, the Castle of Subeibeh," more generally known as the Castle of Bâniâs (the Arabic pronunciation of the ancient *Paneas* of the Greeks and Romans), is situated at the eastern source of the Jordan, and derived its name from the grotto from which the Jordan issues having been dedicated to Pan, and Herod the Great here erected a temple in honour of Augustus. At a later period, the place made part of the territory of Philip, Tetrarch of Trachonitis, and was named by him "*Cæsarea Philippi*," in distinction from the *Cæsarea* Paleastina of the sea-coast. Under this name it appears in the New Testament, Matt. xvi. 13; Mark viii. 27, and was visited by our Lord.

During the crusades Bâniâs was the scene of various changes and conflicts. It first came into the possession of the Christians in A.D. 1129-30, along with the fortress of "*es Subeibeh*," on the mountain, being delivered over to them by the Ismaelite governor, after their unsuccessful attempt upon Damascus in behalf of that sect. The city and castle were given as a fief to the knight "*Rayner de Brus*." In A.D. 1132, during the absence of Rayner, Bâniâs was taken by the Sultan Ismail of Damascus, but was recaptured by the Franks, aided by the Damascenes themselves in A.D. 1139; the temporal control restored to Rayner de Brus, and the city made a Latin bishopric under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Tyre. Bâniâs fell afterwards *by inheritance* into the possession of the Constable Honfroy, who called in the aid of the Hospitalers for its protection; and in 1157 it was besieged by the formidable Nureddin, who suc-

ceeded in taking and burning the town, but could not master the fortress. In 1165 Nureddin again attacked Bâinâs with better success, and the place never came again into the power of the Franks, although, in the year 1253, the Christians, under the command of the *Seneschal Foinville*, got possession of the town for the moment; but not being able to subdue "Kul'at es Subeibeh" on the mountain, they immediately abandoned their conquest and retired to Sidon.—Robinson's 'Researches in Palestine;' from Abulfeda's 'Annals,' &c. &c.

Cæsarea Philippi or Bâniâs occupies one of the most picturesque sites in Syria. A broad terrace on the mountain-side looks over the plain to the castellated heights of Hunin. Behind it rises in rugged peaks the southern ridge of Hermon, wooded to the summit. Two ravines, deeply cut into the ridge, having between them an isolated cone more than 1000 feet high, are crowned by the ruins of the Castle of *Subeibeh*.—(Murray's 'Handbook in Syria.')

DESCENDANTS OF ROBERT DE BRUSSE BY EMMA, DAUGHTER OF ALAN
DUKE OF BRITTANY.

I. 1st. ALAN DE BRUSSE, eldest son of Robert de Brusse by "Emma," daughter of Alan, Duke of Brittany, married "Agnes," daughter of Simon de Montfort, Count d'Evreux, and had a son.

2d. Robert la Brussée, who married Seraphia, daughter of Pierre de Bailliul, Lord of Fischam.

3d. Pierre la Brussée, their son, Lord of Brusée Castle, married "Alice," daughter of Geoffrey, Count de Bouillogne, of whose descendants I find no further mention.

II. Adam or Adelme, second son of Robert de Brusse, of whom and his descendants we shall speak hereafter, appears to have been in Britain fifteen or sixteen years before the Conquest, and to have distinguished himself in wars which placed Malcolm Caenmore on the throne of Scotland.

1068. Two years after the battle of Hastings, it is recorded that "*Brusée*," one of William's principal generals, was commissioned by him to subdue the north of England, and was rewarded for his success with the gift of ninety-four manors and lordships in Yorkshire, of which Skelton in Cleveland was the chief. He died in 1094, in high esteem with William as a soldier and a counsellor. This proves that the "*Brusée*" here mentioned was not the "Robert de Brus" who came over with the Conqueror in 1066, and *died* soon after. Neither did he ever possess these manors which *Adelm* did. His possessions were said to exceed 40,600 acres in land in England; and in Scotland he held lands from King Edgar (whom he had assisted in dethroning his uncle, Donaldbain), "the lands of Bolden or Bouilden," which were given by his son *Robert* to the Abbey of Calkon (Kelso) on its foundation, A.D. 1125.

The first of the family, of whom we find any record in Britain, is "Adelme or Adam," son of Brussée or Robert de Brus. *Adelme* came over with Queen Emma in 1050. He must have been very young, as his son Robert, first baron of Cleveland, was alive until 1141. Probably Emma of Brittany may have been Norman Emma's goddaughter, and the queen may have adopted her young son on his mother's death. However this may be, a favourite has few friends, and Adelme, we are told, being much hated by the Saxons after Queen

Emma's death in 1052, retired to the north, first to Syward, Earl of Northumberland, who was collecting forces to restore Malcolm Caenmore (his sister's son) to his kingdom of Scotland, and also to keep in check the ambition of Earl Godwin and his sons.

Mr John Milton says, Book vi. p. 78 :—

"The year ensuing (1054), Seward, Earl of Northumberland, with a great army of horse and foot, attended also by a strong fleet, at the king's appointment (Edward the Confessor), made an expedition into Scotland, vanquished the tyrant Macbeth, slaying many thousands of Scots, *with those Normans that went thither*, and placed Malcolm, son of the Cambrian king,* in his stead ; yet not without the loss of his own son Osbert, and of many others, English and Danes."

Matthew of Westminster writes :—

"Earl Godwin made the ease and simplicity of the king a means of raising himself and his family to the highest pitch of greatness. Syward, Earl of Northumberland, and Leofrick, Earl of Hereford, men of spirit and greatness, took notice of his aspiring ambition ; and as Godwin sought to greaten himself by the conquest of Wales, so Syward deprived Macbeth, the Scottish usurper, of his life and crown, and restored Malcolm to his just rights." †—(' History of England to the Norman Conquest. ')

Sir George M'Kenzie, Lord Advocate of Scotland, in his MS. on the Scottish nobility, saith :—

"Adelme de Brus got the lands of Bolden or Bouilden from Malcolm Caenmore in respect that King Malcolm was then nearly related to Normandy, King Malcolm II. and King Kenneth III. (his great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather) having married two daughters of the dukes of that country."

Kenneth III. married the daughter of William Long-épée ; but who Malcolm II. married we know not, and it seems unnecessary to go so far back to account for Adelme's being gifted with these lands, after assisting in the restoration of Malcolm Caenmore. They appear to have been of small extent, and were given, as we shall see, by his son Robert to the Abbey of Kelso on its foundation by David I.

It is very likely that Adelme also held Annandale, as we shall see by the Confirmation Charters of David I. and William the Lion, that no mention of any former lord is made.

* Duncan, father of Malcolm Caenmore, had been King of Cambria in his grandfather's day, and was so best known to the English.

† Syward, however, with an army of ten or twelve thousand men, only *defeated* Macbeth at Dunsinnan. He was *killed* by Macduff, Thane of Fife ; and Syward died at York in 1055, so that Malcolm's restoration was not entirely his work.

1066. Adelme de Brus joined William of Normandy in his conquest of England, and received from him large grants of lands in Yorkshire. Dugdale says that "*Robert*," his father, had been sent by William I. to subdue the north; but if so, he soon died, and "*Adelme*" and *his son* Robert (who is often confused with his grandfather) succeeded to these possessions. Adelme died A.D. 1094. Adelme de Brus married "*Emma*," daughter of Sir William Ramsay, by whom he had three sons:

1. Robert, his heir; 2. William, first prior of Gisboro'; 3. Duncan,* and a daughter, "*Rossilina*," married to Walter de Moreville, Great Constable of Scotland.

Sir Robert de Brus, first Lord of Cleveland, had forty-three lordships in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, and fifty-seven in the North Riding (as set forth in the Domesday Book), after the 20th of William the Conqueror; ninety-four in all, of which Gisburne, in Cleveland, was one. He founded the Abbey of Gisburne or Gisboro', and endowed it richly with lands and tythes, making his brother "*William*" the first prior thereof.† He also assisted David I., then Earl of Huntingdon, his early friend, with whom he was brought up, in founding the abbey of Selkirk; which afterwards, when David came to the crown, he transported to Kelso. "This Robert de Brus, as witness to the charter of confirmation, has contributed his lands of Bouilden or Bolden for increasing the patrimony thereof."

He also gave to the monks of Whitby, in Yorkshire, the church of Middlesburgh, &c., &c., on condition that they should place certain of their convents there, making it a cell of that abbey. He also gave to the abbey of St Mary's of York his lordships of Appleton and Hornby, and all the lands lying between the same and the great road, leading from York to Durham, which was part of his lordship of Middleton—his wife "*Agnes*" and his son "*Adam*" consenting.

That Sir Robert de Brus, Lord of Cleveland, married Agnes, daughter of "*Fulke de Paganell*," and got with her "the manor of Carleton, in Yorkshire,

* Probably the nameson of "*Duncan*," eldest son of Malcolm Caenmore by Ingiobiorge, widow of Earl Torphin, who was far from being the rebel and usurper described by the monkish writers of after times. He was knighted by the Conqueror, and honourably employed at his court when called to Scotland by the nobles to displace his father's brother, Donaldbane, who had seized the crown on the death of Macbeth. Duncan was killed by Donaldbane's party after reigning eighteen months.

† It was in 1113 that "*Earl David*" brought a little colony of thirteen reformed Benedictine monks from the newly-founded abbey of "*Tiron*," in "*La Perche*," and planted it beside his forest castle of Selkirk. He endowed them with large possessions in Scotland, and a valuable territory in his southern earldom of Huntingdon; but the French monks were dissatisfied with their position on the banks of the Ettrick, and upon David's accession to the throne he removed them from Selkirk, "a place unsuitable for an abbey," and established the monastery "as the Church of the blessed Virgin," on the banks of the Tweed, beside Roxburgh, in the place called "*Calkon*" (Kelso).—(C. Innes, *Early Scotch History*, Kelso Chartulary, p. 177.)

and Herts and Hertnesse, in Durham, is well authenticated. That he had a second wife, "Agnes de Annand," appears to be merely the invention of genealogists, unable otherwise to account for his possession of Annandale, the charters having been lost sight of. That of David I. is dated at Scone, probably on his accession in 1124. Whilst the confirmation charter by William the Lion confirms these lands to be held as freely, and by the same limits as Robert le Meschin's father, and he after his father, had held them, and for the same services which *they* had rendered to King David, his grandfather, and to Malcolm his brother.

The limits of Annandale or Strathannan were—

"From the boundaries of Strathnith or Nithsdale, then pertaining to Dunegal, Earl of Moray, into the limits of Ranulph de Meschines, then Lord of Cumberland, for which he did homage to David I."—(Caledonia, i. 569; Dugdale, i. 417.)

The original Charter of David I. is in the Harleian Collection of Charters in the British Museum. The seal on green wax is entire, and represents a knight on horseback, on his shield the chief and saltire of the Bruce. Legend, "Esto ferox ut Leo."

The original charter of William the Lion is in the Duchy of Lancaster Office, box 16, No. 106.

Eng., standing for Ingelram, bishop of Glasgow, one of the witnesses to this last charter, was bishop from 1164 to 1174.

In neither of these grants is any mention made of an "Agnes de Annand" nor of Robert Brus being the first possessor of these lands, which his father, "*Adelme*," probably held.

Camden says, "Edgar, king of the Scots, bestowed this territory upon Robert de Brus, Lord of Cleveland, in Yorkshire, for his good services; who gave it, by the king's permission, to his second son Robert (le Meschin), being unwilling himself longer to serve the king of Scotland in his wars."

By "Agnes," daughter of Fulke de Paganell, Sir Robert de Brus had two sons, Adam, his heir and successor in England, and "Robert le Meschin," to whom he gave, A.D. 1138, ætat. 14, the territory of Annandale, and all that he held from the Scottish king. For when King David I. invaded the north of England with a mighty army (King Stephen being busied in the south), this Robert Bruce came with his son Adam, then a gallant young man, and all the power he could make, although he loved the Scotch king well, and joining with the rest of the northern barons, marched to Northallerton, where King Stephen's standard was erected; and they, being blessed by the venerable Thurston, archbishop of York, (who had also caused all his clergy to repair personally there, with all their crosses, banners, and relicks of saints), the army being drawn up in battle

array, Robert Brus made them a speech with singular elocution ; and being then very aged, of grave deportment, of great majesty and weight, and exceedingly wealthy, he persuaded them to wait until he should have had an interview with King David, and, if possible, preserve peace. Ethleredus de Bello Standardi gives this speech at full length :—" Robert represented that, although he was rightfully a subject of the King of England, nevertheless he had been from a youth the friend and familiar of the King of Scots ; and that he stood obliged to him, not only by a bond of friendship, but also by a sort of necessary fidelity ; wherefore he desired leave of his fellow-soldiers to go to him with purpose either to dissuade him from fighting, or friendly to leave him."

Accordingly, coming into King David's presence, he told him " that what he had to propose should be honourable to him and profitable to the realm ;" adding, that the English had been King David's best friends, and that they had also so approved themselves to his brothers Duncan and Edgar ; demonstrating to him likewise the unavoidable consequence of war—viz., rapine, spoil, and destruction ; and that although his army was more numerous, yet the English were more valiant and strong, and were resolved to conquer or to lose their lives ;" which expressions so wrought upon King David that he brake into tears, and had condescended to a peaceable accord ; but that William, his nephew, a man of extraordinary courage, and chief instigator of the invasion, came in, and with great fury, charging Robert de Brus with treachery, dissuaded the king from listening to him ; whereupon, returning with sorrow to the English host, preparation was suddenly made for battle, and the English obtained a glorious victory. This was called " The Battle of the Standard." The mast of a ship, having on its top a cross, wherein was the consecrated host in a silver pix, with the banners of St Peter, St John of Beverly, and St Wilfrid of Rippon, waving below it, was erected on the beam of a vast chariot, round which the more aged of the barons ranged themselves. It was fought on the 22d of August or the 3d of September 1138.

Robert de Brus had already, by the consent of the Scottish king, made over the territory of Annandale to Robert, his second son. And he being thus the liegeman of King David, was on his side in the battle, and was taken prisoner (fighting valiantly) by his own father, who sent him a prisoner to King Stephen, who courteously ordered him to be delivered up to his mother (*nurse*, some authors have it). Robert, being then with his parents in Cleveland, complained that he had no wheaten bread in Annandale, whereupon his father gave him " Herts and Hertnesse," in Durham, with its barony and lordship," to be held by him and his heirs of the Lords of *Skelton*. Skelton Castle, the principal seat of the Lords of Cleveland, is now mentioned for the first time, and was probably

built in the reign of Stephen. It is not likely that Robert de Brus would have given Herts and Hertnesse, which he got with Agnes de Paganell, to the son of a second marriage. Neither could Robert have held Annandale during the life of his mother, had she been the heiress, which seems to me quite conclusive against an "Agnes de Annand."

Sir Robert de Brus, first Lord of Cleveland, had also a daughter "*Agatha*," married to Ralph, son of Ribald, who was brother of "Alan Niger," Count of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, from whom he, Ralph, got Middleham, county York. He had in frank marriage the lordship of "Ailewick in Hertnesse." The seal of Robert de Brus attached to his daughter's marriage-settlement bears the "*Raven*" of the north.

There is likewise mention, during the reign of William the Lion (from 1185 to 1214), of a certain Robert de Brus, son of Pagan Bruce (probably Paganell, who gave lands to the priory of Hardwell, in county Bedford); and some suppose this "Pagan" to be the third son of Sir Robert, and progenitor of the Bruces, lords of Uggelbarney.

Sir Robert de Brus died in 1141, and was buried at Gisboro'.

His brother William, prior thereof, died in 1155. They were both buried at Guisborough Abbey.

III. Adam, who was with his father at the Battle of the Standard, succeeded to the Yorkshire estates. King Henry II., son of the Empress Queen Matilda, being displeased with him for having adhered to King Stephen, took from him the Castle of Daneby, with the lordship and forest thereunto pertaining, and gave him instead the Grange of Meiklethwait and the whole Fee of Coldingham and Berdesey, whereof by violence he had bereft the monks of Kirkstall, in Yorkshire (out of displeasure to Roger de Mowbray, it is said). Adam gave various donations to Knight-Templars, and founded the priory of Hoton, county York. He married "Ivetta," daughter of William de Arches, and widow of Rd. de Flamville, by whom he left "Adam" his heir. This marriage is fully proved by a charter of the foundation of a chapel to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Apostles, near the palace of the Archbishop of York; for, amongst other things, it confirms the grant of "Adam de Brus and Ivetta de Arches, his wife," of the church of Thorp, which to this day is called "Thorp Arches." Ivetta was daughter and heiress of William de Arches, and the Lady Ivetta, his wife. She lived to a great age, and had a contest with the canons of Selkirk about the celebration of mass for her soul, and the souls of her father and mother, and of her husbands, "Richard de Flamville and Adam de Brus."

Adam de Brus, second Lord of Skelton, died A.D. 1172, 13th kalend of April 8, Henry II., and was buried at Gisburne.

1172. IV. Adam, his son, succeeded. His wife was Johanna, daughter of the Earl of Chester, by whom he had Peter, his heir, Sir Roger, Sir Simon,* and a daughter Isabel, married to Sir Henry de Percy, son and heir to Joscelin de Louvain, who married Agnes, daughter and heir of William de Peircy and Adelida de Ennebridge. After her father's death, Peter, her brother, gave, in free marriage with his sister Isabel, Leckinfield, near Beverly; for which gift the said Henry Percy and his heirs were to repair to Skelton Castle every Christmas-day, and to lead the lady of the castle from her chamber to the chapel to hear mass, and then to her chamber again; and after he had dined with her, to depart. From this "Isabel" the whole noble family of the Percies are descended; and it is manifest from this gift that it was after *her brother* Peter succeeded that the marriage took place, for this Henry was the fourth son of Joscelin, his eldest brother Richard enjoying the inheritance of Piercy Hall.—2 H. 3d.

1185. Peter I., a mighty baron, who married the daughter of Stephen of Champaign, sister's son of the Conqueror, and Earl of Albemarle and Holderness.

Desiring earnestly to repossess the lordship and forest of Daneby, taken from Adam, his grandfather, by Henry II., he rendered and quitrented to King John, in the second year of his reign, all his interest in the lordships of Coldingham and Kington, besides giving £1000 sterling in money, and so obtained the restoration of Daneby.

For the health of his soul and the soul of "Joane," his second wife, he makes grants to the hospital of St Nicholas of Yarum. Peter de Brus died 16 Kalend., February, 13th of King John (1211). He was buried at Gisburne.

By Agnes, his first wife, daughter of the Earl of Albemarle and widow of William de Romara, Earl of Lincoln†—obeit ante 1168—he left Peter his heir.

Peter de Bruce II., of that name, was in arms against the king at Brackley, with those of the barons who would have brought in Lewis of France. About which time *he*, with Robert de Ros and Richard de Percy, all great barons,

* Sir Simon de Brus, witness to charters of his brother Peter and of William of Lancaster, had a daughter, "*Agnes*," married to William of Lancaster, Baron of Kendall, whose daughter, "*Helewise*," brought those large possessions back to the family by the marriage with the second Peter de Brus. Adam de Brus No. II. died 1st kalend., April of Henry II.

† Stephen Count of Albermarle died A.D. 1127. William le Gros, his son and heir, received the county of York from King Stephen after the Battle of the Standard, A.D. 1138. He died A.D. 1195, leaving "*Hawyse*," an only daughter and heiress, who married three times—

1st. William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, who died S.p. A.D. 1189.

2d. William de Fortibus, who died A.D. 1195, leaving a son, William, who married Agnes, daughter of Sir Simon de Brus.

3d. Baldwin de Beton, who died S.p. A.D. 1212.

IV. William de Fortibus, son and heir of Hawise by her second husband, was the fourth Earl of Albe-

were so prevalent in Yorkshire that the whole county submitted to them ; but, those differences being composed, he obtained the king's special precept to be 3d Henry repossessed of the Manor of Carleton, which had been seized into the king's^{ry} III. hands amongst other lands of Fulke Paganell.

Peter II. died before 1247, leaving, by Helewise, or Avis, sister of William de Lancaster, his wife, a son, *Peter III.* It is said by some authors that Peter de Brus, second of the name, died at Marseilles on his way home from the Holy Land. His absence may account for his death being sometimes placed earlier.

Peter de Brus III., of the name, son of Peter II. and Helewise, or Avis, de Lancaster, married "Hillaria," daughter of Sir Peter de Mauley of Musgrave Castle, a great baron in Yorkshire, and left a son, Peter, the last male heir of the Skelton line. He also left four daughters.

Peter de Brus IV., and last of the name, had, besides all his father's estates,^{3rd} assigned to him the Manor of Kirby in Kendall, by right of inheritance from Henry III. Helewise de Lancaster, his grandmother, upon the partition of the lands of William, her brother, between the descendants of his two sisters—

1st. Helewise, who had married Peter de Brus II., of that name ; and,

2d. Alice, married to William de Lindesey, whose descendant, Christian de Lindesey, was married to Ingelram de Ghisnes, Lord de Courcy, in France. The Bruces had what was called "the Marquis and Lumley fee ;" the Lindesey's, "the Richmond fee."

Thus terminated the legitimate line of the Lancasters, barons of Kendall ; but the last baron had an illegitimate brother, to whom he gave the manor of Barton, Co. Westmoreland, whose son, having distinguished himself in the Scottish wars, was summoned to Parliament as a baron, temp. Edward I., but D.sp. 1334.

Peter de Brus, fourth of the name, was made Constable of Scarborough Castle—a very honourable command in Yorkshire—and was employed by his prince both in military commands and in civil jurisdiction ; by which it appears that he did not participate with the rebellious barons against the king.

Dugdale says : "When the Scots had insolently seized upon their king (who had married Henry III.'s daughter), and kept him in restraint, this Peter, with many other of the English nobles, had summons, with all his power, for assisting the king to rescue Alexander out of their hands ; and the same year had

marle. He was one of the twenty-five barons appointed to enforce the observance of Magna Charta. He was starved to death in the Levant, A.D. 1241. He left a son, "*William.*"

V. William de Fortibus, his son and heir, fifth earl, married Isabel de Redvers, Countess of Devon. He died A.D. 1256, leaving "*Thomas,*" son and heir, and two daughters, *Avise* and *Avelina.*

VI. Thomas died S.p., and his sisters became his co-heiresses.

1. Avise, widow of Ingelram de Percy, died ante 1261 without heirs.

2. Avelina became sole heiress, and married, A.D. 1270, Edmund Earl of Lancaster, second son of King Henry III., who died A.D. 1272 S.p.

also command to attend the king at Chester, with horse and arms to restrain the incursions of the Welsh." * Dugdale is seldom just to the Scotch.

Peter de Brus, fourth of that name, departed this life the 14th kalend., October 1272, 55th Henry III., without issue, when this great inheritance was divided between his four sisters.

1st. Margaret, who married Robert de Ros, Lord of Werke Castle,† and had with her the lordship of Kendal.

2d. Agnes, married Sir Walter Falconbridge, and had the barony of Skelton, Uplethem, Whitby, Eastburne, &c. &c.

3d. Lucia,‡ married Sir Marmaduke Thweng, and had the barony of Daneby, Britten, Yarum, &c. &c.

4th. Laderina, married John de Bella Aequa (Bellew, Pellew), and had the lands of Carleton, Camelford, Thorp, Arches, &c. &c.

Barbour, apparently unaware of any connection existing between "Sir Marmaduke de Tweng" and King Robert the Bruce, recounts their meeting after the battle of Bannockburn, and the king's gracious reception of the vanquished knight—the scene being the morning after the battle.

" And on the morn, quhen day was lycht,
The king raiss, as his will was.
Then an Inglis knight, thro' cass,
Hapn't that he yeid, wawerand.

Schyr Marmaduk Thwenge, he hycht,
He rayket to the king, all rycht,
And halyst him upon his knee—
' Welcum, Schyr Marmaduk,' said he ;
' To what man art thou presoner ?'
' To nane,' he said ; ' but to yow, her
I yeild me, at your will to be.'
' And I ressave you, Schyr,' said he.
Then gert he tret him curteusly.
He dwelt lang in his cumpany,

* It was in 1252 that Henry of England removed the Cumyn party from the councils of the infant Alexander III., whom they protected from English influence ; but they returned to power in two years.

† Elizabeth de Ros, descendant in the fifth degree from the marriage of Margaret de Brus and Robert de Ros, Lord of Werke Castle, being then representative of the family, married Sir William Parr, knight ; and their great-great-grandchildren were—

1st. William Parr, Baron of Kendal and Marquis of Northampton.

2d. Catharine Parr, last queen of Henry VIII.

3d. Anne Parr, wife of William Herbert, first Earl of Pembroke.

‡ Lucia de Thweng, granddaughter of Sir Marmaduke de Thweng and Lucia de Brus, married Sir Robert Lumley, and brought him her estate of Kilton Castle, &c. &c., in Yorkshire, circa 1480. Their descendant, Thomas Lumley, married Elizabeth Plantagenet, whose third daughter, Elizabeth Lumley, married Robert Cresswell of Cresswell in the county of Northumberland.

And syne in England hym sent he
 Arayet weil, and ransom free !
 And giff him gret gyffts thereto."

—BARBOUR, Buke xiii.

His relationship had not prevented his holding his command against King Robert when deserted by all the other English generals.

In Pickering Church there is a monument to Sir William de Brus, knight, Lord of Uggelbarney, in Whitby Strand, Com. Ebor. ; a crusader in chain armour. His daughter and heir, Dame Beekwith cum Bruce, married Sir Hercules Malbyse, knight, who was obliged, by marriage-contracts, dated A.D. 1226, to change his name to Beekwith, quartering the arms of Bruce. This Sir William Bruce founded a chantry in Pickering Church to pray for his soul, and the souls of his ancestors, and all Christian souls ; in which chantry his monument still remains.

In a cartulary of "St Sauveur-le-Vicomte," an abbey not far from "Bruis, now Brix," near Valognes, in the diocese of Contances (the cradle of the Bruces), are two charters, now in the possession of Mon. C. de Gerville of Valognes, dated 1153 and 1155, recording that "*Peter de Bruis, son of William de Bruis,*" agreeably to the will and command of *Adam de Bruis*, his lord and relative, gave to that abbey, among other things, the Church of Bruis in Normandy."*

This Adam must have been the son of Robert Lord of Skelton ; and "*Peter his relative,*" and *William his father*, were probably the ancestors of the Uggelbarney branch, of whom there is a fragmentary pedigree in the British Museum, Sir Adam's and Sir William's succeeding each other. The first Sir Adam was seised in certain lands in *Pickering*, *Newton*, and *Thornton*. The arms assigned are—"Or, a saltire engrailed gules ; a chief gules, indented or." There is a legend that one of these "*Sir William's,*" in company with two other knights, in the heat of the chase, killed a priest who crossed their path ; and the penance to which they were condemned, is said still to be continued at Whitby, by deputy.—See second canto of 'Marmion,' and notes.

From
 1141 to
 1172.

"Then Whitby's nuns exulting told,
 How to their house three barons bold
 Must menial service do ;
 While horns blow out a note of shame,
 And monks cry, 'Fye upon your name !
 In wrath, for loss of sylvan game,
 St Hilda's priest ye slew.'
 This, on Ascension-day each year,
 Must *Hubert, Bruce, and Percy* hear."

* Notes to Bowles' 'History of Laycock Abbey,' p. 77.

III.

COPY OF THE CHARTER OF ANNANDALE (ESTRAHANENT) TO
ROBERT DE BRUS, "LORD OF SKELTON."

Apud Scone, Circa 1124. From Thomson's Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.

DAVID Dei gratia Rex Scottum omnibus Baronibus suis et hominibus, et amicis, Francis et Anglius Salutem. Sciates me dedisse et concessisse Roberto de Brus Estrahanent, et totam terram ad divisam Dunegal* de Stranit, usque ad divisam Ranulphi Meschines. Et volo, et concedo ut illam terram, et suam Castellum bene et honorifice, cum omnibus consuetudinibus quas Randulphus Meschin, unquam habuit in Carduilla, et in terra sua de Cumberland, illo die in quo unquam meliores et liberiores habuit.—Testibus.

Eustacio, filio Johannes, et Hugone de Morvilla, et "Alano de Perci," et Wilhelmo de Sumervilla, et Berengario, Engaire et Randulpho de Sulis, et Willmo de Morvilla, et Hervi, filio Warini et Edmundo, Camerario.

APUD SCONAM.

No date, but apparently immediately after the death of Alexander I., and probably at the time of David's coronation, when Bruce came to Scotland to congratulate him on his succession; for it is recorded that they were early friends, having been brought up together at the English Court, and continued to be firm friends and allies whilst David, during the lifetime of his brother Alexander I., was Prince of Cumbria.

Another charter of David I. to Robert de Brus, "and his heir"—given apparently a few years after—is addressed to "all good men of his whole land, French, English, and Galwegians, greeting." Know that I have given to Robert de Brus in fee and heritage, to him and his heir, the valley of Anant, in Forest, on both sides of the Anant as the marches are from the Forest of Seleschirche

* Dunegal was ancestor of the "Randolphins, Earls of Moray." His great-grandson married "the Lady Isabel de Brus," eldest sister of King Robert; and their son was "Thomas Randolph," created by his uncle Earl of Moray.



Loch Maben Castle, in Arorandale.

as far as his land extends towards Stradnitt and towards Clud*—freely and quietly, as any other forest of his is best and most freely held. Wherefore I forbid that any one hunt in the aforesaid forest, unless by his authority, on pain of forfeiture of ten pounds; or that any go through the said forest, unless by a straight road appointed. The witnesses are—

Walter, the Chancellor, and Hugh de Moreuill, Walter, son of Allan, and Odenell de Umfrauill and Walter de Lindesai, and Richard de Moreuill. Apud Stap . . . rtune.

The originals of these two charters have lately been recovered, and facsimiles given in the beautiful work on the 'National Records of Scotland,' *now* being given to the public.

The limits of this charter were, on the south and west, the east bank of the Nith, and the Solway, as far as Gretna and Kirkandrews on the English border, and from the source of the Evan Water, following the boundaries of Eskdale to Cumberland, on the north and east.

"Lochmaben," famed in Scottish history as one of the principal strongholds and residences of the Bruces, was built on an island in the largest of the lakes of that name.

There are seven lakes of Lochmaben, of which the largest is the Castle Loch, extending to about 220 acres. The others, of from fifty to sixty acres each, are very deep—in some places fully fifty feet.

The four towns of Lochmaben are inhabited by the descendants of the retainers of the Bruces, but not of the name. Richardson, Rae, Wright, Jardine, &c., are the common names. They are about 1000 in number, and are called kindly tenants. The lands are sometimes sold without any other form than going before the factor, and declaring that they have changed hands, but they are most unwilling to part from their holdings. About 100 houses have been built out of the ruins within a few generations.

Lochmaben lay within the boundaries of the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, of which Acluyd (Dumbarton) was the capital.

The date of its first erection is unknown, but it was evidently a castle of importance in the days of Malcolm Cænmore's sons, and was constantly besieged and taken during the wars of succession. The Great Hall was built by James IV., and Queen Mary held her last court there after the battle of Langside.

Sir Robert de Brus, lord of Cleveland, had by Agnes his wife, daughter of Obt.
Fulke de Paganell, two sons— 1141.

1st. Adam, who succeeded him in England.

2d. Robert, first lord of Annandale, who was put into possession of that lord-

* The Clyde.

ship by his father's resignation previous to the Battle of the Standard, A.D. 1138, being at that time fourteen years of age.

Sir Robert de Brus, lord of Cleveland, vainly attempted to dissuade his early friend, King David, from this warfare, undertaken by the Scottish king with the double purpose of supporting his niece, Matilda the Empress Queen, in her rightful pretensions to the English crown, as the only surviving child of Henry I., and by his will his appointed successor; and also to recover Northumberland, Huntingdon, and the other possessions of "Maude," his Queen, for their only son, Henry Prince of Cumbria. Maude, who died in 1130, was the daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, by Judith, niece of William the Conqueror, and was heiress of these earldoms as well as of the honours of Tottenham, county Middlesex, and other large estates in England. After the death of Earl Waltheof (betrayed by Judith his wife), it was appointed by the Conqueror that Judith should marry Simon de St Litz, Earl of Northampton; but she refused, because he halted of a leg; so her young daughter "Maude" was given him to wife with all these great possessions. By this marriage, it is said, Maude had an only son, Waltheof or Waldeve, who became a monk, and was second Abbot of Melrose, and was also elected Bishop of St Andrews, but declined the honour. He was canonised in 1159. The 3d of August is his day in the calendar. Prince Henry, her only son by King David I., thus became the heir of the English estates, and King David invaded Northumberland, claiming the earldom for his son, and the SOVEREIGNTY for his niece.

Bernard de Baliol, a great baron in Yorkshire, who had been sent by King Stephen against King David, after he had taken possession of Norham Castle, accompanied Sir Robert de Brus, Lord of Cleveland, on his mission to the Scottish camp, when Bruce by his eloquence sought to turn his former companion-in-arms, the friend of his youth, and his liege lord for Annandale, from prosecuting the war; whilst Baliol offered to procure for Prince Henry the grant of Northumberland. But peace was rejected on account of the Empress, at the instigation, it is said, of the king's nephew, then general of his army, William, the son of Duncan (who had married Ethelreda, daughter of Cospatrick Earl of Northumberland, in 1070, with whom he got the barony of Atterdale in that county, which her brother Waltheof formerly had). Upon war being declared, Sir Robert de Brus resigned the lordship of Annandale to his second son Robert, who remained with King David to lead his retainers, but in the *melée* was taken prisoner by his father, and sent by him to King Stephen, who courteously returned him to the custody of his mother at Skelton Castle. At that time, complaining that in Annandale there was no wheaten bread, he had from his father a gift of Herts & Hertnesse in county Durham, to

be held by him and his descendants for ever, of the lords of Skelton.* After 1165, and before 1174 (when *Ingelram* Bishop of Glasgow signs as a witness), King William the Lion confirmed to him the grant of Annandale, "to be held as freely, and by the same limits as his father, and he after his father, had held it; and for the same service which they had rendered to King David, his grandfather, and to King Malcolm his brother."

See original charter, dated Apud Lochmaben.

This Robert, surnamed "Le Meschin," along with his wife "Euphemia," gave great grants to the canons of Gisburne and to the monks of Holm Cultram, and others.

CHARTER IN THE REGISTER OFFICE, EDINBURGH.

Notum sit oībz audientib^s lit^{as} istas qđ ego Rob^{ts} de bruis y uxor mea Eufemia concedim^s et donamus in ppetuā t liberā elemosinam eccl^e eam de insula. Scē Hylde p nita uřa t heredū nrox t animorbz nris ecclie Scē Marie de Gyseburne t frīb^{us} ibidem deo seruientib^s. Testib^s his

"Wit^o capellano," "Roğo de appelcoīa,"

"Silvestro de Hume," "Juone de Crossebia,"

"Wit^o de turp," "Wit^o de appelgart,"

"Ricardo filio hamonis," "Nigello filio petri,"

"Roberto Sacerdote truaed."

The name of his wife, "Euphemia," occurs also in a grant to the monks of Holm Cultram, or Abbeyholm, in Cumberland—of the fishings of Tarduff, &c. &c., in the Solway.

Robert, 1st Lord of Annandale, died A.D. 1171. *Ætat.* circa 48. Born in 1124, leaving two sons—1st. Robert, 2d. William.

It is said that he gave many lands in marriage with his daughters, and that they descended to their posterity, who carried his arms, with some modifications—viz., Johnstones, Kilpatrickes, Moffats, Tweedie, Tait, Little, Corry, Herts, Grier, Jardine, and Bois; but I believe this to be a mistaken idea of the origin of the "kindly tenants," who still hold their lands by a singular tenure around Lochmaben.

Mr Drummond is mistaken in stating that Robert de Brus had a second

* Claimed on their forfeiture in 1306 by the Bishop of Durham, but given by Edward I. to Robert de Clifford.

wife, Aloisa or Helewise, sister of William de Lancaster, who was, as we have seen, the wife of Peter de Brus of Skelton, whose descendants possessed the barony of Kendal and the capital seat of Kirby Castle in her right. The said castle and lordship went to Robert de Ros, who married one of the four sisters and co-heiresses of the 4th Peter de Brus.—See Bruces of Skelton.

ROBERT BRUCE'S CHARTER OF ANANDALE.

William King of the Scots, to the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, and the other good men of his whole land, French, English, Scots, and Galwegians, clergy and laity: greeting. Be it known unto all present and to come, that I have given and granted, and by this my charter confirmed, to Robert of Brus and his heirs, all the land which his father and himself have held in the dale of Anand, by the same marches by which his father held it and he after his father, To be held to himself and his heirs of me and of my heirs in fee and heritage, in wood and plain, in meadows and pastures, in moors and marches, in waters, stanks, and mills, in forests and trysts, in hills and harbours, in ways and paths, in fishings, and in all its other just appurtenances, as freely, quietly, fully, and honourably as ever his father or he himself most freely, quietly, fully, and honourably held that land of King David my grandfather or of King Malcolm my brother; excepting the royal rights which belong to my royalty; to wit, cause of treasure-trove, cause of murder, cause of assault aforethought, cause of rape, cause of arson, cause of robbery, which causes I reserve to myself. Moreover I grant to him that these causes shall be brought into Court by one of the men of his fief whom I shall choose, and treated and pleaded before my Justices in the Earldom of . . . And he shall take the like customs from the men of my kingdom as are exacted at Rokesburc, except the assize of his barony. I will therefore that the foresaid Robert of Brus . . . of me and my heirs . . . freely as is above appointed by the service of ten knights, the ward of my castles excepted, of which I have quit-claimed him. Witnesses Engelram Bishop of Glasgow, Christian Bishop of Withern, Richard of Moruill Constable, Walter son of Alan the Steward, Odenell of Umframuell, Henry Luvel, Huctred son of Fergus, Gilbert son of Fergus, Robert son of Truite, Walter of Windsoure, Walter Corbet, Gilbert son of Richer, Roland son of Huctred, William of Hay, William of Mortemer, Roger of Munethov, Simon Locard, Hugh my clerk, Robert of Chartres, Richard the clerk. At Locmaban.

Robert de Brus succeeded his father. He was a nobleman of great valour 1171. and magnanimity, pious and religious. He gave to the Monastery of Gisburne, founded by his grandfather, the churches of Annan, Lochmaben, Kirkpatrick, Cumbertrees, Rampatrick, and Gretaholm, in the realm of Scotland. They were afterwards transferred to Glasgow. He confirmed the grants made by his father to Holm Cultram and Gisburne, as did also subsequently his brother William.

He married "Isabel," daughter of William the Lion, with whom he got the Manor of Haltwhistle, Co. Northumberland. He died, S.p., before 1191, when his widow married, secondly, Robert de Ros, Lord of Werke Castle.

"Willelmus, Rex Scottorum, filium suam 'Ysembel' quam genuit ex filia 1183. Roberti Avenel, Roberto de Brus honorifice dedit."—Chronicle de Mailros, Anno M.C. bxxxij. 1183.

Rex Scottorum dedit filiam suam Ysembel, que fuit uxor Roberti de Brus, 1191. Roberto de Ros.—Apud Haditun, Chron. de Mailros.

William de Brus succeeded his brother Robert. He sat in the Parliament of King John.

This William gave twenty merks fine to be exempted from going over the 1198-9. seas, the king being then in Normandy.—Mag. Ret. North.

"Adam de Carleolo" had a charter from William de Brus, who died A.D. 1215, of several lands in Annandale.—Nisbet's 'Heraldry,' Appendix, II. 46.

King John granted William de Brus a weekly market at his manor of Her-tilpole, situated on a promontory nearly encompassed by the German Ocean, with a good bay on the south side. This was part of the territory of Herts and Hertnesse, given by Sir Robert de Bruis in 1138 to his son Robert, first Lord of Annandale. William de Brus, his grandson, obtained for it this free market, and "the same liberties as were enjoyed by the burgesses of Newcastle." Robert, the grandson of William, afterwards built the haven and wall about the town, with ten towers on each side of the haven, and a chain to be drawn between them, near the harbour, which harbour could accommodate one hundred sail.

On the forfeiture of all his English estates in 1306 by Robert the Bruce, these were first granted to Robert de Clifford. The bishops of Durham claimed all forfeited estates in their diocese, as lords paramount, but this was disallowed on the forfeitures of Bruce and Baliol.

A correspondent writes in 1861:—"I traced the old walls, but only a small part of the *very* old remains. The part next the sea to the S.W. is less ancient, but very interesting from its old gateway, flanked by two triangular towerets, and the archway very pointed. This used to be the only entrance from the

south, and was only available at low water. A small part of the western wall still remains, and one or two of the ten towers were still standing until seventy years ago, when their locale was unfortunately sold to a *Goth*, who pulled them down, and sought to drain the fine large 'Stake,' or tidal salt water lake, which was the winter refuge of the fishers' boats. These fishers and others raised such an outcry, that at a town council the matter was sifted, and it was declared to have been illegal to sell the stakes and the land on which the old walls stood; so the bargain was cancelled, but alas! so were the walls with their towers; and now a new dock, railway terminus, and such like, occupy the site of those relics of former times. There are upwards of thirty-five different modes of spelling the name—one being '*Hartyngpoyle*.' "

William de Brus married "Christina,"—family as yet unknown,—as appears by a donation to the church of Durham—"Christina, uxor Willelmi de Brus." —'Illustrations of Scottish History.'

The name of Christian, or Christiana, continued in the family, descending to the aunt and sister of King Robert the Bruce. William de Brus died A.D. 1215, one year after William the Lion, and was buried at Gisburne Abbey. Besides *Robert*, his heir, he left two younger sons, *William* and *John*.

1215. Robert, surnamed the Noble, succeeded his father William. He ratified all the grants which Robert de Brus, his grandfather, and William de Brus, his father, had conferred on St Mary's of Gisburne.

1209. Robert the Noble had married "Isabel," second daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon and Garrioch, younger brother of Malcolm IV. and of William the Lion, and thus laid the foundation of the royal house of Bruce.

1221. Robert de Bruce was one of the Magnates Scotiæ who witnessed the marriage of the young king, Alex. II., at York, with Johanna, sister of Henry III.

1237. Isabel became one of the co-heirs of her brother "John le Scot," the last Earl and Count Palatine of Chester, in right of their mother "Maude," who was the eldest sister and co-heir of Randle de Blundeville, who died in 1232. Maude was the wife of David Earl of Huntingdon, and their only surviving son, "John," surnamed "le Scot," succeeded his uncle as seventh Earl of Chester. John le Scot married Helena, daughter of Llewellyn ap Jorwath, Prince of Wales, by whom he was said to have been poisoned. Dying S.p. in 1237, King Henry III. seized the earldom of Chester, declaring it to be too great an inheritance to be held by women—the late earl's sisters being his heirs. Margaret, the eldest was married A.D. 1209, to Alan Lord of Galloway; Isabel, the 2d, to Robert de Brus; Maude, the 3d, died unmarried; Ada, the 4th, married Henry de Hastings. From these three sisters descended the chief competitors for the crown of Scotland in 1290. The earldom of Huntingdon also fell to the crown of England,

and was seized by Henry III., Ann. reg. 25. (It was restored in 1529 to the descendant of Ada, youngest daughter of David, when George, third Baron Hastings, was *created* Earl of Huntingdon).

To Isabel de Brus, Henry III. granted the manors of Hatfield and Writtle in Essex, with half the hundred of Harlow, stating them to be a reasonable exchange for Isabel's share of the earldom of Chester. She had besides, Connington in Huntingdon, and Exton in Rutland. The lordship of the Garrioch, with Kildrummie Castle, &c., in Scotland.

Robert de Brus resided with Isabel his wife at Bromeshobury, in the parish 1240. of Hatfield, in Essex, and was styled Lord of Annandale, of Writtle and Hatfield.

Lamers, or Lamarsh, on the Stour, was also held by them. They also possessed the parish of All-Saints, Tottenham, in the county of Middlesex. In the survey made by the Norman Conqueror, "The manor of Toteham" (Tottenham) is said to have been possessed, in the time of Edward the Confessor, by Earl Waltheof, whose widow, "*Judith*," the Conqueror's niece, held it after his decease, and it continued with the descendants of her daughter "Maude," queen of David I. of Scotland, until "Isabel," second daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon, carried it to the Bruces.

"Robert and Isabel are supposed to have given the manor-house the name it still retains (Bruce Castle) ; and it continued in the possession of their family until Robert Bruce forfeited these estates, when he revolted against Edward I. in 1305-6, asserting his right to the crown of Scotland."

In the survey from which this is extracted, the name of "*David*" Bruce is substituted for "*Robert*," but as David's name is more than once mentioned as connected with this locality, it appears to me not improbable that after his marriage with Johanna, sister of King Edward III., he may have resided there during the eleven years he was forced to spend in England.

There are four subordinate manors within the parish, known by the names of "Pembrokes," "Bruces," "d'Aubignes," and "Mockings," held by the sergeantry, by presenting the king with a pair of gilt spurs as often as he goes to war in person.

The fifth manor, "Dovecott's or Duckett's," gave its name to a family existing in the parish down to the present century.—*Parish Register*. Bruce Castle is situated a little to the south of the church. It was probably erected by Sir William Compton, groom of the bed-chamber to Henry VIII., in 1514, who had a grant *of the whole* from that monarch.—Ann. reg. 5. Prior to that period, Dovecotts belonged to the Priory of St John of Jerusalem.—From 'Views near London,' with Engraving of Bruce Castle, Tottenham.

There are several deeds extant of Isabel de Brus, of her son Robert, and her grandson Robert Earl of Carrick, father of King Robert, but with three exceptions they are without date. Those three are dated from "Writtle," "Bromeshoo," and Hatfield.

There are two parishes of Hatfield, Hatfield Peverill and Hatfield Regis, or Brad-Oke. (The Broad-oak or Doodle Oak mentioned in Domesday Book, of which a particle of bark still remains.) Bromeshoo was granted with Hatfield, of which it was considered a parcel, by Edward II. (after 1307) to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, with whose descendants it remained until the 13th of Henry VIII., when, on the attainder of Edward Duke of Buckingham, it fell to the crown. In 1544 it was granted or sold to Thomas Josaln, and to his lineal descendant, the Earl of Roden, it now belongs.*

Robert de Brus died in 1245.

Isabel, born in 1226, died in 1251.

} The progenitors of many kings.

They were buried at Saltre Abbey, near Stilton, beside the remains of her noble father, David Earl of Huntingdon.

Saltre Abbey was founded by Simon de St Litz, Earl of Northumberland and Northampton, who was the first husband of "Maude," Earl Waltheof's daughter, who married, secondly, King David I. of Scotland, of whom Isabel was the great-grandchild.

Besides *Robert* their heir, *Robert* and *Isabel* de Brus left a second son, Richard, who had from them a grant of Writtle on yearly payment of a gold ring, value 2s., and a knight's fee or service. He died A.D. 1287, leaving a son, "Robert," whose widow, Alianore, survived him, and married, secondly, Richard de Walays,† and died 5th Ed. III. Richard and his son were both signed with the × in 54th Henry III. (1270).

It was probably *this* Robert, son of Richard, who was with King Edward in Palestine, and to whom he lent £40, and styled him afterwards, in 1281, "*dilectus bachelarius noster*"—that is mistaken by Dalrymple in his 'Annals,' and Douglas in his 'Peerage,' for the Earl of Carrick, his cousin.

Christian de Brus, who married Patrick, seventh Earl of Dunbar and March (who died in 1289, *ætat.* 76), must also have been the daughter of Isabel, and not her son's daughter, as stated in Chalmers's MS. Notes to Dugdale. Her husband succeeded his father in 1248, at which time he had a son and heir by

* Broomeshoo-bury signifies "Broomhill Capital Mansion." In 1303 Robert de Brus, "*le viel Counte de Carrick*," father of the king, resided there. There is still extant a grant from him dated from Broomeshoo, to the Convent of Fremhall, of a shoulder of every deer that should be killed in his forest of Hatfield. It is written in old French, and is in M. Ray's hand.—MORANT'S *History of Essex*.

† Richard Walays had a summons to Parliament as a baron, 15th May 1321, but never afterwards.—Burke's 'Extinct Peerage.'

his Countess Christian, *ætat.* 5, who was afterwards the eighth Earl of Dunbar and March.

THE FIRST COMPETITOR.

Robert de Bruce, eldest son of Robert and Isabel of Scotland, was born in 1210. Doing his homage, he had livery of his mother's estates, as one of the coheirs of "John le Scot," Earl of Huntingdon and Chester.

He paid £20 for ten knights' fees which he had of the honour of *Peeverell* in London, and in the counties of Essex and Hertford.

He was constituted Sheriff of Cumberland, and Governor of Carlisle Castle.

Summoned to attend the king at Bristol, thence to march to Wales; but being at the time in Scotland, he was excused, paying 40s. for each knight's fee.

At the convention of Roxburgh he was nominated one of the Regents of Scotland, and a guardian of Alexander II. and his Queen "Margaret," daughter of Henry III.

He was in command of the Scottish auxiliaries, along with John Cumyn and John Baliol, and all along stood firm to the king, and was with him at the taking of Northampton, when many of the rebels were made prisoners.

At Lewes, together with the king and many great lords, he was taken prisoner; but by the great victory of Evesham they soon recovered their liberty.

This Robert was signed with the Cross, together with his son Robert (afterwards Earl of Carrick), and his brother *Richard*, with HIS son *Robert*. They attended Prince Edward to the Holy Land. It was in 1269-70 that Lewis of France departed for his last pilgrimage, diverted on former occasions from the Holy Land to Egypt. He was now attracted to Africa by the reported wealth and insolence of the Soldan of Tunis, and perished, with many of his followers, near the ruins of Carthage.

On the 19th March 1286, Alexander III. was killed, by a fall from his horse, on the rocks near Kinghorn, in Fife. Three weeks after—viz., on the 11th April 1286—Margaret, maiden of Norway, was, in default of male heirs, formally proclaimed at Scone "Reine Hérétique," and successor to her grandfather, being then 3 years of age; and, by reason of her minority, six regents were appointed to govern the realm; which regents were—"Fraser Bishop of St Andrews, Duncan Earl of Fife, and Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan," for the north side; "Wishart Bishop of Glasgow, John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, and James High Steward of Scotland," for the south.

Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, having assembled his friends and relations at the Castle of Turnberry, the residence of his son, in September of that year, then and there set forth *his* pretensions to the throne of Scotland, affirming that he could prove by witnesses then living, that Alexander II., when childless, had

28th
Henry
III.
29th
Henry
III.
41st
Henry
III.
1255.

1264.

49th
Henry
III.
54th
Henry
III.

declared *him* heir-presumptive to the crown ; that a female was incompetent to reign ; and that Devergoile, being alive at the time Alexander III. died, *he*, the nearest heir-male, was the person on whom the crown justly and legally descended—he being the son of Isabel, second daughter, whilst Devergoile was the *daughter* of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon. With him were his sons — Robert Earl of Carrick, and Sir Bernard Bruce. Thomas de Clare, brother of Gilbert Earl of Gloucester (who had married Joan Plantagenet, daughter of Edward I., and was then governor of the city of London) ; Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster ; Patrick Earl of Dunbar, with his three sons, *Patrick*, *John*, and *Alexander* ; Walter Steward, Earl of Menteith, with Alexander and John, his sons, and various other nobles, who entered into a bond “ to take part with one another on all occasions, against all parties whatsoever, saving their allegiance to the King of England, and their fidelity to him who should gain the kingdom of Scotland by right of blood from King Alexander, then lately deceased.”—Dated “ At Turnbyrie, in Carrick, on the evening of St Matthew the Apostle, A.D. 1286.”

Meanwhile, by the governors of Scotland, and Edward I. of England, it was settled and agreed that “ Margaret ” should be contracted to Prince Edward of Wales, styled of Carnarvon ; whilst perhaps Bruce and his party thought that Robert, his grandson, might have been a more fitting match for the Scottish Queen ; and these dissensions caused the King of Norway to hesitate, from regard to his people, as well as for affection for his daughter, at first to comply with the wishes of her new subjects. However, Sir Michael Wemyss, the Lord High Admiral of Scotland, was commissioned to bring home the infant queen ; and it is said that King Eric's Ministers were gained over by promises of pensions which they were to enjoy until the young queen attained the age of fifteen, and that the king, himself only eighteen years of age, was by them induced to give his consent that the young queen should sail from Norway before the Feast of All-Saints.*

Edward I., intent upon uniting all Britain under one sovereignty, and having already conquered Wales, sought to accomplish his object in Scotland rather by diplomacy than the sword. The marriage of his eldest son Edward with his cousin Queen Margaret would be an alliance acceptable, he considered, to both nations. Being related in the third degree of consanguinity, a dispensation from the Pope was obtained by Edward ; and when it became known to the estates that this instrument was actually in existence, they convened at Brigham, on the Scottish Border, and drew up a document entitled,

* At Wemyss Castle, in Fife, there is a silver basin of rude workmanship, bearing the date of 1292, presented by the King of Norway to Sir Michael Wemyss, High Admiral of Scotland, who was commissioned to bring home the infant queen.

“Letter from the Community of Scotland,”

In which they expressed their joy at hearing this welcome news, and expressing their unanimous and cordial consent, “provided certain reasonable conditions, to be submitted to him at his next Parliament at Easter, should be agreed to.”

This document was sealed by the guardians, bishops, earls, abbots, priors, and barons constituting the estates of the kingdom. Edward despatched the Bishop of Durham, his confidential minister, to Norway, to support the request which had been made to him; but dissensions had arisen amongst the governors of Scotland on the death of Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, and the assassination of Duncan Earl of Fife, in 1288, and Eric still hesitated.

The estates again assembled at Brigham, and proceeded to submit to Anthony de Bek, Bishop of Durham, and other plenipotentiaries who appeared on the part of Edward, the conditions on which they were willing to agree to the marriage. These were:—

“That the laws and customs of Scotland should not be infringed, but should be maintained in their original integrity. That, in the event of Margaret becoming a widow, she should be permitted to return free and independent to Scotland; and that if she died without issue *the crown should descend to the next heir*. It was also stipulated that Parliaments should be held within the kingdom, and that all great offices of state and courts of justice should be maintained, and that the Great Seal should have only the queen’s name and the arms of Scotland engraven upon it; and also, that no vassal or tenant of the crown should be required to go beyond the boundaries of the kingdom to do fealty or homage for the lands he held.” Meanwhile, every preparation was made for the queen’s betrothal, and the hopes of both sides of the Tweed were centered upon this child, whose presence amongst them, and union with the heir-apparent of England, would, it was hoped, ensure peace and security to both; but these hopes were doomed to be disappointed.

The Maiden of Norway was unable to endure the fatigues of a stormy and tedious voyage across the North Sea. She was seized with illness on the passage from Bergen, and although, on being landed in Orkney—then a part of her father’s dominions—she partially revived, she soon after fell into a state of debility, and died in September 1290, in the eighth year of her age. In this princess, who might have united the sceptre of Norway with that of the British Isles, the line of “William the Lion” failed.

Immediately on receiving information of the death of the infant queen, Robert de Brus assembled a large force, and marched towards Scone, probably with the intention of being at once crowned there—as his grandson was, fifteen years later.

But William Fraser, Bishop of St Andrews, one of the guardians, had been beforehand with him, and had written to Edward on the first rumour of the young queen's demise. What arguments Edward used we know not, but Bruce disbanded his troops and retired to Lochmaben, and afterwards agreed that his claim should be tried along with Baliol's and others, and decided upon according to the laws, and by the estates of the kingdom of Scotland, with Edward of England as arbiter.

On the 15th of April 1291, the barons of the northern counties of England were summoned to attend their king at Norham six weeks after Easter, and amongst them were *Baliol* and *Bruce*, *Cumyn* and *de Ros*. It does not appear that Edward assumed any power of *summoning* the Scottish nobles, or the estates of the realm, but they met on Scottish ground, in a meadow opposite Norham, where Edward came to preside as *arbiter*, but very soon assumed the title of "*Lord Superior*." It is well known that this meeting resulted, after many adjournments and delays, in placing *John Baliol* on the throne, on the 19th of November 1292.

Upon this decision, Robert de Brus resigned his pretensions to his son, Robert Earl of Carrick, who, refusing also to do homage to Baliol, gave up, resigned, and quit-claimed for ever unto Robert de Brus, his son and heir, the whole earldom of Carrick, and all other lands, which at any time he had held in Scotland, or *ought* to have held, by reason of Marjorie, his late countess, as the rights of inheritance of the said Robert, whereof he accepting did his homage *accordingly*.

Sept. 1, 1295. Robert de Brus was summoned to attend King Edward I. at Portsmouth, well furnished with horse and arms, to go with the king to France, but, upon Good Friday of that year, he died at Lochmaben, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. He was Sheriff of Cumberland, and Governor of the Castle of Carlisle.

Robert de Brus, first competitor, married, A.D. 1142-44, "Isabel de Clare," daughter of Gilbert de Clare, third Earl of Gloucester,* by whom he left,

1st. Robert his heir (Earl of Carrick in 1271).

2d. William, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Raymund de Sully, and his sole heir.

3d. Sir Bernard, who married *Alicia de Clare*, and had from his father the barony of Connington, part of the honour of Huntingdon (where, on a green

* Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford in 17th John, took arms against the king. In Henry III. adhering to Lewis of France, he was taken prisoner by William le Marischall, Earl of Pembroke, and carried to Gloucester; but peace being settled, he married Isabel, one of the daughters and co-heirs of that earl, by whom he left, in 1229, three sons and three daughters—1, Amicia, wife of Baldwin, fourth Earl of Devon; 2d, Isabel, wife of Robert de Brus; 3d, Agnes.

mound, the ruins of Bruce Castle are still to be seen). Sir Bernard married, secondly, Constance de Morleyn.

4th. John de Brus, who is merely named in Dugdale and other English records, and is supposed to have been the ancestor of the House of Clackmannan.—See Clackmannan.

“Aloysia,” the eldest daughter, married Sir Nigel Graham, Lord of Montrose.

“Isabella” married Sir John Fitz Marmaduke.

Robert de Brus married, secondly, Christiana, daughter of Sir William Ireby, who survived him, and had Great Baddon in Essex, and Kemston in Bedfordshire for her dowry. 1285, 6.

Richard de Clare, son and heir, succeeded his father in 1229, died 1262. 1262.
Gilbert de Clare, his son, married “Joane Plantagenet,” daughter of Edward I. He died A.D. 1295, leaving a son, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who was killed at Bannockburn, *ætat.* 19. Most unwilling to fight against his cousin, Robert de Brus, and much lamented by him. He must have been the Earl of Gloucester who sent Bruce the spurs to urge his flight from the wrath of Edward his grandfather, which he would have better means of knowing than any one else about the court.

Robert de Brus, eldest son of Robert first competitor, born about 1245, accompanied Prince Edward to Palestine in 1269, and was always much regarded by that monarch. A.D. 1271, on his return from that disastrous expedition, he married “Marjorie,” only child and sole heiress of ‘Niel’ Earl of Carrick, the betrothed bride of Adam de Kilconquhar, styled in her right “Earl of Carrick.” He was the companion-in-arms of Bruce, and with him many another brave knight had fallen at Acre. Their meeting was romantic, and although the facts stated are always the same, has been variously coloured by different authors. It seems probable that Robert de Brus came to Turnberry to convey to the lady the particulars of her husband’s death. She was only fifteen years of age. He met her, “hawk in hand,” riding with her attendants near her castle of Turnberry. The news he brought—if there communicated for the first time—does not appear to have given her much disquietude. When he prepared to ride on, and take his leave, her attendants were playfully commanded to surround the knight and take him prisoner to the castle, and after a few days they were married,—the countess being determined *this time* to make her own choice, and not to allow a second husband to be imposed upon her by her guardian and liege lord, Alexander III. At first the king was, or appeared to be, much displeased by this setting aside of his authority, but a small fine being imposed they were again received into favour; and some authors affirm that no match could have pleased him better, Bruce being his nearest relative, after his own

children, in Scotland. Robert de Brus thus became, by the law and courtesy of the country, "Earl of Carrick" in right of his wife, as Adam de Kilconquhar had been. Who this Adam was, no one seems to have discovered, but, from his local designation, some suppose him to have been a cadet of the Earls of Fife. The Countess Marjorie died in the year 1292, upon which the earldom of right devolved upon her eldest son, *ætat.* 17. Under other circumstances, probably, the Earl of Carrick might have remained for some years the guardian of his son's interests in Scotland; but, disgusted with the result of the competition for the crown, he refused to do homage to John Baliol, or to attend his first Parliament at Scone, Perth, 12th February 1293; and, being now free from all territorial ties, he paid a visit to the land of his ancestors, and spent some months in Norway.

On Good Friday, 1295, his father died at Lochmaben, and soon after he had livery of his lands in England, and was appointed Governor of Carlisle, as his father had been.

Aug. 28, He and his son Robert swore fealty to England for their English estates.
1296. They were styled, "Robert de Brus, le viel Counte de Carrick; Robert de Brus, le jeune Counte de Carrick."

1296. Edward I. having promised Bruce (le viel Counte) to depose Baliol, and make him king, came with him to Scotland to fight against Baliol, upon which his castle of Lochmaben was seized and held for a short time by John Cumyn. (See Hemingsford.)

April 28, After the battle of Dunbar, according to Fordun and Dalrymple's Annals
1296. (p. 202), Bruce reminded Edward of his promise, and was tauntingly refused. "Ne avons nous autre chose à faire que à vous reaumys gagner?" "Have we nothing to do but to conquer kingdoms for you?"

1304. Upon which Bruce retired to his estates in England, where he died, and was buried in the Abbey of Holm Cultram, although some imagined that he returned to the Holy Land. Robert de Brus left, by the Countess Marjorie his wife, five sons and seven daughters—

1st. Robert le jeune Counte of 1292. King in 1306.

2d. Edward became sixth Earl of Carrick by a grant from his brother, and was crowned King of Ireland, 2d May 1316, and was killed at the battle of Dundalk, 5th October 1318. He was also Lord of Galloway. (See p. 150.)

3d. Thomas. 4th. Alexander, beheaded at Carlisle. (See p. 139.)

5th. Sir Niel or Nigel, beheaded at Berwick. (See p. 135.)

The daughters were—1, Isabel; 2, Mary; 3, Christian; 4, Matilda; 5, Margaret; 6, Elizabeth; 7, another, name unknown.

King Robert I. was born at Turnberry Castle 11th July 1274.

On his mother's death, and his father's resignation, he became Earl of Carrick on the 27th October 1292, *ætat.* 17.

On his father's death, in 1304, he became Lord of Annandale, the Garrioch, &c. &c., in Scotland; of Herts and Hertnesse in Durham; besides the large estates brought into the family by his great-grandmother "*Isabel*," co-heiress of her father, David Earl of Huntingdon, and afterwards of her brother "John le Scot," the last male-heir of William the Lion, and, in right of his mother's brother, seventh Earl of Chester (a palatinate), which Henry III. seized as being "too great an inheritance to fall amongst distaffs," and gave it to his son's son, Edward of Carnarvon, and to the four sisters of "John le Scot;" he gave, as a reasonable compensation, large estates in various counties of England to Isabel de Brus, mother of the first competitor—Writtle and Hatfield, &c. &c., in Essex and Hertford, all of which descended to Robert Earl of Carrick, and from him to his son in 1304; but in 1306 his English estates were confiscated by Edward I., although, by a paper preserved at Barrington Hall in Essex, it appears that Robert the Bruce still had friendly relations with "the senechal of his lands in Essex" as late as 1314. And from mention of the name of "David Bruce," his son, in connection with Bruce Castle in Tottenham, in some of the old surveys of the environs of London, we are led to believe that he may have resided there during part of the time of his captivity, or afterwards, during his various visits to England, with his Queen Johanna, sister of King Edward I.

COPY OF A LICENCE UNDER THE PRIVY SEAL TO REMIT A DEBT TO ROBERT BRUCE IN ORDER THAT THE MONEY MIGHT BE APPLIED TOWARDS THE RANSOM OF A PRISONER IN SCOTLAND.—Dated at York September 4, 8th Edward II., A.D. 1314.

*From the Muniments at Barrington Hall, Essex. Communicated by
George Alan Loundes, Esq.*

Edward, par la grace de Dieu Roi Dengleterre, Seigneur Dirlande, et Duc Daquitaine, a touz ceuz qui cestes lettres verront, saluz. Sachiez que come nous evons entenduz que Robert le Brus soit tenuz a Nichol de Barntone (sic.) en quatre vintz et quatorze livres pour drapes, et autre choses dount le dit Nichol fit chevissance pour lui tant qu'il estoit picce a seneschal de ses terres en Essex des queux deniers le dit Nichol voudra aider nostre cher et loial Monsire

Thomas de Maundeville qui est pris et detenez en prison par nos enemis D'es-cose, en aide de sa raunzom, et les queux le dit Robert serra prest a paier a celui qui ensi tient en prison le dit Monsire Thomas, a quele heure que le dit Nichol lui envoit lettre daquitance de la dite somme, la quele aquitance il ne ose faire ne y envoyer saung especial congé de nous. Nous, a la requeste notre cher soeur, la Comtesse de Hereford, avons donez congé au dit Nichol, qu'il puisse la dite aquitance faire et envoyer au dit Robert sans estre chalangé dece, par nous, ou par nos heirs, ou par noz ministres, quencumques, issuit que meismes les deniers soient tournez en aide de la raunzon de dit Monsire Thomas, siccome dessus est dit.

En tesmoignance de queu chose nous avons fait faire cestes noz lettres patantes (sic.) Donné souz nostre, Privé Seal à Everwykes, le quart jour de Sept., l'an de notre regne outisme, A.D. 1314.

There is appended by a label, partially cut from the bottom of the parchment, an imperfect impression of the Privy Seal in bright red wax. It is of circular form; diameter, nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch; device, an escutcheon of the arms of England; of the legend, only the letters S E D W remain. The parchment measures only $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches in length, by $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches in breadth.

Robert the Bruce married, early in life, "*the Lady Isabel*," daughter of Donald X., Earl of Marr, by whom he had an only daughter, "*Marjorie*," who was taken to England as a hostage by Sir Henry Percy on the occasion of the Treaty of Irvine, July 9, 1297.—'Fœdera,' t. ii. p. 1014.

Of Isabel Countess of Carrick we find nothing, except what Wynton says, showing that she died early—

"Quhen 'Isabel, of Carrick the Countess,'
Had endit of her lyff the dayis;
Her lord, Robert the Bruce, than bade
All, awhile, in wedowhade;
Bot eftir yet, or he was king,
Or of his realm had governing,
The douchter he weddit of Aymer,
That erl was, that time, of Ulster, in Ireland."

—WYNTON'S *Chronicle*.

1302. Robert the Bruce married, secondly, the Lady Elizabeth de Burgo, eldest March daughter of Richard or Aymer, second Earl of Ulster. Elizabeth, his queen, 27, 1306. was crowned with him at Scone.

After the disastrous battle of Methven, the queen and her ladies, under the escort of "Niel the Bruce," met the king at Aberdeen, but on the reported ap-

proach of an English army they separated—the ladies, with their escort, taking refuge for the winter in Kildrummie Castle; the king, with about 200 followers, endeavouring to make his way to Cantyre. But the queen did not fancy herself secure at Kildrummie, and, contrary to the advice of Sir Niel, contrived to leave the castle by means of an arched passage into an adjacent ravine unobserved by the English. She then proceeded to “Tain” with her ladies and a small escort, and sought refuge in the sanctuary of St Duthac’s Chapel. But the sanctuary was not respected by the Earl of Ross—he having, at that time, accepted from Edward I. of England the office of “Guardian of Scotland north of the Spey.”

The captives were drawn forth; and whilst the queen and *her daughter*, and “Mary,” the sister of Bruce, were sent prisoners to England, the knights of the escort were put to death.

It is probable that the queen had a young daughter with her, “Margaret,” afterwards the wife of William fourth Earl of Sutherland; and that “the Lady Mary” (mentioned by Buchanan) was Bruce’s sister, married to Sir Niel Campbell, and taken prisoner in 1306, and exchanged for Sir Walter Cumyn and other prisoners of distinction in 1310.

Most modern historians suppose Bruce’s daughter “Marjorie” to have been one of these ladies; but it does not appear that she ever left the guardianship of Sir Henry Percy, to whom she was given up as a hostage in 1297, until after the battle of Bannockburn. It is recorded that she was placed in a convent by Sir Henry Percy in 1306. The instructions given for the entertainment of “*Elizabeth*,” the consort of Bruce, are preserved in the ‘*Fœdera*,’ t. ii. p. 1013. She is to be conveyed to the manor of Brustewick; to have a waiting-woman and a maid-servant, advanced in life and of good conversation; a butler, two men-servants, and a foot-boy for her chamber, sober and not riotous, to make her bed (“*tiel qui soit sobre, et ne un riotous, por son lit faire*”); three greyhounds when she inclines to hunt; venison, fish, and the fairest house on the manor.

Elizabeth was conveyed to another prison.

1308.

Elizabeth, consort of Robert de Bruce, was removed to Windsor Castle, twenty shillings weekly being allowed for her maintenance.—‘*Fœdera*,’ t. iii. p. 94.—*Ibid.*, p. 302, 396.

1312.

She was committed to the Castle of Rochester, and was not set at liberty till the close of that year, when she was exchanged for the Earl of Hereford and various other English prisoners taken at and after the battle of Bannockburn.

1314.

About the same time Bruce’s sisters were set at liberty, and Walter the

Steward was sent to convey his eldest daughter "Marjorie" to Scotland; and not long after, in 1315, received her hand in marriage.

1316. The king's daughter, the Princess Marjorie, died, leaving a son, afterwards Robert II., first of our Stewart kings. Her death was occasioned by a fall from her horse near Renfrew—her husband being lord of that country. Her tomb still exists in Paisley Cathedral.

1326. Walter Stewart, the king's son-in-law, died, having married, secondly, Alice Erskine.

His course of glory was short; had he lived, he might have equalled Randolph or Douglas.

In a Parliament held at Perth in 1315, Marjorie had postponed her right of succession to her uncle Edward, being at the same time acknowledged as the rightful heir, in case her father left no son. However, in 1318, her uncle Edward was killed at Dundalk; and in March 5, 1324, a son was born to King Robert at Dunfermline, and named "David," which settled the succession upon him and his heirs, whom failing, to "Robert Stewart," the son of the Princess Marjorie, who was eight years old when his uncle was born.

Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and James Lord Douglas, were named guardians and regents in case of a minority.

King Robert had also three daughters by his Queen *Elizabeth*. 1st, Margaret; 2d, Matildis; 3d, Elizabeth.

Oct. 26, 1327. Queen Elizabeth died at Cullen in the old mansion-house, some traces of which still remain near the present castle. King Robert instituted a choir of twelve canons to sing the requiem of his royal consort, who died during an occasional residence there.

The ancient Bedehouse, still supported by the Findlater family for the like number of Bedesmen, is supposed to be a continuation of this institution.—Cordiner's 'Banffshire,' 1783.

It appears from the charter of the Burgh of Cullen, that "Robert of Bruce, King of the Scots, granted, and gave in gift for ever, £5 of the money of the kingdom for the support of a chaplain in the parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of our burgh of Cullen, always to pray for the soul of our serene princess, Queen Elizabeth, consort of the said King Robert."—'Ecclesiastical History of Cullen.' By Cordiner, in his 'Antiquities of the North of Scotland.'

Randolph and Douglas led an army of about 20,000 men into England by the western marches, whilst Edward, at the head of 50,000 men, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, and allowed the invaders to spoil the country and retire beyond the Tyne without interruption. King Robert himself advanced with a considerable force into Northumberland, and laid siege to Alnwick and Norham Castle, with two divisions of his army—

“ And with the third host held hys way
 Fra’ park to park, hym for to play
 Huntand, as all his awne war,” &c. &c.

—BARBOUR.

Edward sent messengers to the Scottish camp to treat for peace, and to offer his sister “Johanna” in marriage to King Robert’s young son David. But preliminary to all negotiations, Bruce required that Edward should renounce *for ever* all feudal superiority, which he and his predecessors had pretended to possess over the kingdom of Scotland. To agree to this concession seemed to be beyond the powers of the commissioners; but a Parliament was summoned—a truce having been agreed upon during the continuance of the negotiations.

An English Parliament assembled at York, in which Robert the Bruce was acknowledged as “King of Scotland,” and Scotland itself was recognised *for ever* as a free and independent kingdom. March 1, 1328.

Another Parliament was held at Northampton, at which this treaty was ratified, and called the “*Treaty of Northampton*.” May 4.

The Princess Johanna of England, then in her seventh year, accompanied by her mother the Queen-Dowager and the Lord Chancellor of England, with a magnificent suite, arrived at Berwick, where she was received by the young bridegroom, David, aged five years. Randolph and Sir James Douglas accompanied him, King Robert then suffering severely from the illness of which he died. The marriage was celebrated at Berwick with great magnificence and joy. The Ragmen Roll, containing the names of those who had been obliged to do homage to Edward I., and other important records, were then returned to Scotland; but the stone, on which the coronation chair at Scone had been wont to stand, was detained, contrary to an express article in the Treaty—“the Stone of Destiny,” it was called; and where it stood a Scot was sure to reign! July 12.

King Robert received his son and his bride with a warm and affectionate welcome in Edinburgh; but soon after, “being grievously oppressed with the great sickness, so that thair was no way for him but death” (Froissart), he retired to Cardross on the Clyde, and there breathed his last, on the 7th of June 1329, aged fifty-five.

King Robert also left three young daughters—1st, Margaret, married, first, Robert Glen, as appears from a charter of David II. to Robert Glen and Margaret Glen, the king’s sister, of the lands of Pittedy, near Kinghorn, in Fife. Margaret married, secondly, William, fourth Earl of Sutherland. They had a charter of the earldom of Sutherland, by which it was converted into a regality, 10th October 1345. Margaret died A.D. 1358, leaving two sons, *John* and *William*. “John filz et heir le Counte de Sötherland, est envoyé à Londres, en la

compaigné de son perè ; pour demeurer envers le Chancellor," as a hostage for his uncle, the king, David II. This John died of the plague at Lincoln, about Christmas 1361.

William became fifth Earl of Sutherland.

There appears to have been an elder son, "*Alexander*," who died young, during his mother's lifetime, on whom David at one time wished to settle the crown, to the exclusion of the Stewarts.

2d. Matildis, who married Thomas D'Isaack, and left two daughters—Johanna, married to "John Lord of Lorn," and Catharine, who died unmarried. Matilda died A.D. 1353.—Fordun.

3d. Elizabeth, married to Sir Walter Oliphant of Aberdalgy, for which Crawford refers to a charter of 11th January 1364, whereby David II. erects the lands of Gask into a free barony—"dilecto et fideli suo Waltero Olyfant, et Elisabethæ, spousæ suæ, dilectæ Sorori nostræ."

This Elizabeth is not mentioned by the old historians, and therefore some modern ones fancy she must have been illegitimate ; but in that case she never would have been called "*Elizabeth*." She was probably younger than Prince David, and, therefore, not being of consideration in the succession, was not noticed.

II. Edward de Brus, second son of Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick, and Marjorie his wife, became sixth Earl of Carrick, by a grant from his brother, King Robert, "*to him and his heirs male*," without the usual specifications as to legitimacy, for he had three sons by "Ysabella de Ros," daughter of William Earl of Ross, whilst his wife was "Isabel," sister of Earl Dawy of Athol. This lady must either have died or been divorced before 1317, as, according to Andrew Stewart, a dispensation was found in the Vatican, granted by Pope John XXII., Dated June 1, 1317, "permitting Edward de Brus, Comes de Catrilz (Carrick), and Ysabella de Ros, daughter of William Erl of Ros, to marry, notwithstanding their being in the third and fourth degrees of consanguinity, for the purpose of putting an end to the feuds betwixt their parents, relations, and friends." Edward de Brus, however, was at that time in Ireland, of which country he was crowned king, May 2d 1316, and was killed at the battle of Dundalk, in October 5th, 1318, so that his sons never were legitimised.

Barbour says, in Book xiii., after the battle of Bannockburn :—

" Thair war slayne worthy knychts twa,
William the Vipont was ane of tha',
And Schyr '*Walter* * of Ros,' ane othyr,

* This "Sir Walter," and his sister Isabella, appear to have been the children of the Earl of Ross by his first wife, Jean, daughter of Walter the Steward, before he married Mauld, the king's sister.

That Schyr Edward, the king's brothyr,
 Luffit, and had in sie daynté
 That as himself him luffit he ;
 And when he wist that he wis ded
 He wes sa wae," &c. &c.
 " And the cause wes of his luffing,
 That he hys systre, per amours,
 Luffit, and held at rebours
 His awne wyff, Dame Isabell ;
 And thairfor sa' gret distance fell
 'Twixt him and the Earl Dawy
 Of Athole, brothyr to this lady,
 That he, upon St Thomas' nycht,
 Quhen baith the kings were boune to fycht
 In Cambuskenneth, the king's victual
 He tuk, and sadly gert assail
 Sir William Keth, and him slew,
 And with him men ma' than ynew.
 Thairfor syne, until Ingland
 He wes bannyst, and all his land
 Wes syset, as forfait to the king,
 That did thair of syne, at his liking."

Edward the Bruce, being invited to expel the English from Ireland, landed 1215, 16. near Carrickfergus with 6000 men. Randolph and John Campbell of Lochow, his nephews, and many other commanders of note, accompanied him. They embarked at Ayr immediately after the Parliament which was held there. After a campaign in which he was generally victorious, and in which Richard de Burg, Earl of Ulster, was his opponent, Edward Brus was crowned "King of Ireland," 2d May 1316. Soon after, King Robert crossed over with a body of troops to assist his brother, and together they overran most part of Ireland. The English, suspicious of the Earl of Ulster, from his being brother-in-law to the Scottish king, seized and committed him to prison in Dublin, but apparently without any reason. Both parties suffered dreadfully May, 1317. from famine.

King Robert returned to Scotland.

It was at this time the Pope sent two Cardinals to command a truce for two years between England and Scotland, but on terms that could not be agreed upon.

Edward Bruce was killed in battle near Dundalk, having engaged a far superior force, without waiting for his brother, who was on his way to his assistance. 1318.

The three sons of Edward de Brus became successively Earls of Carrick, in virtue of the grant of King Robert to his brother of that earldom—"to Edward de Brus and his sons, and their heirs male," whom failing, to return to the king and his successors.

1st. Robert, seventh Earl of Carrick, fell at the battle of Dupplin, 12th August 1332.

2d. Alexander, eighth earl, submitted to Edward Baliol after that battle, and was taken prisoner by the Earl of Moray, and pardoned by his intervention. He shortly after atoned for his defection, by fighting gallantly at Halidon Hill, where he was killed, along with his father-in-law, Archibald de Douglas, Lord of Galloway, and at that time Governor of Scotland (1333). By his wife, "Alianore de Douglas," he left an only daughter, "Alianore or Eleanora," but, as the earldom was given to heirs male, the third son of Edward,

3d. Thomas de Brus, became ninth Earl of Carrick.

Thomas Earl of Carrick joined the Steward with the men of Kyle against Edward Baliol.

1346. A person assuming the name of Alexander, eighth Earl of Carrick, appeared in Scotland. He said that he had been taken prisoner, not killed, at Halidon, and that, feigning to be a citizen of Aberdeen, he had procured himself to be ransomed. After several examinations, he made his escape into Carrick, his supposed inheritance, where he was apprehended, tried as an impostor by a special commission, and hanged at Ayr, in July 1346.—Fordun, xiii. p. 51.

Thomas Earl of Carrick leaving no heir, the earldom reverted to the crown.

Sept. 12, 1361. Alianore or Eleanora de Brus, daughter of Alexander, eighth Earl, having married "Sir William de Cunningham," David II. bestowed upon them the earldom of Carrick, after the death of Thomas, ninth Earl.

1364. In Robertson's Index, No. 64, he is styled "William de Cunningham," Lord of Carrick; but the earldom soon reverted to the crown, and was bestowed by David II. on his grandnephew, John Stewart (afterwards Robert III.), who, in 1370, was present in a Parliament held by David II. at Perth, as John Stewart, Earl of Carrick.

Alianore de Brus, Countess of Carrick, had a safe-conduct to come to England with sixty horse in her train to visit the shrine of "Thomas á Becket."

There has been a good deal of confusion between the two Alianores, both Countesses of Carrick, and both at one time bearing the name of Bruce; but I believe *this* to refer to the mother—née Alianore de Douglas—as the daughter was probably dead before 1370, when the earldom reverted to the crown.

The mother, Alianore, was the only surviving daughter of Archibald de Douglas, Lord of Galloway, by Dornagilla, daughter of John Cumyn of Badenoch, and William, first Earl of Douglas, was her brother German.

Alianore married, first, Alexander de Brus, Earl of Carrick, and had an only daughter, Alianore, tenth Countess of Carrick.

She married, secondly, Sir James de Sandilands, who had from William de Douglas the barony of West Calder in free marriage with his sister.*

Thirdly, William Towers of Dalry, who had a charter from William More of Abercorn to "William Touris and Eleanor Brus, Countess of Carrick," of the lands of Dalry, in the County of Edinburgh.—(Robertson's Index, 51.)

Fourthly, Sir Duncan Wallace of Sundrum, and had a charter from King Robert II. to Duncan Walays, knight, and Eleanore de Brus, Countess of Carrick, his wife, of the barony of Dalzell and Modirvale in the county of Lanark; the lands and baronies of Oxinham, Hetton, and Maxston, in Roxburghshire; Erthbyset, Shewmanane, and Westerbanuck, in the county of Stirling, resigned by the said Duncan in liferent, with remainder to the legitimate heirs of the marriage, whom failing, to James de Sandylands and his heirs male, &c. &c., dated 22d October 1373.—Reg^m Magni Sigilli 102.

Fifthly, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, for which there is a dispensation of Pope Gregory XI., dated at Avignon, 18th March 1376, permitting Patrick de Hepburn and Eleanor de Bruys, Countess of Carrick, to marry, notwithstanding that Agnes, the deceased wife of Patrick, stood in the fourth degree of consanguinity to the Countess. All these lands were inherited by James de Sandylands, son of Eleanor's second marriage, who married "Johanna," second daughter of King Robert II., relict of Sir John Lyon of Glamis.

III., Thomas, and IV., Alexander de Brus, were taken prisoners in Galloway by Duncan M'Dowal when bringing succours to their brother Robert from Ireland.

They were both severely wounded. M'Dowal presented his bleeding prisoners to Edward I. at Carlisle, who ordered them to be immediately executed, notwithstanding the earnest intercession of his daughter, the Countess of Gloucester, and other friends.

Sir Thomas, it is said, had married "Mary," daughter of Sir John Erskine of Erskine, ancestor of the present line of Earls of Mar. This lady married, secondly, "Sir Ingelram de Moreville."

Alice, her sister, was the wife of Walter High Steward.

Agnes, another sister, married Sir William Livingstone.

Langtoft, vol. ii. p. 336, observes that Alexander de Brus had been educated at Cambridge, where he made very extraordinary proficiency in literature, and adds that he was Dean of Glasgow.

Fifth, Sir Niel or Nigel, a youth of singular promise and beauty. He held Kildrummie Castle against the English army, commanded by the Earls of Lan-

* The Sandilands, "Lords Torphichen," quarter the Douglas arms as heirs of line of William, first Earl of Douglas.

caster and Hereford—King Robert having left his queen and her ladies there under the protection of a garrison commanded by Sir Niel and the Earl of Athol. The queen, affrighted by the approach of the English, fled to the Sanctuary of St Duthac in Ross, but Sir Niel and the Earl of Athol held out bravely, until a fire, kindled by treachery (it is believed) in the granary of the castle, obliged them to surrender.

Sir Nigel was taken to Berwick, where he was tried by special commission, condemned, hanged, and beheaded!

The Earl of Athol (John, tenth earl), the husband of the Lady Isabel de Brus, and the cousin of Edward I., attempted to escape by sea, but was driven back by a storm, taken prisoner to London, and executed there.

“Oure King Robert had alswa
Systers, and the first of tha’
Was wedyt with the Erle of Gratney
That Erle of Marr wes, in his day.”

—WYNTOUN’S *Chronicle*.

The Lady Christian, Countess of Marr, may have been the first in rank and power among the sisters of the Bruce, but in age all other authorities place her as the third. Her son, the young Earl of Marr, was an infant when taken prisoner to England in 1306, whilst Randolph the son of Lady Isabel was already the associate of his uncle.

In the partition of the family estates, the Garrioch, with the Castle of Kildrummie, became the portion of the Countess of Marr.

1st. The Lady Isabel married, first, Sir Thomas Randolph of Stathdon, Great Chamberlain of Scotland to Alexander III. from 1273-1296, when he died.

Her son by this marriage, Sir Thomas Randolph, the associate of his uncle in 1306, deserted his cause, and swore fealty to Edward after Bruce’s defeat at Methven.

1308. He was taken prisoner by a party of King Robert’s forces, and after a time was again received into favour, and proved the most zealous and attached of his adherents.

After the battle of Bannockburn, where he greatly distinguished himself, and contributed in no small degree to the victory, the lordship of Annandale and the Isle of Man, &c. &c., were conferred upon him, and soon after the then vast territory, called “The Earldom of Moray.” Of its former earls we know little. Fordun tells us that “Angus Earl of Moray was killed at Stricathro, A.D. 1131.”

And Selsden, that William the Lion promised the earldom to Morgand the son of Gillocherons, Earl of Marr.

Malcolm Earl of Fife was appointed, by the same king, Custos of Moray;

and after him William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan and Grand Justiciar of Scotland, was also Custos of that province. This was after the frequent rebellions of the M'Williams and M'Heths, descendants of William the son of Duncan (eldest son of Malcolm Cænmore), by his (William's) first wife, a descendant of the ancient Maormors, finally conquered by William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, who then had a grant of Badenoch for his second son.

When King Robert Bruce erected the Province of Moray into an earldom 1314. for Thomas Randolph his nephew, the boundaries were very extensive. "From Fochabers on the Spey, to Glengarry and Glenelg, to the boundaries of Argyll and the earldom of Ross."

The charter of erection is still extant.

After the death of Edward Bruce, the king's brother, Thomas Randolph was appointed Guardian of the realm and of the heir, in case of his being under age at the time of the king's death; and failing him, these offices to devolve on the Lord James of Douglas.

I. Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, died, leaving, by his Countess Isabel, July 28, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Bonkyl, two sons, "Thomas and John," and two 1332. daughters, "Agnes and Egidia."

II. Thomas, second earl, died S.p., twenty-three days after his father.

III. John, third earl, a prisoner in England from 1335-1341, married "the Lady Euphemia de Ross," who married, secondly, by Papal dispensation in 1355, King Robert II.

John was killed at Durham in October 1346, leaving no heir.

On the death of both her brothers, the heroic Lady Agnes Randolph, married to Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar and March, *assumed* the title of Countess of Moray, which earldom descended and was confirmed to her second son, John, on his marriage with Marjorie, daughter of King Robert II. by his first marriage, July 11, for which a Papal dispensation was obtained.* 1370.

* Pittscottie says, They were the nephews and not the sons of Agnes, but that her sister Egidia was the wife of the Earl of March's brother.

"In old times," says he, "Robert the Bruce gave the Earldom of Moray to his own sister's son, Sir Thomas Randolph of Strathdon, Chief of Clan Allan, whose works can testify his life, in the fourteen books rehearsed before in this same history. Sir Thomas had two sons, the eldest called "Thomas," the youngest "John." They were both killed without succession. He had also two daughters, of whom the eldest was called "Black Agnes," by reason she was black-skinned. This woman was of greater spirit than became a woman to be. She was married upon Patrick Earl of March. The second sister, called "Geiles" (*Egidia*), was married upon John, brother to the Earl of March, and bore to him two sons—"George," who succeeded his father's brother *heritably* in the earldom of March, and another called "John," a man of singular virtue and beauty.

This man was married upon King Robert II.'s daughter, and *promoted* to be Earl of Moray, for it returned again to the king's house, by reason that it failed in the heirs-male of Randal; and this was the first Dunbar that bruicked the lands of Moray.—Pittscottie's 'History of the James.'

IV. John Dunbar, Earl of Moray, was killed in a tourney in 1394, leaving two sons and a daughter, Mabella, married to Robert, sixth Earl of Sutherland.

V. 1st. Thomas de Dunbar, Earl of Moray, taken prisoner at Homildon, 1402, afterwards hostage for the king, died in England, leaving Thomas de Dunbar, his son, Earl of Moray in 1408, when he signed the marriage-contract of his *sister Euffame* with Sir Alexander Cumyn of Altyre. Contract, dated at Fynletter Castle, 28th May 1408.

VI. This Thomas had a daughter ("Janet") married to Hugh Lord Lovat. Contract dated 9th August 1422, but his uncle's son became the earl.

2d. Alexander de Dunbar of Frendraught, second son of the fourth earl, married Mauld Fraser of Lovat, and left a son, James de Dunbar, who succeeded his cousin, Thomas.

VII. James married his second cousin, the daughter of Sir Walter Innes, and she, dying before the Papal dispensation arrived, her son, Alexander de Dunbar of Westfield, Sheriff of Moray, was pronounced by those then in power illegitimate, and set aside from the earldom. James married, secondly, Lady Janet Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Huntly, and dying in 1430, was succeeded by the husbands of his daughters. The eldest, married to Sir William Creighton, got Frendraught in tocher. The second to Archibald Douglas, brother to the Earl of Douglas, possessed the earldom until 1455, when he was attainted.

The Lady Isabel Bruce married, secondly, after 1296, John, tenth Earl of Athol, one of her brother's chief associates from 1306, when he assisted at his coronation at Scone. He possessed many lands in Kent in right of his mother, sister and
1284. heir of Richard de Dover, through whom he was cousin to Edward I. Trying to escape by sea after the taking of Kildrummie, "he was taken prisoner by Sir Hugh le Despenser and sent to Edward in London. In consideration of being the king's cousin, he was ordered to be hung upon a gallows fifty feet high, and not drawn upon a hurdle, but allowed to ride to the place of execution."

"The intelligence of his relative's capture," says Matthew of Westminster, "afforded great ease to King Edward, who was then very ill!"

His head was placed above that of Wallace on London Bridge. His titles were Earl of Athol and Strathbolgie, and Lord of Strath-Alveth.

1307. David de Strathbolgie, eleventh Earl of Athol, son of John, and stepson of the Lady Isabel, *ætat.* nineteen, succeeded his father. He had been long a hostage in England (since the taking of Dunbar in 1296), and probably *there* married or was affianced to Joane, eldest daughter and co-heiress of John Cumyn of Badenoch, slain at Dumfries, and got with her, as co-heir of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, her mother's brother, great estates in Norfolk,

Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Lincoln, and Northumberland. It appears by a charter of King Robert Bruce, that he gave to this David, eleventh Earl of Athol, the office of High Constable of Scotland, 26th February 1311-12. Soon, however, giving up his allegiance to Bruce, he obtained a licence that Alexander 1313-14. Mowbray, son of Roger de Mowbray, might march to his aid against Edward Bruce. The office of High Constable was then given to Gilbert de Haya, and Athol's estates in Scotland were forfeited. See p. 263.

To Malcolm Earl of Lennox were given the lands of Strathoune.

To "Mary," the king's sister, and Sir Niel Campbell, her spouse, and John Campbell, their son, all the lands and tenements in Athol forfeited by David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athol.

Isabel appears to have married, thirdly, a Bruce. Amongst the charters of King Robert is one to "Isabel, Countess of Athol," and Alexander Bruce, filio suo, Nepoti Nostro.

II. The Lady Mary Bruce was taken prisoner in 1306, probably at St Duthac's in Ross-shire, with the queen, who, on taking refuge there from the siege of Kildrummie, is said to have been accompanied by the "Lady Mary," some calling her a daughter, others the Princess Marjorie, her step-daughter; but Marjorie was already a hostage in England, in charge of Sir Henry Percy, since 1296.

Bruce's second sister Mary was taken prisoner in 1306, and confined in a cage, or turret, of Roxburgh Castle, as appears by a letter from Edward II. to Henry de Beaumont, constable of that castle; "*Ordonez est, que Mariæ, suer à Robert de Brus, jadis Conte de Carrik, soit envoi à Roxburgh, por garder illeseques, en chastel en un cage.*" Another letter from Edward II. orders Henry de Beaumont, constable of Roxburgh Castle, to deliver up "*Mariæ de Brus, prisoner, in exchange for Walter Cumyn, a prisoner of the Scots, and eight other prisoners of note.*"—Dated 30th March 1310.

The Lady Mary married, first, Sir Niel Campbell of Lochow, who had fought beside King Robert in every encounter from Methven to Bannockburn. The king then gave him his sister in marriage, and granted to them all the lands which had belonged to David de Strathbolgie, eleventh Earl of Athol, on his forfeiture. Sir Niel died A.D. 1316. Their eldest son, "Sir Colin," was chief of Lochow after his father's death. Their second son, "John," was created Earl of Athol, but being killed at Halidon in 1333, it is said, without issue, the earldom reverted to the crown. There are, however, some charters in Robertson's Index to Earls of Athol not accounted for. One from David II. to "Robert, son of the Earl of Athol," of some lands of Fordell in Perthshire; another by "Robert, son of Duncan Earl of Athol," and a third by "Duncan Earl of Fife to Duncan, son of Andrew Earl of Athol."

The Lady Mary Bruce married, secondly, Sir Alexander Fraser, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, as appears by a charter of King Robert Bruce to his sister Mary, "*Mariæ, spousæ Alexandri Fraser, militis, sorori nostræ dilectæ, et Johanni Campbell filio suo, nepoti nostræ, pro homagio et servitizio suo, omnes terras et tenementa quæ fuerunt Davides Comitis Atholiæ in comitatu Athole, quas idem David forisfecit.*"

David II. grants to Robert Lord Erskine the customs of Dundee, which sometime pertained to "John Campbell, Earl of Athole."

The Lady Mary had two sons by her second marriage, "John and William Fraser"—of which "William" descend the Frasers of Philorth, Lords Saltoun.

The heiress of "*John*," the eldest son, married Alexander, first Earl of Huntly.

1314. III. The Lady Christian married, first, Gratney, eleventh Earl of Marr (whose sister, the "*Lady Isabel*," was the first wife of King Robert her brother, and the mother of the Princess Marjorie). Earl Gratney succeeded his father "*Donald*" in 1294, and died before 1300, leaving by the Lady Christian a son, Donald, twelfth earl, an infant. He was taken prisoner by Edward I. in 1306 along with his mother, the Lady Christian. He was placed under the guardianship of the Bishop of Chester, imprisoned, but not chained! in respect of his tender years. The countess, his mother, was delivered up to Sir Henry Percy, who shut her up in a convent, where she remained until after the battle of Bannockburn, when she was liberated along with the wife and daughter of Bruce, the young Earl of Marr, and Wisheart, the Bishop of Glasgow, "*that blind was made*," in exchange for the Earl of Hereford (taken by Edward Bruce in Bothwell Castle, where he had taken refuge after the battle of Bannockburn), and other prisoners of distinction.

Educated in England, the young earl appears to have become attached to its interests, and frequently to have resided there. He was present at the Parliament of Scone in 1318, but did not sign the letter to the Pope in 1320. He was appointed by King Edward II. guardian of the Castle of Bristol, which he delivered up to the queen, and returned to Scotland in 1326; accompanied Randolph and Douglas in the invasion of England, 1327; and had various charters from his uncle, King Robert, in 1324, 1328, and 1329.

Aug. 2, 1332. Upon the death of Randolph Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, the Earl of Marr was unanimously elected to fill his place. He assumed the command of the army, which, by his ignorance of military discipline, was totally defeated at Dupplin by inferior forces under Edward Baliol, and he himself stifled in the rout. Donald Earl of Marr married "*Isabel*," only daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkyll, and left a son, Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Marr, in

whom ended the direct male line of the ancient Earls of Marr. He had also a daughter "*Margaret*," who married William, first Earl of Douglas.—(See that earldom.)

The Lady Christian had also a daughter, "Elyne," by her first marriage with Gratney Earl of Marr, who married Sir John Menteith, and had a daughter, "Christian," married to Sir Edward Keith, who had a daughter, "*Janet*," married to Sir Thomas Erskine, whose son, *Sir Robert, Lord of Erskine*, claimed the earldom of Marr and lordship of Garrioch in right of "Elyne," daughter of Gratney Earl of Marr (for Margaret Douglas's heirs had failed); but it was not until the reign of Queen Mary that the title was restored to that branch, many other earls having been interposed. 1435.
April 19,
1567.

The Countess of Marr married, secondly, Sir Christopher Seton of Seton, who was taken prisoner, in 1306, at Lochdown Castle, Ayrshire, and put to death by the English at Dumfries, where Robert the Bruce founded a chapel in his memory, known as "Christoll's Chapel." After
1300.

It has been a much-contested point whether Sir Alexander Seton, governor of Berwick in 1333, was the son of the Lady Christian; but it seems unlikely, as he then had a son Thomas, a hostage in the hands of Edward, and the victim of his barbarity, being hanged before his father's eyes on his refusing to give up the fortress.

Christian the Bruce married, thirdly, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell; for which marriage a dispensation was granted by Pope John XXII., dated at Avignon, 12th Kalind., October 1326, they being within the fourth degree of consanguinity. 1326.

After the battle of Dupplin, such of the Scots as still adhered to their infant King David II., conferred the office of Regent on Sir Andrew Moray; but he had not force to contend with the English party, and was taken prisoner, and conducted to Edward at Durham. 1332.

He was set at liberty, and immediately assembling his surviving friends, he proceeded to besiege Henry de Beaumont in his Castle of Dundarg, and obliged him to capitulate and retire into England. The Earl of Athol and Sir Richard Talbot, who had married the heiresses of John Cumyn of Badenoch, with the Mowbrays, also descended from the Cumyns, were now at the head of the Baliol party in Scotland. Edward of England had appointed the Earl of Athole Governor of Scotland, under Edward Baliol; but, by his tyranny and oppression, he soon made himself unpopular. 1334.

At a Parliament held at Dairsy, near Cupar in Fife, in April, Sir Andrew Moray was again chosen leader of the forces. Together with Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale and the Earl of March, he met the Earl of Athole in the 1335.

forest of Kilblain, whither he was proceeding to besiege the Lady Christian in her Castle of Kildrummie, and defeated and slew him.

Soon after, Sir Andrew Moray was again chosen Regent of Scotland, in a Parliament held at Dumbarton.

At that time five castles only held out for David II.

1. Dumbarton, held by Malcolm Fleming ; 2. Urquhart, by Thomas Lauder ;
3. Lochleven, by Alan de Vipont ; 4. Kildrummie, by Christian the Bruce ; and,
5. Lochmaben, by Patrick de Chartres.

That same year, Sir Andrew commenced the blockade of Cupar Castle and of Lochindorb, in which Katharine Beaumont, the widowed Countess of Athol, and her young son David, had taken refuge. This brought Edward III. of England to the rescue, and Sir Andrew retired to his own territory beyond the Findhorn.

1338. He died, having, however, first taken Stirling and other strong castles, as well as his own of Bothwell.

Wynton says he died at Avoch, in Ross-shire, and was buried in the "Cathedral of Rosemarkue, and that he was a lord of great bounty, sober, chaste, wise, virtuous, and liberal, of great devotion, charitable, stout, and hardy."

The Lady Christian died A.D. 1357. Two sons succeeded—

1. John de Moravia, Lord of Bothwell.
2. Thomas de Moravia, whose only child, "Jean," carried the estates to "Archibald the Grim," Lord of Galloway, and third Earl of Douglas.

Sir Andrew Moray descended from Freskin of Strathbrock, in Linlithgowshire, and of Duffus, Roseisle, Pettie, &c. &c., in Moray, in which county he held large possessions, as well as in Ross.

IV. Matilda or Mauld was the second wife of Hugh, sixth Earl of Ross, who succeeded before 1328. His first wife was "Jean," daughter of Walter, High Steward of Scotland. It was his brother "John de Ross" who married Margaret, "dochter to the Earl of Buchan," and got with her "half the haill lands" of that earl from King Robert. Their sister "Isabella" was contracted to Edward de Brus, for which a dispensation was obtained, dated June 1, 1317.—See Edward Bruce.

It was their father William, fifth Earl of Ross, who delivered up Robert Bruce's Queen, Elizabeth, and her attendants, to the English, when she took refuge in the sanctuary of St Duthac—he being at that time (1306) guardian of the country north of the Spey, under Edward I.

After Edward's death he did homage to Bruce at Aldern, in Moray, on the 8th October 1308, and was received into favour. It was probably at this time the marriage of *Hugh*, his son and heir, was arranged with the king's sister

Mauld. There are charters in Robertson's Index, from King Robert I. to Hugo de Ross and Mauld, sister to the king, of the lands of Narne, with the town; of the town of Crumbachie (Cromarty), &c. &c., besides lands in Skye; also Kinfauns, with the fishings, in Perthshire. Hugh fell at Halidon Hill, July 1333, leaving by Mauld two sons:—

1. William, seventh Earl of Ross.

2. Hugh, who had several charters, "Hugo de Roos, de Kinfaunis," &c. &c.

Also two daughters:—

1. Euphemia, married to "John Randolph," Earl of Moray, killed at the battle of Durham, A.D. 1346; secondly, to Robert Earl of Strathearn, afterwards King Robert II., for which a Papal dispensation was obtained, 2d May 1355.

2. Janet, married to Monimusk of Monimusk; secondly, to Sir Alexander Moray, of Abercairney, descended from John, brother of Sir Andrew Moray, who obtained the lands of Abercairney, &c., by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Malise, Earl of Strathearn.

V. The Lady Margaret Bruce married Sir William de Carlyle, who had a grant from King Robert—*Wilhelmo Cairlyle Milite et Margaritæ spousæ suæ sorori nostræ carrissimæ de terris de Crumanstoun et Culyne, &c., in Dumfries*; also, "William de Carlyle, the king's sister's son," had charters of the same, and of the lands of Roucan.

King David II. granted a charter, "*dilectus consanguinus nostris Robert de Corry and Susanna his wife, daughter and heir of the deceased Thomas de Torthorwald, our cousin, who died in our presence in the battle of Durham*," of the lands of Culyne and Roueane, which belonged to the deceased "*William de Carliolo, our cousin, in the county of Dumfries, 18th October 1362.*"

Sir John de Carlyle was one of those bound for the Earl of Douglas to keep the peace in the West March of Scotland, *6th November 1393.*

Sir John Carlyle of Torthorwald is one of fifteen gentlemen to whom were submitted the differences betwixt Sir Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock, and John de Sinclair, of Herdmanstoun, *1427-8.*

William de Carlyle was one of the train of knights and squires who accompanied Margaret of Scotland into France, on her marriage with the Dauphin, in *1436.*

Sir John Carlyle of Torthorwald was active in repelling the invasion of the Douglasses in *1455*, and took the Earl of Ormond prisoner, for which service he obtained charters of lands in Lanarkshire and Wigton from King James II., *12th October 1473*, and was soon after created a peer, by the title of Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald.

William, eldest son of the fourth Lord, dying, *vit. pat. 1572*, leaving an only

daughter, Elizabeth, between whom and her father's younger brother "Michael," there was a long litigation for the estates, finally decided in her favour. Elizabeth married Sir James Douglas of Parkhead; and her eldest son, Sir James Douglas, had the title of Lord Carlyle of Torthorwald conferred upon him in 1609, but resigned his title in 1638 to the Duke of Queensberry, who had acquired his estate!

VI. The Lady Elizabeth Bruce married Sir William Dishington of Ardross, in Fife, for which Crawford refers to a charter in the public records.—King Robert I., 1306, 30.

Sir William Dishington was the head of a powerful family who held much land in Angus. He was one of Alexander Ramsay's band, whose headquarters were in the caves of Hawthornden in 1338.

Sir William Dishington, who married Elizabeth, sister of King Robert Bruce, had two sons—1st, William of Ardross, who built the castle, whereof the ruins still remain, on a cliff near Elie; 2d, John of Longhermiston.*

1370. William was seneschal of the king's house, master of St Monans ("Magister fabricæ Sancte Monani"), and sheriff of Fife. In a charter from David II., dated 1363, he is styled "Our dear cousin."

Another sister, whose name is not recorded, married Sir David de Brechin. He was grandson of Henry de Brechin, natural son of David Earl of Huntingdon, whose son, Sir William de Brechin, married the fourth daughter of Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan.

1296. Their son—*this* Sir David—swore fealty to King Edward I., and was one of the Scottish barons to whom Edward II. addressed a letter of thanks for past services, 20th May 1308; but, after the victory obtained by Bruce at Inverury, May 22, he retired to his Castle of Brechin, where he was besieged by King Robert, and, 1308. making his peace with the king, ranged himself under his standard, and married his sister, by whom he left two sons and a daughter, *Margaret*, married to 1315. Sir David Barclay, who afterwards became, in right of his wife, Lord of Brechin.

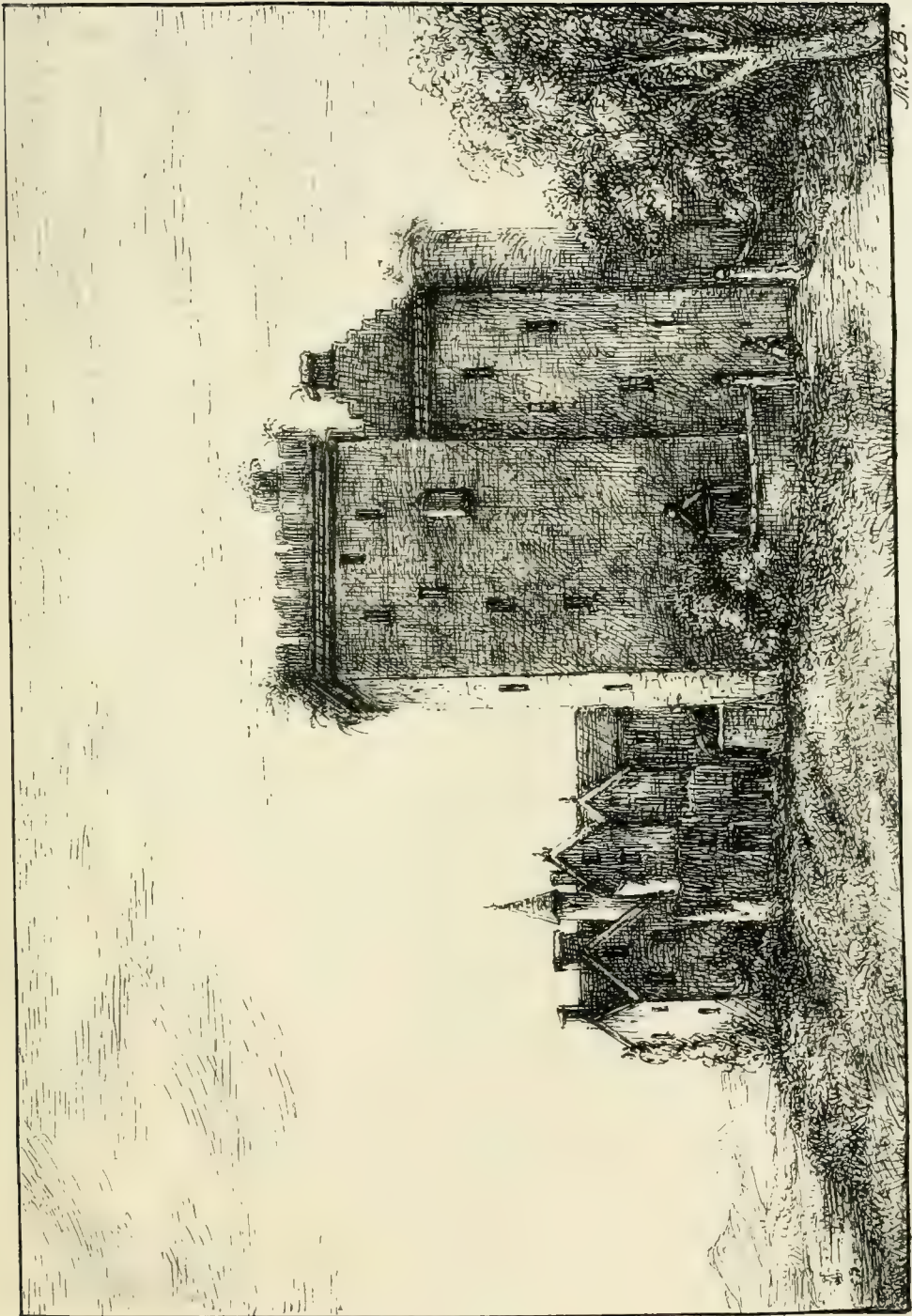
Sir David, eldest son of Sir David of Brechin by the king's sister, succeeded his father, and was called the "Flower of Chivalry." He was at first much in the confidence of his uncle, the king; but in the year 1320 a conspiracy was discovered, by the confession of the Countess of Strathern, who was a party to it, in which David de Brechin was implicated. He allowed that he was cognisant of the conspiracy, but had refused to have any share in it, though some say he was to have been king.

* King David II. nearly lost his life whilst on his way to visit Ardross, with his queen, Margaret Logie, his vessel being wrecked on a rock, still called "The Lady's Rock." He then made a vow to build a church, to be dedicated to St Monans, which he did on the lands of Inverey.

For this he was condemned by a Parliament at Scone, and sentenced to death as a traitor, in 1320.

“ Now wes the land a quhile in peace,
 Bot covatyss, that can nought cease
 To get men upon felony,
 To get them come to seigneury,
 Gert lordis of full gret renoune
 Mak a full conjouratione
 Agayne Robert the doughty King.
 They thought to bring him till ending;
 And to bruick, efter his deid,
 The kynryk, and to ryng in his steid.
 The Lord Soulis, Sir Wilyame
 Of that purches had maist defame;
 He had gotten with him sindry—
 Gilbert Malhirbe, Johne of Logy.
 And *guid Schir Dawy of Brechin*
 Was of this deed arretted syne;
 And he graunted that of that thing
 Wes weill made till him discoursing,
 Bot he thartill gaff na consent;
 And for he helyt thair entent,
 Jugyt to hang and draw wes he.”

—BARBOUR'S 'Bruce,' Vol. iii. Buke xix.



M.C.B.

Chickmannon in the 18th Century.

THE HOUSE OF CLACKMANNAN.

As early as the days of William the Lion, Clackmannan was frequently a royal residence.

The founder of the old tower is said to have been "*Robert de Brus*," but this could not have been King Robert, as there is proof of parliaments having been held there long before his reign.

It was probably founded by a mutual ancestor, one of the Robert Bruces, lords of Annandale, as the name is probably derived from clachan, a village, and Annan, from that lordship. William the Lion held a parliament there in 1183.

This was the date of the marriage of his daughter "Isabel" with Robert de Brus, son of the Lord of Annandale.

Anno M.C.lxxxiiij.—Willelmus Rex Scottorum, filiā suam ijsembel quam genuit ex filiā Roberti Auenel, Roberto de Brus honorifice dedit.—'Chron. de Melros.'

Rex Scottorum dedit filiam suam ijsembel, quæ fuit uxor Roberti de Brus, 1191. Roberto de Ros. Apud Haditun (ibid.)

Isabel had no children by her first marriage, as is proved by "William de Ros," the descendant of her son by her second marriage, being a competitor in 1290.

King William again held a parliament at Clackmannan.

1195.

It has always been the tradition of the family that these lands were held before the days of King Robert by his uncle "John de Brus" (see notice of the death of the last baron, p. 281).

It appears by Dugdale and other English records that Robert de Brus, first competitor, left by "Isabel de Clare," second daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, his wife, four sons and two daughters :—

Named in 'Dugdale.'

Robert, Earl of Carrick in 1271, by his marriage with Marjorie, Countess of Carrick.	William, married Eliza- beth de Sully. — <i>Extinct.</i>	Sir Bernard of Exton and Connington, married Alicia de Clare. — <i>Male line extinct.</i>	John, the supposed ancestor of Roberto de Bruys of 1359.	Aloisia or Arlogia, married Sir Nigel Graham, Lord of Montrose.	Isabel, married Sir John Fitz- Marmaduke, 1296.
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In English records little is known, or said, of those members of a family who settled in Scotland. "John de Brus's" history not being followed out in Dugdale, makes it all the more likely that he and his descendants had followed the fortunes of his nephew, the Earl of Carrick. It is strange that, although no one has ever raised a doubt as to the Clackmannan headship of the Bruces, no one can (as yet) exactly trace their origin.

That the Bruces of Clackmannan descended from a base son of King Robert is quite a modern invention, and one that is easily disproved.

1322. King Robert's son natural, "*Robert*," fell at Dupplin, 12th August 1332. He was Lord of Liddesdale, by gift of his father, which lordship upon his death was seized upon by "*Lord Wake*," one of the "*désinhérètes*," who had some claim upon it through his wife or mother, and was styled "*Lord Wake of Lidel*." It was afterwards bestowed by David II. on Sir William Douglas, the far-famed Knight of Liddesdale, which could not have been done had King Robert's son left heirs.

Of Edward Bruce's three illegitimate sons, successively *Earls of Carrick*, by special gift of their uncle the king, "*to them and their heirs male*," Robert, the eldest, seventh Earl of Carrick, was killed at Dupplin, in which fatal field three Robert Bruces fell.

Alexander, his next brother, eighth Earl of Carrick, married Alianore or Eleanor de Douglas, only sister of William first Earl of Douglas, and daughter of Archibald de Douglas, Lord of Galloway and Regent of Scotland.

Alexander and his father-in-law both fell at Hallidon, 19th July 1333—Alexander leaving an only daughter, *Alianore de Brus*; but King Robert's charter was to *heirs male*, and Thomas, Edward's third son, became Earl of Carrick. In 1336-7, we are told, "Thomas de Brus joined the Steward, with his neighbors and allies out of Carrick and Cunningham." Upon his death the earldom reverted to the crown, which proves that *he* left no heirs male; but his niece, Alianore de Brus, had married Sir William de Cunningham, one of his neighbours in Carrick, and on them King David II. bestowed the earldom by charter at Aberdeen, 12th September 1361. There is another unfinished

charter of King David II., dated 1364, in which Sir William is styled "*Earl of Carrick*."

In 1370 we find "Eleanor Countess of Carrick" travelling with a safe-conduct to England to visit the shrine of Thomas à Becket, in right royal style, with sixty horsemen in her train. This was probably the mother (the Dowager-Countess), who married *yet* four times. Her son by her second husband, Sir James de Sandilands, was *her* heir.

It does not therefore appear that Clackmannan was held by any of these illegitimate branches.

In 'Tracts, Legal and Historical,' by Mr Riddell, p. 218, quoting from 'Chamberlain's Rolls,' we find that "*Thomas de Bruys*" died A.D. 1358-9, in possession of Clackmannan; and that his widow, "Marjorie Charteris," had a tierce (or third) of those lands allotted to her.

I. Thomas de Bruys
died 1358-9.

9th December 1359.—II.—Roberto de Bruys,
“*Here de quond : Thomas de Bruys,*” had a charter from King David II. as
“*Dilecto consanguineo suo,*” dated at Perth, Ann. reg. 39, “of the castle,
lands, and barony of Clackmannan.” This Robert was killed at the Battle
of Shrewsbury.

Leaving three sons—Robert, his heir.

Edward, who married Agnes de Airth, and
was progenitor of the Bruces of Airth, Earls-
hall, Kinnaird, Stenhouse, &c. See House
of Airth.

1403.—III. Sir Robert de Brus.

Had a charter of Rait, A.D. 1393, from King Robert III., in which he is
styled “the King’s beloved cousin.” This charter is to himself and *his law-
ful son* David, whom failing, to his natural son Thomas, who had from the
same king a confirmation charter of Wester Kennet, which his father gave
him.

1405.—IV. Sir David de Brus.

“Patrick and James,” his sons, are also mentioned in 1449-50.

V. John de Brus.

Two sons—David, his heir, and Robert, 1st of Cultmalundie, who calls Sir
David of Clackmannan “brother” in 1474.

VI. Sir David Bruce.

Settled Rait upon Robert, his son by his first marriage, by Charter in 1481,
conf. in 1488, and made David, his son by his second marriage, his heir in
Clackmannan, 1481.

5th February, 1506.—VII. Sir David Bruce,
Kt., son of the deceased David Bruce of Clackmannan, had a crown charter
from King James IV. of the lands of Hallhill, Over and Nether, Barony
of Clackmannan, and others, erected into a barony, to be called in all time
coming “the barony of Clackmannan.” At the same time his “nepoti,”
David, son of his elder half-brother Robert, had a charter of the lands of
Rate, &c.

Sir John Bruce, eldest son of Sir David.—Married Margaret Murray,
daughter of Sir William Murray of Touchadam, and dying *vit. pat.*, left a
son, *Robert*, who succeeded his grandfather.

2d January 1550.—There is a charter by David Bruce of Clackmannan to
Robert Bruce, his grandson and apparent heir (*nepoti et hæres*), and Janet
Livingstone, his wife, of an annual rent of 40 marks forth of the lands of
Clackmannan, &c. &c.

Married Marjorie Charteris, “who had been spouse of Thomas,” to whom
a tierce was allotted out of the lands of Clackmannan.

Married Isabel, daughter of Sir Robert Stewart of Durrisdier and Inner-
meath, who died in 1384, and sister of Sir Robert Stewart, who fell at
Shrewsbury (1403) with his brother-in-law and Hotspur, when fighting with
the Douglas against Henry IV.

* James, Bishop of Dunkeld, &c. &c., and Lord
Chancellor. Elected Bishop of Glasgow in 1447,
but died same year.

1390.—Married a daughter of Sir John Scringour of Dudhope, Constable
of Dundee, by whom he had *David*, his heir, and Helen, married to Sir
David Ross of Balmagowan.

1415.—Married Jean, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Lorn, by whom he
had “*John*,” his heir.

Married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir David Stewart of Rosyth.

Married, 1st, Janet, daughter of Sir Wm. Stirling of Keir, by whom he had
a son, “*Robert*.”
2d, Marion, daughter of Sir Herbert Herries of Terreagles, by whom he had
David, his heir.

Married Jean, daughter of Sir Patrick Blaccadder of Tulliallan, by whom
he had six sons and four daughters :—

1. John, who died *vit. pat.*, leaving a son, *Robert*.
2. Patrick, of Greene and Valleyfield. He married Margaret Falconer,
and died s. p.
3. Edward, married Alison Reid, niece of the Bishop of Orkney, and left
three sons, progenitors of the Earls of Elgin, Kincardine, and Ailesbury.
4. Robert, of Linnuln, who left a daughter, Marjorie, married to Ronald
Masterton of that ilk.

5. David, who succeeded his brother Patrick in Greene, and had a son,
Archibald, who married Margaret, only daughter and heiress of Robert Bruce
of Wester Kennet, descended from Thomas, son nat. of Sir Robert Bruce
of Clackmannan of 1390, of whom the present house of Kennet descend.

The daughters married—

1. Elizabeth, 1st. Alex. Dundas, killed at the battle of Pinkie.
2d, Robert Colless of Bonnymoon. See *Kinloss*.
2. Marion, was the second wife of Robert Bruce of Airth, and had two sons,
Robert Bruce of Baldrig and Andrew of Dysart, and a daughter, married
Drummond of Midhope. Marion married, 2d, Marcus Sinclair of Carberry.
3. Agnes, married Sir James Cunningham of Polmatise.
4. Alice, married Sir James Colville.

Married, 1st, Janet Livingstone, without issue.
 2d, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, by whom he had three sons—
 1. *Robert*.
 2. Norman, whose daughter was Countess of Dysart and Duchess of Lauderdale. — See Appendix.
 3. Henry, whose daughter was Lady Saltoun.

Married, 1st, Janet, daughter of Sir Andrew Wardlaw of Torrie, by whom he had Robert, his heir, and Janet, who married Sir Wm. Auchinleck.
 2d, Helen, daughter of Robert Durie of that ilk, by whom he had three daughters:—
 1. Helen, married Sir Alex. Schaw of Sauchie.
 2. Annabella, married Major Ogilvie, brother of Lord Airlie.
 3. Agnes, married Major Blair of Dunkenny.

Married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Haliburton of Pitcur, by whom he had two sons and three daughters, who married—
 1. Katharine, Watson of Cornflats.
 2. Jean, Wenys of Pittenry.
 3. Helen, Alexander Bruce of Kinnaid.

Married, 1st, Mary Schaw, daughter of Sir Alex. Schaw of Sauchie, one of the ladies-in-waiting to Queen Anne of Denmark, by whom he had three sons—“David,” John, and Henry—and two daughters, of whom *Janet* married Sir James Bruce of Powfoullis.
 2d, The Lady Anne Ramsay, daughter of William, first Earl of Dalhousie, and widow of the Earl of Dundee—without succession.

Married the Lady Margaret M'Kenzie, daughter of George, Earl of Cromartie. A daughter, Margaret, in 1676, died young. Elizabeth, died young.

Married Anne, daughter of Alex. Robertson of Bedlay. An only daughter, Margaret, married John Forbes of Newhall.

Married Jean, second daughter of Alexander Bruce of Kinnaid, by whom he had Alexander, Henry, George, Jean, and Janet; but only Henry and Janet survived their father.

Married Katharine Bruce, daughter of Alexander Bruce of Newtowne in Bothkenner, descended from Airth. Two daughters died young.

* James Bruce, third son of Sir Robert of Clackmannan, was consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld in the Abbey Church of Dunfermline on the 4th of February 1441. He was at first Rector of Kilmeine, in Fife.
 30th March 1444.—He and James, Abbot of Lindores, mandatories of the Pope, gave an instrument, confirming an agreement between the Abbot of Dunfermline and the borough of Perth, in the chapel of St Mary's near the Bridge; in which year James Bruce was made Chancellor of Scotland, and is called “consanguineo suo” by the king in a royal charter of that date. In 1445 he was, with “his connections the Livingstones,” of King James II.'s daily council to administer the government during the intervals of Parliament.

VIII.—Sir Robert Bruce succeeded his grandfather in Clackmannan, and was also in possession of Rate in 1592, as appears by the Privy Council Records.

1615.—IX. Sir Robert Bruce succeeded his father, Sir Robert, in Clackmannan.
 Sir Robert married

1642.—X. Sir Robert Bruce succeeded his father. 1. Henry was his heir.
 2. George Bruce of Comrie, who married Isabel, daughter of Newton Leslie.

A. D. 1645.—A pass for Sir H. Bruce to go beyond seas.—“Memorials of the English Affairs,”

1663.—XI. Colonel Sir Henry Bruce. He was knighted by Charles II., and is noted in a letter from Charles I. to Lord Walworth, dated “Berwick, 23d July 1639,”—“I esteem him (Harry Bruce) a better soldier than a statesman, yet he has made me some propositions in the politic way, somewhat mixt with the martial, not to be despised, yet not hastily to be embraced without such a good commentary as *you* are able to make on them.”

1674.—XII. David Bruce, eldest son.

XIII. John Bruce, second son, succeeded.

XIV. Henry Bruce, third brother, died A. D. 1741.
 Janet, his daughter, married Dr William Bruce of Newtowne, brother of Katharine Bruce.

A. D. 1741.—XV. Henry Bruce succeeded his father. Died s. p. July 8, 1772, aged 72 years.

Note of the death of Harry Bruce, last Baron of Clackmannan, transcribed from the 'London Chronicle,' Edinburgh, 10th July 1772 :—

"Last Wednesday, died at Clackmannan Castle, Harry Bruce of Clackmannan, Esq. Aged seventy-two years. Descended from 'John de Brus,' third son of Robert, Lord of Annandale, who was competitor for the Crown of Scotland with John Baliol.

"He was heir of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, who in 1359 had a charter from King David II., in which he is designated 'the king's cousin.'

"By his leaving no issue, the ancient and honourable family of Bruce of Clackmannan becomes extinct."

Katharine, his widow, well known as "the Lady of Clackmannan," continued to reside in the old house beside the tower (now entirely demolished) until her death in 1796, ætat. ninety-five; when she left the sword and helmet of King Robert the Bruce, which had been preserved there, to the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, as chief of the name, after her husband's death.—See Appendix, Letter from Lord Buchan, and Answer from the Lady of Clackmannan.

The only surviving sister of Harry Bruce married Katharine's brother, Dr William Bruce of Newtoun; and their only lineal descendant, "Margaret Bruce of Cowden," married in 1838 Donald, sixth Earl of Airlie.

The estate was sold first to Lord Dumfries, and by him in 1762 to Sir Lawrence Dundas; the life-rent of the house remaining with Katharine, who held *her court* there, and knighted her friends with the king's sword.

CHARTERIS.

Thomas de Bruys, who died in possession of Clackmannan in 1358-9, left a widow, "Marjorie Charteris," who had a tierce (third) of those lands in life-rent. —'Tracts Legal and Historical,' quoting from 'Chamberlain's Rolls,' 1358-9, p. 218.

Robert de Charteris flourished in the days of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. He is witness to a charter of donation, ante 1174, to the Monastery of Kelso. His son "Walter" is also mentioned. Another Robert was grandson of Walter. 1165.

Sir Thomas, who succeeded him, was *hostiarum* from 1280 to 1285; Lord High Chancellor and ambassador to France for the marriage of King Alexander III. He died in 1290.

In 1333, 8 Edward III., Patrick de Charteris held the Castle of Lochmaben for David II.—'Rotuli Scotice,' p. 274.

In 1346, Charteris was High Chancellor of Scotland, and amongst the slain at Durham. He was probably Marjorie's brother.

The Charterises of Amisfield claim to have come in with the Conqueror, and to be progenitors of *all* the name in Scotland, but "*De Longueville*, the friend of Wallace," was a Frenchman who followed Bruce, and was the first to cross the ditch and scale the walls of St Johnstone (Perth) with the king, who gave him in consequence "*the chartered lands of Kinfauns*," from which time he was known by that name:—

"Kinfauns, which Thomas Longueville some time did hold,
Whose ancient sword of steel remains until this day,
And of that land is chiefest evident."

—ADAMSON, book iv. of his *Museo Thermidic.*

In the *old* Castle of Kinfauns was kept a large two-handed sword, similar to that of King Robert (so long preserved at Clackmannan, and now at Broom-hall). It is five feet nine inches long, two and half inches wide at the hilt, and thick in proportion. This terrible weapon bears the name of "Charteris's Sword;" and is said to have been wielded by *Sir Thomas Charteris*, to whom King Robert gave the chartered lands after the taking of Perth.

David Bruce of Kinnaird became caution that "Thomas Charteris" of Kinfauns should underly the law for the "slaughter of J. Ross of Craigtowne." March 1549.

ROSYTH.

The families of Bruce of Clackmannan and Stewart of Durisdeer and Rosyth were so intimately connected by repeated marriages, that it may be interesting to trace the history of this branch of the Stewarts from the days when they were the guardians of Marjorie Bruce's young son, to those in which Queen Mary sought refuge in their castle, on the shores of the Forth, in her flight from Lochleven—having already visited her cousins there in 1561, the year of her return from France. And now, whilst her initials, with this date, still exist over the doorway of the hall, its interior shelters a peasant's kine!—perhaps a just retribution for one of the daughters of the house having become, it is said, the mother of Cromwell.

Alexander, fourth Lord High Steward of Scotland, died A.D. 1283, leaving two sons,—

1. *James.* | 2. *John.*

1. James, whose son Walter married Marjorie Bruce, eldest daughter of King Robert I., by which marriage their only son, Robert Stewart, became the heir and successor of his uncle, King David II., in 1370, and reigned until 1390 as King Robert II., of whom our present Queen.

2. Sir John, who married the daughter and heiress of Sir John Bonkyll of Bonkyll, and thereupon assumed "the buckles of Bonkyll" along with his paternal coat-of-arms. Sir John Stewart was killed at the battle of Falkirk, 22d July 1298.

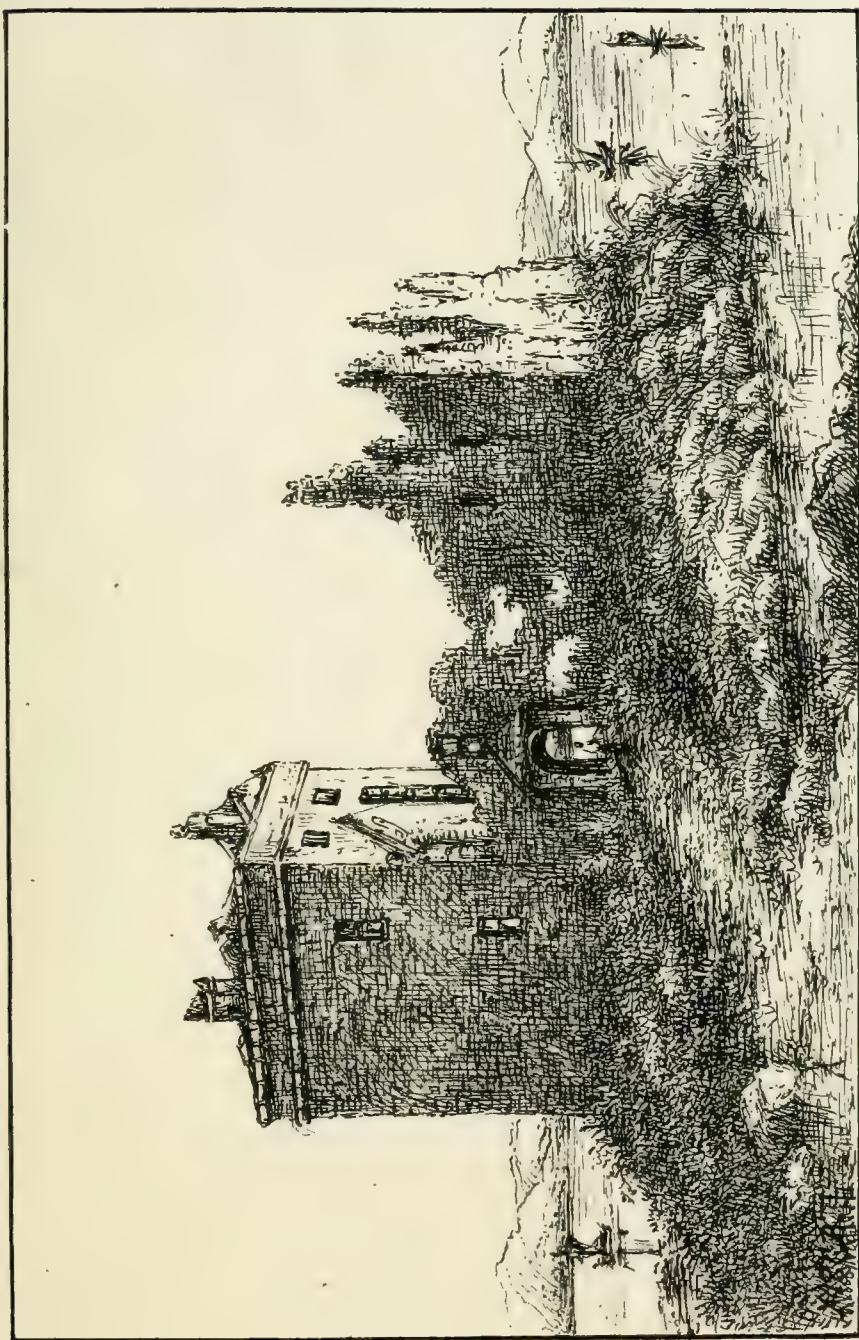
Sir John Stewart left by his wife, Margaret of Bonkyll, seven sons:—

(1.) Sir Alexander, created Earl of Angus by King Robert I., A.D. 1327; his race ending in a daughter, that title was by her carried to the earls, afterwards dukes, of Douglas.

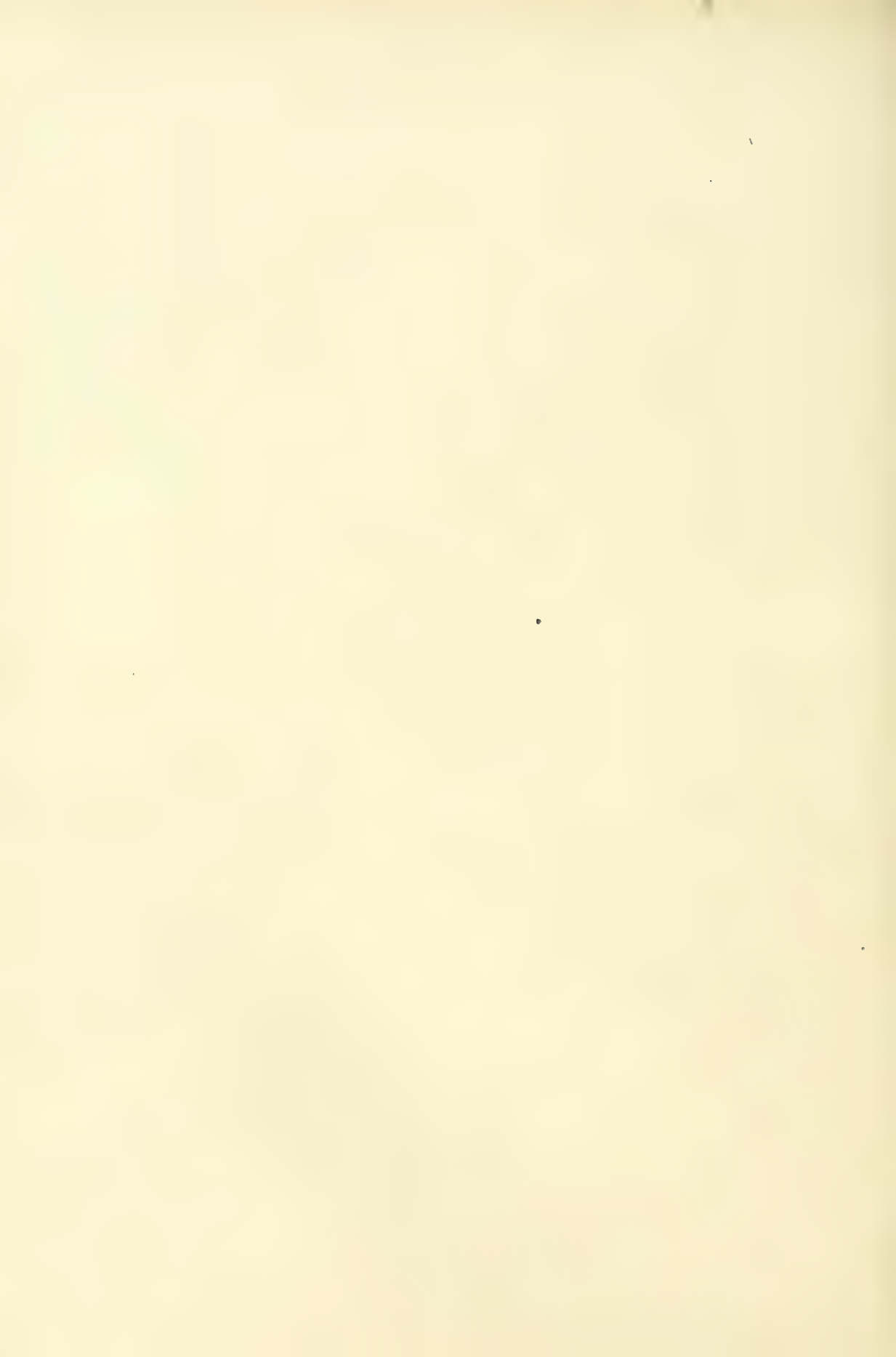
(2.) Sir Allan, from whom descended Darnley, and the earls and dukes of Lennox.

(3.) Sir Walter, progenitor of the earls of Galloway.

I. (4.) Sir James Stewart of Pierston, or Preston, and Warwickhill, in baronia de Cunningham—(charters in possession of the dukes of Douglas, and others in possession of Lord Torphichen). He is therein designated "*Jacobus Senescalli, filius quondam Domini Johannis Senescalli, milites.*" He was slain, with two of his brothers, "Allan and John," at Hallidon, A.D. 1333. Sir D. Dalrymple says that the second body of the Scottish army was led in that battle by "the Steward of Scotland," a youth of sixteen (son of Marjorie Bruce), under the inspection of his *uncle*, "Sir James Stewart of Rosyth." The English his-



Rosslyn on the Forth



torians say that he was wounded and taken prisoner, and call him the maternal ancestor of Cromwell, whilst *Allan of Dreghorn* was the paternal ancestor of Charles I. They were not, however, the *uncles* of the young Steward, but his father's first cousins. Sir James Stewart left three sons.

II. His eldest son is designated "Sir John Stewart of Pierston" in a charter from King Robert II. of the lands and barony of Kelly, in Forfarshire, A.D. 1356; but this line ended in a daughter, married to Sir William Douglas, in her right "*Dominus de Pierston*."—Extinct.

II. The second son of Sir James Stewart, designated Sir Robert Stewart of Innermeath and Shandbothy,* had a charter of the last from his cousin "Thomas de Moravia,"† and had various charters from King David II. of Innermeath in the thirty-third year of David's reign, and of the lands of Dalzeil, county Lanark, in the thirty-eighth; also of Redcastle, county Forfar. In the Parliament of Robert II., held at Scone 4th April 1373, he is designated "Robertus Senescallus de Innermeath." He also had a charter of Durisdeer. He died A.D. 1384, leaving two sons and three daughters, who married—

1. Elizabeth, Michael, son and heir of Sir Andrew Mercer of Aldie.
2. Isabel, *Robert Bruce of Clackmannan*.
3. ———, *Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig*.

III. Sir John Stewart, eldest son of Sir Robert, was designated of Innermeath and Durisdeer on the death of his father; but— 1384.

III. Sir Robert, his younger brother, having married "*Johanna*" or Isabel, daughter and heiress of "Eugene de Ergadia," Lord of Lorn, by "*Johanna*," granddaughter of King Robert the Bruce (by his daughter Matilda), they appear‡ to have made an exchange of their possessions on the 1st April 1388, so that Sir John became, of Lorn, and Sir Robert, of Durisdeer, Shandbothy, &c.; and, on the 10th March 1397, Hugh Wallace of Craigie quits all claims to the lands of Ingliston, in the barony of Durisdeer, in Dumfries, to the said Sir Robert Stewart, he having married the heiress of "*Joan de Craigie, domina de Craigie*," A.D. 1387.—('Writts of the Family'.) This Sir Robert was the ancestor of the Stewarts of Rosyth in Fife, of Lee, and of Craigie Hall in Linlithgowshire.

About the year 1388, he, together with William the Black Douglas (Lord of Niddesdale), invaded Ireland, by way of retaliation, took and burnt the town of Carlingford, and carried off great booty. He was taken prisoner at Homilden, and was killed at Shrewsbury in 1403, where his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, also fell. 1401.

* Shanbothy in Clackmannanshire.

† Lord of Bothwell, whence Tulliebothville, now Tullibody.

‡ See Appendix, Lords of the Isles.

He left two sons and three daughters, 1. David and 2. *William*, who, in 1431, got a charter from Archibald Earl of Douglas of the barony of Kirk-Andrews in Eskdale, to him and his heirs male, whom failing, to David of Durisdeer and Rosyth, his brother.

1403. IV. Sir David Stewart succeeded his father, Sir Robert, in Durisdeer. There is a charter in the hands of Lockhart of Lee, to David Stewart and Margaret Dundas his spouse, of the lands of Braidwood in Lanark, to which "James de Dundas," her brother, is a witness, 11th May 1423, at Cupar in Fife. He got a charter of Lucheld, in Fife, from Sir William Lindsay of Rossy.

He was knighted at the coronation of James I., and got a charter from that king, 17th October 1425, of Pitreavie and its pertinents, and conjoining the whole with the ancient *barony of Rosyth*, was so designated in a charter dated at Perth in 1436, granted by him to Henry Wardlaw, of the lands of Pitreavie, and a third part of Fordel. Sir David also held Cleish in Fife, and Hershaw in Clackmannan. He died in 1444.

- April 10, 1445. V. Henry Stewart of Rosyth served heir to his father, Sir David, in the barony of Shandbothy in Clackmannan, by a brief from Sir James Hamilton of Cadzow, and Euphame, Countess of Douglas and lady of Bothwell, his wife, to Andrew Carrick, constituted Baillie of Bothwell to that effect.

Henry had to wife "Mariote Ogilvie." His sister, "Elizabeth," was the wife of John Bruce, son and heir of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan. Henry Stewart left two sons — Sir David, his successor, and "William," witness to various charters, at first laird of Brieryhill, afterwards of Rosyth.

1458. VI. Sir David succeeded his father Henry; and, on the resignation of Thomas Bradmore, got from King James II. at Stirling a charter of the lands of Easter Kennet in Clackmannan. He married Marion Herries of Terreagles, by whom he had David, his successor, and three daughters, who married —

1. Christian, Edward Brus of Kinnaird and Halls of Airth.
2. Janet, Stewart of Duddingstone.
3. Elizabeth, Henry Admuthy or Auchmuty.

Dame Marion Herries, Lady Rosyth, married, 2dly, *circa* 1473, Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan, and the Sir David Bruce of 1506 was her son, and carried on the Clackmannan line.

1488. VII. Sir David Stewart of Rosyth mortified £10 Scots to have masses said in the parish church of Inverkeithing, at St Michael's altar, for the souls of King James II. and his queen, Mary, and for the prosperity of King James III., and for the souls of Henry Stewart and Margaret Ogilvie, his grandfather and grandmother, and for Sir David Stewart and Dame Marion Herries, his father and mother, and for himself and his wife, Margaret Douglas.

In November 1490, Sir David gave to his uncle, William Stewart of Brierlyhill, and to his lawful heirs-male, the baronies of Rosyth and Shandbothy, whom failing, to return to his own lawful heirs next in blood. He died not long after, leaving no issue.

On the death of Sir David Stewart of Rosyth, *ante* 1490, his uncle,

VIII. William Stewart of Brierlyhill succeeded to his estates, whilst his sisters and their husbands appear as "co-heirs of umqll. David Stewart, Kt., their brother, and of umqll. David Stewart of Rosyth, Kt., their foregrand-sire," and also as trustees and executors for "Marion Herries," on the death of her son, Sir David Stewart, without issue, before 1502. The co-heirs then mentioned are—"Christian and Edward Bruce of Kinnaird," Stewart of Dud-dingstone, and Janet his wife, and Henry Admuthy, spouse of umqll. Elizabeth Stewart. Sir Alexander Bruce of Bergham and Earlshall is *not* named. His wife was "Agnetta or Agnes Stewart;" and in Stirling, 28th March 1497, he had, *with her*, a charter under the great seal of the lands of Earlshall and Prieskenea in baronia de Luthres.—'Reg. Mag. Sig.,' lib. xiii., No. 424.

William Stewart of Rosyth gave to his son and heir, David Stewart, and Christian Erskine his wife, all the lands of Shandbothy and Craigtoun, in the county Clackmannan, upon which grant King James IV. gives a charter of confirmation. He appears also to have had a son, William—to whom he gave Brierly Hill—and a younger son or grandson, Adam; for in 1539 Helen Stewart is designated wife of David Lundie, and daughter and heiress of Adam Stewart of Brierly Hill. 1509.

IX. David Stewart succeeded, and died before 1520, leaving, by Christian Erskine his wife, Henry his successor.

X. Henry Stewart of Rosyth, so designated in charters of 1520-1555, died before 1561, leaving issue by Margaret Douglas his wife (a daughter of Lochleven), Robert his heir, and Henry, mentioned in 1573.

Margaret Douglas was probably the aunt of the youth who planned Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven.

XI. Robert Stewart succeeded his father in 1561. Above the entrance-porch, on the north side of the ruins of Rosyth Castle, are two squares of free-stone. On the upper one the royal arms of Scotland, and the initials M. R., with the date 1561 (the year of Queen Mary's return from France), are still in good preservation; from the lower one the arms have been removed. Queen Mary, it is supposed, visited her cousins of Rosyth at this date; and again, in her flight from Lochleven, the tradition is, that she rested there, and crossed the Firth to Niddry Castle from thence. 1561.

Robert Stewart had to wife "Euphame," daughter of William Murray of

Tullibardine (by Katherine his wife, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy). Robert died before 1582, leaving two sons—1. George, and, 2. Henry.

It must have been in his time—upon the 25th April 1572—that “The Sud-dartis (?) of Blackness past over the water in a boat, furniest with 3 pieces of ordnance, and spoulziet the tounis of the coist side, and als wan the housis of Rosyth, quharin they gat greit riches, and returnit without hurt to Blackness.”—Old History of Fife.

XII. George Stewart, who succeeded his father, married (Register 1576) Rachael M’Gill of Rankeillor; but, dying in 1582, a few months after his father, left no issue.

XIII. Henry Stewart, second brother, succeeded. He married Margaret Lindsay, daughter of “Dovehill,” by whom he had (1) James, (2) Henry, and (3) John, to whom (A.D. 1592) he tailzied his estates, and failing them, to Patrick Stewart of Baith and his heirs-male, whom failing, to Walter Stewart of Cardonald, Lord Privy Seal, and his heirs-male.*

1622. XIV. James Stewart succeeded his father in Rosyth. He had to wife “*Margaret Napier*,” daughter of John Napier of Merchiston. On the stone mullion of the long window towards the west we still may read their initials, I. S. and M. N., and the date 1639. Their children were, (1) James, (2) Archibald, and (3) Alexander, and two daughters.

XV. James Stewart succeeded. He married, 1st, Mary Innes, by whom he had a daughter, “*Grizel*,” 2d, James Stewart married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Buchanan of that ilk, by whom he had “James” his successor, and William—afterwards of Rosyth; but both these brothers died without heirs.

In 1643 Sir James Stewart sold the fine estate of Craigie Hall, county Linlithgow, to a rich merchant in Edinburgh, “John Fairholme” by name. His son, John Fairholme, had an only daughter and heiress, “*Sophia*,” born in 1668, who married, 1682, William Johnstone, first Marquis of Annandale. The only surviving child of this marriage was the Lady Henrietta Johnstone, married in 1699 to Charles Hope, created Earl of Hopetoun in 1703. Lady Henrietta’s second son was the great-grandfather of the present Mr Hope Vere of Craigie Hall.

Sir James Stewart was very loyal to King Charles I., as may be seen by a warrant under the hand of Lord Balcarras for double quartering on his lands—

* The Laird of Baith had a son who was taken prisoner at Dunavarty, when Sir Alexandar M’Donald was defeated by General Lesly of Kintyre, A.D. 1648. His life was saved by the entreaty of Major Stewart of Arelvorlich, when all the rest of the garrison, 900 in number, were put to the sword. He died s. p.

“for his professed malignancy.” “His house was possessed for the king’s use by his majesty’s troops before Inverkeithing field, and was thereafter battered and surrendered, garrisoned and plundered, by the English army—himself oppressed and harassed, and his estate sequestrated; but all these things moved him not.”—Simpson.

XVI. James Stewart, his eldest son, succeeded. He married Marion Maxwell, daughter of Sir George Maxwell of Polloc, but left no issue.

XVII. William, his brother, was his heir. He made a trust-disposition of his estate to his friend David Drummond of Invermay (Simpson); and, dying at Rosyth A.D. 1694, without issue, in him ended the Stewarts of Rosyth, “though some say that an heir-male may possibly exist in a descendant of Archibald Stewart, second son of Sir James and Margaret Napier, who went to the West Indies, but returned to live and die about the year 1830, at Queensferry, where he practised for many years as a country surgeon.”—Burke.

MARRIAGES RECORDED WITH THE BRUCES.

In 1358-59. (1) Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan married Isabel Stewart, daughter of Sir Robert Stewart, who died in 1384, and sister of Sir Robert, who fell with him at Shrewsbury in 1403.

In 1415. (2) His grandson, Sir David Bruce, married Jean Stewart, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Innermeath and Lorn.

(3) John de Bruce, their son, married Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of Sir David Stewart of Rosyth.

In 1473. (4) Their son, Sir David de Brus, married Dame Marion Herries, widow of Sir David Stewart, younger of Rosyth; and *two* of her daughters by her first marriage also married Bruces—(5) Agnes, Sir Alexander Bruce of Bergham, first of Earlshall; (6) Christian, Edward Bruce of Kinnaird, brother of the house of Airth, who were trustees and executors for Dame Marion, 23d January 1502-3.

On a freestone let into the wall near the south door is an inscription for the bell-pull:—

IN . DEV . TYME . I . DRAW . YIS . CORD . YE . BEL . TO . CLINK
QUÆ . AS . MERRY . VOCE . WARNS . TO . METE . AND . DRINK

SCRIMGEOUR OF DUDHOPE.

1390. Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan married the daughter of Scrimgeour of Dudhope (ancestor of "Sir James Scrimgeour," Constable of Dundee, who was created "Viscount Dudhope" in 1641 by Charles I. This Sir James married Mary, daughter of the Earl of Roxburgh, and was killed at Marston Muir, 2d July 1644. Sir John Scrimgeour, his successor, was at Worcester with Charles II., 3d September 1655, and was created Earl of Dundee and a Privy Councillor, 1661.

1664. He married Lady Anne Ramsay, daughter of the first Earl of Dalhousie, and died s. p. in 1668.

Oct. 13, 1670. His widow married, secondly, Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan. Lamont says, p. 206 of his diary :—"About this tyme three ladies were called upon by death att their severall dwellings—the Lady Marr, the Lady Argyll, and the Lady Clacmannan, with her oldest daughter. These two last died of purpie fever, and were interred together—namely, the mother and daughter."

Same page, June 1668 : "The Earl of Dundie, surnamed Scrimgeour, depaired out of this lyff at Didhope. He died without isshe. Thro' inadvertancy, the honour and estates, on the failure of heirs-male, fell to the crown, and remained in abeyance until 1688, when the title of Viscount Dundee was bestowed upon General Graham."

Again, 1670, October 13, Lamont says : "Old Clackmannan Bruce married the deceasset Earl of Dundie his lady, Dalhowsie's daughter, surnamed Ramsay, to his second lady. The marriage-feast was at Enderkethan [Inverkeithing], at hir dwelling-house there."

The name of "Scrimgeour or Skirmicher" is said by tradition to have been first acquired in 1061 by "*Alexander de Caron*." When Malcolm Cænmore, and Macduff, Thane of Fife, having collected a large force to subdue the north, reached the banks of the Spey, they found the opposite side of the river occupied by a great host, so that their progress was arrested, until Malcolm, seizing the royal standard, placed it in the hands of "*Alexander de Caron*," *fortissimo viro*, who passed with it across the Spey (near the spot which still bears the name of "Caron"—a locality some miles above the present suspension-bridge of Craigellachie.)

The army following this bold leader, the enemy retired ; and from that time

Alexander and his descendants had the office of standard-bearers to the king conferred upon them.

Alexander de Caron, the "skirmischer" of that day, and his heirs, obtained from Sir William Wallace a grant of the constabulary of Dundee, "for his faithful aid in bearing the royal banner, which service he actually performs." This charter, which still exists, is valuable and peculiar, as being nearly the only one granted by Wallace, as "Lord Protector of Scotland," with the consent and approbation of the Scottish nobility. March 29, 1298.

Since this was written, the said charter has been printed in the 'Scottish Records.'

BRUCES OF RAIT AND FINGASK.

By referring to the Bruces of Clackmannan, No. 5, it will be seen that Sir David Bruce, who succeeded in 1473, was twice married—that he had a son, “Robert,” by his first marriage with Janet Stirling, daughter of Sir William Stirling of Keir, but that he made “David,” his son by his second marriage with “Marion Herries, widow of Sir David Stewart of Rosyth,” his successor in Clackmannan, having in 1481 settled “*Rait*,” in Perthshire, upon his son Robert, which gift was confirmed by charter in 1488, and continued to be held by his son and grandson until circa 1550, when the designation ceases to be of “*Rait*,” and becomes of Fingask.

Sir George Mackenzie, in his MS. history of the families of Scotland, tells us that, “circa 1631, Margaret, daughter of umquhile Archibald Dundas of Fingask married David Bruce of Fingask, in Perthshire,* who had the barony of Rait there. They were the lineal male heirs of the house of Clackmannan, for, in the time of James III., Sir David Bruce, then of Clackmannan, gave the estates of Rait and Fingask to his eldest son and heir-apparent; and he took a fancy, and disinherited him of the *right* succession, and disposed the fee of the estate of Clackmannan to David Bruce, his eldest son by the Lord Herries’s daughter.”

The first charter extant of Rait is from Robert III., A.D. 1393, to “Robert Bruce, the king’s beloved cousin.” This, as well as another, dated 1394, is “to him and his lawful son David, &c. &c., whom failing, to his son natural, Thomas.” But it appears that, before 1592, by what arrangement is not known, Rait was held by Robert Bruce of Clackmannan (grandson of the former Sir David), who resided there before and after the death of his grandfather in 1550.

His residence was at Gaskenhall, near the village of Rait. On the high ground which skirts the Carse of Gowrie, a few trees and some bits of broken wall still indicate the site of his once-fortified house. There it was that, in the year 1592, he had several encounters of a hostile nature with the bailies of Perth. First, he refused payment of custom for some of his goods which had

* This contract of marriage is still preserved amongst the writs of the family of Fingask. The gentleman is designed, at the time, “David Bruce, brother-german to Patrick Bruce of Fingask.” There was a son of this marriage, designed of “Bullis.”

Dr Peter Bruce, Dean of the Chapter of St Andrews (grandfather, by the mother’s side, of Sir George M’Kenzie of Rosehaugh, Lord Advocate), was a brother of these Bruces of Fingask.

to pass through the town, upon which they were seized. He then wrote a letter threatening to make the citizens of Perth suffer for it, when they chanced to pass his house, if his goods were not restored, This not being attended to, he soon after encountered a party of armed citizens, from whom he took their weapons. They then destroyed a quantity of his growing corn, with their horses; and he took two of the party prisoners.

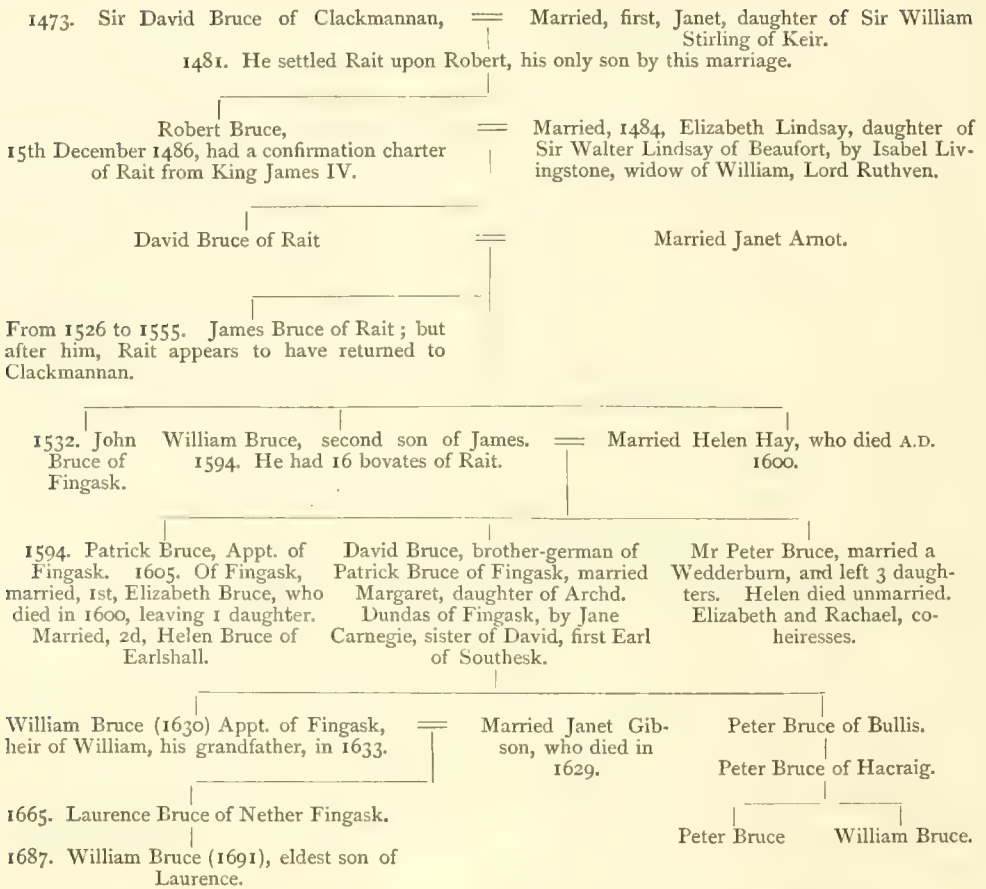
The same night a large party, headed by the bailies, came out to Gaskenhall, and besieged the laird in his own house, and not being able to enter, set fire to it; and thus making a way in by the roof, took out their friends and seized the laird, "whom they transported away with them ane certain space, without suffering him to put on his ain claithes." "They likewise spulyeit and took away with them his haill silver-wark, bedding, claithes, and all the plenishing of his house."—'P. C. Records.'

This affair came before the king, who appears to have taken no steps beyond declaring both parties to be in the wrong.

A Perth chronicler states "that they were afterwards agreed, *upon the town's large charges*." It did not, however, end here, for in April 1593, "certain baillies and citizens of Perth, passing by the coble of Rhynd on their way to St Andrews, were taken by the laird and *scourgit with horse-bridles* through the town of Abernethy, as giff they had been thieves or heinous malefactors." King James VI. does not seem to have been offended, as Sir Robert Bruce was one of the knights made in 1594 at Prince Henry's baptism.

Dr A. Bruce, Bishop of Orkney at the time of the Revolution, was of this family of Fingask.

BRUCES OF RAIT AND FINGASK.



Another account confirms the preceding ones ; but after 1663 nothing is distinctly known of the descendants of the elder branch of the House of Clackmannan.

1418. Robert Bruce, eldest son of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan, had from his father a charter of the lands of Rait, and married Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of Walter Lindsay of Beaufort by Isabel Livingstone, widow of William, Lord Ruthven. They had a son, "David Bruce of Rait," who married—

1508. Janet Arnot ; and their son, James Bruce of Rait, had a charter from his cousin, "John, Earl of Buchan," 10th June 1526. This John, Earl of Buchan, was son of Alex., Earl of Buchan, by Margaret Ruthven, daughter of Isobel Livingstone, by her first marriage.

There are confirmation charters to David Bruse filio David Bruse de Clacmannan et *fiar* de Clacmannan, reserv. liber. ten. David Brus et tertia Mariote Herizs, 5/11, 1497, p. 281.

Rex conf. David Brus, *Nepoti* et here David Brus de Clacmannan, Miles, resignavit, F. 3, 1506, xiv., 291.

Rex conf. David Brus, Miles, fil. de David Brus, Bar. de Clacmannan, non obstante omne jus et clamean David Brus, fil. frat. et David, Miles, resign. per cum, et certas terras tenend David, Miles, et Jonet Blaccaddy, ejus sp., F. 3, 1506, p. 325.

We find in 'Criminal Trials,' vol. ii., p. 456:—

"Colon Bruse," in Middle-Haugh of Ruthven (Huntingtower), and "Patrick April 26, Bruce" thair, and "Alexander Bruce" thair, dilaittit for assisting and for ¹⁶⁰⁵ intercommuning with the Clangregour, or Macgregors. The said persones to be baniset the haill of their lyfftime, under the pain of Deid, &c. &c.

Cautioners.

Patrick Bruce of Fingask.

Alex. Bruce, fiar of Cultmalundie.

Witnesses.

George Bruce of Carnouck.

Sir John Bruce of Airthe, Kt.

Given at Greenwich the above date,

Montrois, Commissioner.

We might be inclined to suppose that the cousins, "John and James," who went to Russia and Prussia in the time of Cromwell, were of this family, but that in the memoir it is distinctly stated that they were of the House of *Airth*. But "the kinsmen" who accompanied Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie to Orkney, and founded the Houses of Sumburgh and Symbister there, may have been of this race, as their names and connections indicate.

DESCENDANTS OF SIR DAVID BRUCE OF CLACKMANNAN OF 1506.

But although the old tree of Clackmannan has withered away, and been rooted out, it had sent forth in former days some vigorous shoots, which still flourish, transplanted into other soil, and do honour to the name; and for their benefit these collections have been made.

An intimate alliance in good fortune and in bad with the *Stewarts* had ever been the politics of the House. And when King James peacefully succeeded Queen Elizabeth on the English throne, it was mainly accomplished through the instrumentality of a Bruce,* who afterwards, naturalised in England, held high office there, and was the father of the Elgin and Ailesbury lines. When Charles I. and II. and their descendants were in trouble, they too suffered banishment and imprisonment, and their cousins in Scotland impoverishment and confiscation. In this manner Clackmannan and Airth passed out of the family; and the last *Bruce*, Earl of Ailesbury, fearing a like result for his large English possessions, instead of allowing them to descend (in default of his own male heirs) to his heir-at-law, the young Earl of Kincardine, resigned all his English honours into the hands of Queen Anne, to be bestowed, along with his estates, on the youngest, as yet unborn, son of his sister Elizabeth, Lady Cardigan, of whom the present Earls of Ailesbury.

But the earldom of Elgin and other Scottish dignities he could not alienate, and in Scotland still, not far removed from the old sites of Dunfermline, Clackmannan, and Rosyth, and still possessing Broomhall, Culross, Blairhall, &c. &c., we must look for the chief of that ancient House; whilst on the south side of the Forth some few scions still remain of the House of Airth, and in foreign lands we find many willing to claim kindred, and bearing for centuries the same arms. The Comtes de Brus in France we have been enabled to trace from their origin. Russia, Prussia, and Sweden have also their branches; and the Princesses des Horne of Salm and Stolberg took pains to prove their descent from their mother, the Lady Charlotte Maria Bruce, daughter of Thomas, third Earl of Elgin, who married at Brussels in 1698 Charlotte, Countess de Sanu of the noble House of Argenteau, in the Duchy of Brabant, one of whose granddaughters became the wife of Charles Edward, Chevalier de St George.

* See Letters, lately printed by the Camden Society, from the king and Mr Edward Bruce.

1506. Sir David Bruce succeeded his father in Clackmannan, having married in 1497 Jean or Jonetta, daughter of Sir Patrick Blackadder of Tulliallan, by whom he had five sons and four daughters. Sir David died circa 1550.

Ob. John, the eldest son, dying before his father, left by Margaret, daughter of Sir William Murray of Touchadam, one son, "*Robert*," knighted in 1593 with Prince Henry. His descendants carried on the line of Clackmannan till it failed, and became extinct in 1771.

The other four sons of Sir David Bruce, were—

TABLE I.

2. Patrick of Greene, who had also a confirmation charter of Valleyfield, under the great seal, 14th February 1542, to him and Margaret Falconer, his wife; but dying in 1544 without issue, resigned the lands and barony of Valleyfield to James Prestoun of Craignillar, and left Green to his youngest brother, <i>David</i> .	3. Edward, born in 1505, had a charter of Easter Kennet in 1537, by resignation of Robert Brady, confirmed by James V., 24th April 1539; also a charter by the Abbot of Culross, of the lands of Bargandy and two parts of Shiresmilns, A.D. 1540. Buying Blairhall in 1541, <i>that</i> became his designation. He had a charter of protection from James V. "Maj. Edward Brus, filio David Brus de Clackmannan, Milites." * Marrying Alison Reid, daughter of John Reid of Akynheid, and sister of Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, he left by her 4 sons, from 2 of whom descend the Earls of Elgin, Kincardine, and Ailesbury. Edward Bruce died in 1565, and was buried at Culross.	4. Robert of Lymnith, had a grant of Shiremiln also in 1589; he left a daughter, Marjorie, married to Ronald Masterton of that ilk, and appears also to have had a son and heir, "Robert," who dying s. p., resigned lands in Kinloss in favour of his cousin, James Dundas, 19th February 1608; confirmed by Lord Bruce of Kinloss, 11th March 1618.—'Windy Hills Writts.'	5. David succeeded his brother Patrick in Green. Died <i>ante</i> 1563, leaving a son, Archibald, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Robert Bruce of <i>Wester</i> Kennet, contract dated 1569. Margaret Bruce was the last descendant of Thomas Bruys, son nat. of Sir Robert of 1390.
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See Kennet.

The four daughters of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan married—

1. Elizabeth, whose descendants held lands in Kinloss (see Kinloss), married, 1st, Alexander Dundas of Fingask, who was killed at the battle of Pinkie; 2d, Robert Collace of Bonnymoon.	2. Marion, second wife of Sir Robert Bruce of Airth. Marion married, 2d, Marcus Sinclair of Carberry (see Airth).	3. Agnes married Sir James Cunningham of Polmaise. Their daughter and heiress married Murray of Touchadam.	4. Alice married Sir James Colville.
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* See Appendix.

TABLE II.

Patrick of Greene leaving no heirs, Edward Bruce of Easter Kennet, County Clackmannan, and of Blairhall, &c., in the parish of Culross and County Perth, leaving by Alison Reid, his wife, four sons. He died A.D. 1565, ætat. 60. (Monument at Culross.) They became next in succession.

Robert, born in 1546, of Easter Kennet, and afterwards of Blairhall. From a charter in Queen Mary's name, dated 6th September 1504, recorded in the Blaccadder Chaturlary, it appears that proceedings were raised at the instance of Margaret Halkerston, spouse of Sir John Blaccadder of Tulliallan, against Robert Bruce of Clackmannan and Patrick Bruce, his father's brother, "to produce Robert Bruce, son and heir of Mr Edward Bruce of Easter Kennet, to the said Margaret Halkerstone, as having the gift of the said Mr Robert Bruce of Easter Kennet in marriage, that she might offer to him in marriage her lawful daughter, Gris-el Blaccadder, as a match agreeable to him." In 1572 is a charge (in the same record) by John Blaccadder of Tulliallan, &c., to Robert Bruce of Easter Kennet, &c., "to fulfil their decree arbitral." Whether this alliance ever took place does not appear, but		Sir Edward, born 1548, Commendator of Kinloss; created Lord Bruce of Kinloss, A.D. 1603. Died 1611.		Sir George of Canock. Died 1625.	William, a priest in Kinloss Abbey. Died in 1609. Left his nephew Edward his heir.
A.D. 1593, Robert Bruce of Blairhall and left 1 son, Robert,		Married Margaret, daughter of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, who died in December 1614.			
Robert Bruce. He left 2 sons and 2 daughters.		Married Catharine, daughter of Sir John Prestoun of Valleyfield.			
Thomas Bruce, 2 sons and 2 daughters.	Married Jane Henderson of Fordel.	Sir William Bruce left 1 son, John, and 1 daughter, Anne. Sir William Bruce was Clerk of the Rolls in 1660. He was a great architect and man of taste. He rebuilt Holyrood Palace, and built Kinross House for himself. He was the friend and confidant of Monck at the period of the Restoration, and was created a baronet in 1668. His daughter Anne married Sir William Hope of Craigie Hall.		Married 1st, Mary Halket. 2d, Magdalen Scott.	1. Christian Bruce married Sir Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, 4th Earl of Kincardine, in 1706; of whom, the present Earl of Elgin and Kincardine. 2. Catharine Bruce married William, 2d Earl of Airth and Menteth. They were buried in the island in the Loch of Menteth. <i>Extinct.</i>
1. John Bruce, married Jane Leslie, daughter of Lord Lindores, by whom he had an only daughter, who married Dugald Stewart of Bute. Male line <i>extinct.</i>	1. Margaret, married John Aytoun. 2. Christian, last Earl of Menteth, who succeeded his grandfather after the death of his father, Lord Kilpont; but dying s. p., 1694, left his estate to James, Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Montrose. <i>Extinct.</i>	Sir John Bruce of Kinross and Balcaskie, his son and heir, married Christian Leslie, daughter of the Duke of Rothes and widow of the Marquis of Montrose; but leaving no issue, was succeeded by his cousin, Sir Alexander Bruce of Blairhall, in whom both lines became <i>extinct.</i>			

Sir Edward Bruce, second son of Edward Bruce of Easter Kennet and Blairhall, who was third son of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan of 1506, was a great lawyer and diplomatist. 27th July 1583.—He had a grant of the temporalities of the dissolved Abbey of Kinloss, confirmed by various crown charters of the said lands, fets, fishings in the Findhorn, &c. &c., in 1584, 1585, 1587, 1592, and 1597, giving him the position of "Commandator of Kinloss," with a seat in Parliament, in room of the mitted Abbot, who was the only one in Moray who had that privilege. In 1603 was Master of the Rolls in England, and in 1608 Lord Bruce of Kinloss. Obt. 1611.

1612. Edward, 2d Lord Bruce of Kinloss, died unmarried.

1613.—*Vizat.* 15.—Thomas Bruce, 2d son of Master of the Rolls, succeeded his brother Edward as 3d Lord Bruce of Kinloss.

24th July 1617, he is thus described in a retour of service:—"Thomas, Dominus Bruce de Kinloss—heres Domini Bruce de Kinloss fratris." And in another retour, dated Nov. 1646, as "Thomas, Comes de Elgin, heres masculus Edwardi, Domini Bruce de Kinloss, fratris-germani."

His lordship was a staunch supporter of King Charles I., who, by letters-patent, remainder to his *heirs male* for ever bearing the name and arms of Bruce, 2d Aug. 1641. He was afterwards created a peer of England, by the title of Baron Bruce of Whorlton, to him and the heirs male of his body, by letters patent, and on the 5th of Aug. following took his seat as "*Lord Bruce*."*

His lordship died in 1663, *ætat.* 65, and was buried at Maulden. His only son, Robert, succeeded, as 2d Earl of Elgin.

1663.—Robert, 2d Earl of Elgin, was created by Charles II. Baron of Skelton, Viscount Amphilthill, and Earl of Ailesbury, in 1676. He was Lord-Lieut. of the county of Bedford, Lord-Chamberlain of the King's household, and a Privy Counsellor to James II. Robert, 2d Earl of Elgin, and 1st Earl of Ailesbury, was succeeded by his only surviving son, "Thomas."

Thomas, 3d Earl of Elgin, 2d Earl of Ailesbury, and 5th Lord Bruce of Kinloss, a prisoner in the Tower from 1694 to 1697, during which time his Countess died. Of four sons and two daughters, only their 2d son, Charles, and eldest daughter, Elizabeth, survived. Elizabeth married George, 3d Earl of Cardigan. Thomas, Earl of Elgin, retired to Brussels, where he died in 1741, aged 86, and was succeeded by Charles, his only son.

Charles, 4th Earl of Elgin, and 3d Earl of Ailesbury, was the last who united these titles; for although he married three times, he left no heir male of his own line, the earldom of Elgin, with the other Scotch titles, devolving on his cousin and nearest heir male, "the Earl of Kincardine." The English titles he resigned in favour of the youngest son of his sister "Elizabeth," wife of George, 3d Earl of Cardigan, on his taking the name and arms of Bruce.

Died 1747. Male line extinct.

The Lady Charlotte Maria Bruce, half-sister of Charles, Earl of Elgin and Ailesbury, by his father's second marriage with Charlotte, Countess de Sanu, married in 1720 the Prince de Hornes, and they had a numerous family. One of their daughters, "Louise Maximiliana," Countess de Hornes, married "Prince Gustavus Adolphus of Stolberg-Guedern;" and their eldest daughter, "Louise," married, 17th April 1772, "*Charles Edward* Lewis Casimir—Chevalier de St George." Another sister married "The Marquess of Jamaica," son of the Duke of Berwick and Leria. Her name was Elizabeth Phillipina. 8th June 1776.—The earldom of Ailesbury was revived in his nephew, the Hon. Thomas Bruce Brudenell, who had already become on his uncle's death, and by his resignation in his favour, "Baron Bruce of Tottenham."—A.D. 1747.

* Alexander Brodie, 2d son of David Brodie of Brodie, was Chamberlain for Thomas Lord Bruce in the north. He married Margaret Clerk of Balbirnie, niece of the 1st Lady Bruce of Kinloss. Kinloss was bought by him from the Earl of Elgin between 1643-1647.—See Kinloss, in Appendix.

Married Magdalen, daughter of Sir Alexander Clerk of Balbirnie, by whom he left two sons—1. Edward, second Lord Bruce of Kinloss; 2. Thomas, third Lord Bruce and first Earl of Elgin; and one daughter, Christian, who married William Cavendish, second Earl of Devonshire, at the early age of twelve years, James VI. and Anna his Queen giving her a dower of £10,000.

The patroness of Waller, and the friend and confidant of General Monck, she greatly influenced the Restoration, and became one of the most distinguished women of her day. Christian was mother of the first Duke of Devonshire.

Married, 1st, Ann, daughter of Sir John Chichester of Raleigh, by whom he had Robert, his heir.

2dly, Diana, daughter of William Lord Burleigh, and widow of "Vere," Earl of Oxford.

Married, 1646, the Lady Diana Grey, daughter of Henry, Earl of Stamford, by whom he had eight sons, of whom the five eldest died in infancy, and also the two youngest, Thomas, 6th son, only surviving. Also nine daughters, six of whom married—Diana, 1st, Sir Seymour Shirley.

2d, The Duke of Rutland.

3d, Anne, Sir William Rich of Lunning.

4th, Christian, Sir John Rolle.

5th, Mary, Sir William Walters.

6th, Sir Nicholas Bagnall.

7th, Henrietta, Sir Thomas Ogle.

Married, 1st, Elizabeth Seymour, sister and sole heiress of William, Duke of Somerset, lineally descended from, and sole representative of, Mary, Queen of France, daughter of King Henry VII., and sister of Henry VIII., and of Margaret, Queen of James IV. of Scotland—and thus next in blood to the crown after the descendants of Margaret, Queen of Scotland. She brought Tottenham Park and Savernake Forest to her husband. A.D. 1694-6. 2dly, Charlotte, Countess de Sanu de Argenteau, in Brabant, by whom he had an only daughter, Charlotte Maria, who married, in 1722, the Prince de Hornes. See Appendix.

Married, 1st, Ann Saville, daughter of the Marquis of Halifax, who had a son, "Robert," who married and died, s. p., vit. pat., and two daughters.

1. Mary, The Duke of Chandos, and had issue, in whose right the present Duke of Buckingham claimed the title of Lord Kinloss, which has been accorded to him, although it seems doubtful whether such a *peerage* ever existed.

2. Elizabeth, Benjamin Bathurst, without succession.

3dly, Juliana Boyle, daughter of Charles, Duke of Burlington, by whom he had a daughter, Mary, The Duke of Richmond, without succession.

4thly, Caroline, daughter of John, Duke of Argyll, who, surviving him, married, 2dly, Henry Seymour Conway.

The Lady Charlotte Maria Bruce, by his father's second marriage with Charlotte, Countess de Sanu, married in 1720 the Prince de Hornes, and they had a numerous family. One of their daughters, "Louise Maximiliana," Countess de Hornes, married "Prince Gustavus Adolphus of Stolberg-Guedern;" and their eldest daughter, "Louise," married, 17th April 1772, "*Charles Edward* Lewis Casimir—Chevalier de St George." Another sister married "The Marquess of Jamaica," son of the Duke of Berwick and Leria. Her name was Elizabeth Phillipina. 8th June 1776.—The earldom of Ailesbury was revived in his nephew, the Hon. Thomas Bruce Brudenell, who had already become on his uncle's death, and by his resignation in his favour, "Baron Bruce of Tottenham."—A.D. 1747.

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Shaw says in his 'History of Moray'—"Upon the dissolution of the religious "houses the king *would not want* the votes of the abbots and priors in Parliament, and therefore presented laics to the benefices when vacant, who, by "way of commendam, enjoyed the profits, and sat in Parliament." A commendator was not obliged at any time to be a Churchman. He might be a soldier or lawyer or a *powerful* bishop—one, in short, who could defend the worldly interests of the monastery.

Sir Edward Bruce was also a Lord of Session, and one of the Commissioners of the General Assembly, and a member of the Convention of the Nobility, Holyrood House, from 1594 to 1598.

1598. He had a grant of Culross Abbey, and erected the present house (in part) out of the ruins of the Monastery. Above the window may be seen his initials and those of his wife—E. L. B., D. M. B. 1608.

He was sent ambassador to England in April 1598, and again, in company with the Earl of Mar, in Feb. 1601. It was by his management and agreement with the secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, that the quiet succession of James VI. to the throne of England was brought about.

May 18, 1603. (1st of James I. of England) *Sir Edward Bruce* was sworn a Privy Councilor of both kingdoms, and appointed Master of the Rolls, being described in the patent as "Edward Bruce, Commendator of Kinloss,"* although on 2d Feb. 1601, the king had confirmed the grant of the lordship and barony of Kinloss to the said Edward Bruce, his heirs and assigns, and also the title, dignity, and honours of a free baron and Lord of Parliament—erecting the same into a barony, with free regality and justiciaria, &c. &c.—"in like manner, and as freely in all respects, as any *Abbot of Kinloss* enjoyed the same at any time." This grant is made under the Great Seal of Scotland, and certainly would not appear to convey the heritable peerage claimed and adjudged in the late Parliament to the Duke of Buckingham, and making him *Lord Kinloss*.

July 8, 1604. An Act of Parliament was passed in England for the naturalisation of "Sir Edward Bruce, Kt.," of Kinloss, his wife and children; and a new charter was given to him under the great seals of England and Scotland, 3d May 1608, in which the estates and barony of Kinloss are conveyed more definitely than in the charter of 1601, "*To Edward, Lord Bruce of Kinloss, and the heirs male of his body, whom failing, to his heirs whomsoever.*"

After this date he is invariably described in all deeds as "Edward Lord Bruce," and in the Scotch Acts of Parliament there is an Act in favour of

* See Appendix, Kinloss, &c.

"The king's trusty cousin, Edward Lord Bruce of Kinloss."—Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 458. 1609.

Edward Lord Bruce, Master of the Rolls, died 14th Jan. 1610-11.

A fair monument was erected to his memory in the Chapel of the Rolls, Chancery Lane, London.

Edward, second Lord Bruce of Kinloss, was served heir-male to his father, "Lord Edward," in certain lands in the parish of Avoch, and in the manse within the chanonry, apparently in the same parish.—'Origines Parochiales.' 1611.

His father in his will, dated 9th August 1610, had settled all his possessions upon his eldest son as his heir-*male*—and it is to be presumed that he did not intend his title and honours to be separated from them.

In a return of service, dated 24th of May 1609, *this* Edward is designated "Edwardus Bruce, hæres Gulielmi Bruce, fratris Edwardi Bruce (Domini Bruce de Kinloss)." (This is the William Bruce only known as factor and brother-german of the Commendator of Kinloss, whose receipts for feu-duties are still extant, apparently a priest.)—See Appendix.

Edward Bruce was made Knight of the Bath at the same time as Prince Henry.

Sir Edward Bruce was killed in a duel by Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards Earl of Dorset, whose sister, Clementina, was his affianced bride. These two Sir Edwards were early friends and companions, but in character and manners appear to have been widely contrasted. Once going out hunting together in Fife, it is said that they met a spaewife, who was rudely repulsed by Sackville with his hunting-whip. Bruce tried to calm him, and the old woman is said to have predicted that, although friends *now*, they would soon meet in deadly feud. 1612.

Sackville's family, perhaps injudiciously, held up Bruce as a model of gentle manners and steady demeanour. Sackville, returning home one day far from sober, and after a broil with a Scotchman, abused *all* Scotchmen in Bruce's presence, and it was with difficulty the peace was kept. Some time after, at Canterbury, on their way to accompany the Elector Palatine abroad, Sackville renewed the insult, and struck Bruce, who then, taking leave of his mother and of the Lady Clementina, went to Bergen-op-Zoom, and sent a challenge to Sir Edward Sackville. A piece of ground was bought, which still bears the name of the "*Bruce's Field*." The only record of the duel is contained in a letter from Sackville. Bruce would admit of no quarter; Sackville was badly wounded, but Bruce died. He was interred at Bergen-op-Zoom, where a monument was erected to his memory. His heart, in a silver case, is now to be seen in the Bruce chapel adjoining Culross Abbey.

TABLE IV.

SIR GEORGE BRUCE OF CARNOCK—EARLS OF KINCARDINE.

Sir George Bruce, 3d son of Sir Edward Bruce of Blairhall, bought Carnock, in Fife, from Sir A. Lindsay. His initials may be seen in the parish church, which he repaired, G. B., 1602-1604.—He was knighted by James VI., was M.P. for the burgh of Culross, and was appointed one of the commissioners to treat of the Union with England.

Sir George Bruce settled at Culross, where he carried on extensive coalworks under the sea. See Appendix.

Sir George died at Culross, and was buried in the chapel there, A.D. 1625.

Sir George Bruce, eldest son, succeeded. His initials also appear in the Carnock church, with the date 1641. He died in 1643, and was buried at Culross, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

Sir Edward Bruce of Carnock, who, being a man of great talent, honour, and loyalty, was, by King Charles I., raised to the peerage by the titles of Earl of Kincardine and Lord Bruce of Torry, by letters patent to him and his heirs male, bearing date in 1647. Dying unmarried, his estate and honours devolved on his brother, Alexander. A.D. 1662.

Alexander Bruce, 2d Earl of Kincardine, was a man of great ability and singular endowments. Bishop Burnet, in the 'History of his own Times,' says: "He was the worthiest man that belonged to his country—fit for governing any affairs—a faithful friend, and a merciful enemy." He was with King Charles II. in Holland, and at the Restoration became a Privy Councillor, and Commissioner of the Treasury. 1667. He was an extra Lord of Session, and one of the King's Commissioners for the government of Scotland, but by the intrigues of Lauderdale was dismissed, with the Duke of Hamilton, in 1676. This earl possessed the baronies of Kincardine and Tulliallan, the lands of Lurg, &c.

1664. He bought from Robert, Earl of Ailesbury and Elgin, the house of Culross, with 6 or 7 acres of land about it, and was infeft in the same in 1665, and held it until his death in 1680, after which the Countess and her family resided there until 1702; and afterwards Lady Mary and her husband, "Ochiltree," kept possession, and refused to remove.

Alexander, 2d Earl of Kincardine, died July 9, 1680, ætat. 51, and was buried at Culross.

Married Euphame, daughter of Arch. Primrose, progenitor of the Earls of Roseberry, by whom he left three sons—1, George, his heir; 2, Alexander of Alva, d. s. p. m.; 3d, Robert of Broomhall, who succeeded his brother Alexander in 1638.

Anne, 1st daughter, married Sir James Arnot of Fernie, brother of Lord Burleigh.

2. Magdalen, Sir John Erskine of Balgony, near Culross.

3. Margaret, Mercer of Aldie, in Perthshire.

4. Nichola, 1st, Sir John Morrison, of Dairsie. 2dly, John Dick, Esq., of Braid, son and heir to Sir William Dick, Provost of Edinburgh.

Married Mary, daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield, Bart., by whom he had two sons and three daughters—

1. Edward, afterwards Earl of Kincardine.

2. Alexander, who succeeded his brother.

1. Margaret, eldest daughter, married Sir John Lumisdén of Invergelly.

2d. Magdalen, Sir John Arnot of Fernie.

3d. Mary, David, Lord Cardross, ancestor of the Earl of Buchan.

Married, 16th June 1659, Veronica Van Arsan, daughter of "Corneille Van Somelsdyk, Lord of Somelsdyk," at the Hague, A.D. 1659, on whom Edward, 1st Earl of Kincardine, enabled his brother, and apparent heir, to make large settlements, which, after his death in 1680, nearly exhausted its revenues, already greatly diminished by debts incurred in the royal cause. By this lady, Alex., 2d Earl of Kincardine, had two sons,—

1. Charles, Lord Bruce, who died six months before his father.

2. Alexander, 3d Earl, who was blind and imbecile. Also three daughters—

1. Lady Mary, Wm. Cochrane, of Ochiltree, ancestor of Lord Dundonald.

2. Lady Anne, Sir David Murray of Stanhope.

3. Lady Veronica, David Montgomery of Lainshaw, lineal descendant of "The Lord Lyle."

Veronica, Countess of Kincardine, died 28th April 1701, ætat. 68.

Alexander, third Earl of Kincardine, succeeded his father. He was imbecile, 1680. and became blind before his death in 1705.

His eldest sister, "Lady Mary," married to "William Cochrane of Ochiltree," had almost arranged the resignation of the titles of "Kincardine and Bruce of Torry" to the Crown, that a new patent might have been conferred on *heirs female* in her favour; but although the deeds were made out, and, it is said, read over to the blind Earl, they were not presented at the time of his death, and were therefore of none effect, his cousin and nearest heir male, Alexander Bruce of Broomhall, succeeding.

The estates had been squandered in litigations and family provisions, besides large debts incurred during the troubles; and by a decret of sale before the Lords, dated 25th June 1700, were brought to a roup and purchased by "Colonel John Erskine" of Carnock—one of the principal creditors, and first cousin of Edward and Alexander, first and second Earls of Kincardine, being the son of "Mary Bruce," their aunt, who married Lord Cardross. With him, Lady Mary Cochrane and her husband contested the possession of the house and yards, &c., of Culross Abbey, which appears to have been finally adjudged to them, and continued in possession of their seventh son, Thomas Cochrane, who became eighth Earl of Dundonald in 1758, and died in 1778.

Male line of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, second son of the first Sir George, extinct.

On a monumental board, lying in the Bruce chapel of Culross church, is the following inscription:—

A ^L K Dyed 9 July 1680 ADGE 51.	C ^L B 12th Jan. 1680 ADGE 20.	V ^C K 28 April 1701 ADGE 68.	A ^L K 10 Nov. 1705 ADGE 39.
Alexander II., Lord Kincardine.	Charles, Lord Bruce, his son.	Veronica, Countess of Kincardine, wife of 2d Earl.	Alexander, 3d Earl.

TABLE V.

Robert Bruce, of Broomhall,
3d son of Sir George Bruce of Carnock, by Euphemia or Euffame, daughter of Archd. Primrose, succeeded his brother Alexander, in Alva, in 1638. Was a Lord of Session, "Lord Broomhall," in 1644. Died in 1652. Was buried at Culross. Helen, wife of Lord Broomhall, died in 1691. Was buried at Culross.

== Married Helen, daughter of Sir James Skene, by whom he had—1st, Sir Alexander, his heir; and 2d, George, d. s. p., and 2 daughters, who married :—
1st, Janet, Sir Thos. Burnett of Crimouel.
2d, Helen, Sir William Weir of Blackwood (De Vere). The family is now represented by the Hope-Veres.

Sir Alexander Bruce
sat in Parliament for Sanquhar, when he made a speech in which he protested against some parts of the Act for settling Presbyterian Government as inconsistent with monarchy, and was in consequence expelled from that House. He voted *against* the Union; and was sent for by Charles II., and afterwards by Queen Anne, to both of whom he gave his advice in writing, which they followed.

Sir Alexander Bruce took his seat as 4th Earl of Kincardine and Lord Bruce of Torry, as heir male of his cousin Alexander, 3d earl.

== Married Christian, daughter of Robert Bruce of Blairhall, by whom he had 3 sons, all of whom succeeded to the earldom, and 5 daughters, 4 of whom died unmarried. Veronica married Duncan Campbell of Kames. Lady Jane died at Broomhall, unmarried, Sept. 1743, *ætat.* 90. The others were—Lady Christian, Lady Helen, and Lady Mary. The sons were—Robert, Alexander, and Thomas.

V. Robert Bruce, eldest son and successor of Alexander, 4th Earl of Kincardine, and Baron Bruce of Torry. Died unmarried.

VI. Alexander Bruce succeeded his brother Robert. He married, and left 1 daughter, Lady Jane, who married John Napier of Kilmahen.

VII. Thomas Bruce, 3d son of Alexander, 4th Earl, succeeded his brothers as 7th Earl of Kincardine. He died at Broomhall 23d March 1740, *ætat.* 77.

This Thomas, 7th Earl of Kincardine, was chief councillor of Prince Charles Edward. It was he who wrote the letter on divine right and passive obedience, dated from Brussels in 1716, which Mr Drummond, in his book of the Bruces, erroneously ascribes to Thomas, 3d Earl of Elgin, who died at Brussels in 1781, *ætat.* 86. The letter in question is preserved at Broomhall. It is addressed to his son and successor.

== Married, 1699, Rachael Pouncefort, daughter of Robert Pouncefort, Esq., in the county of Hereford, who died at Broomhall A.D. 1753, leaving 2 sons and 3 daughters.

1. Lady Sarah, born in December 1699, in London. Died at Stobhall, Perthshire, unmarried, in 1795.

2. Lady Christian, died at Balgonie 23d Feb. 1775.

3. Lady Rachel, married James Drummond, Earl of Perth, and was mother of James, last Earl of Perth—died 1781.

1st, William, became 8th Earl.

2d, Thomas, a clergyman, died in France A.D. 1739.

VIII. William Bruce, 8th Earl, a man of great abilities and universal benevolence. Died at Brest soon after his father in 1740, *ætat.* 38.

== Married, 14th Feb. 1726, Janet, grand-daughter of Sir James Robertson, Lord Bedlay, by whom he left 3 sons and 2 daughters. Lady Kincardine died A.D. 1772.

Charles, aged 7 years, became 9th Earl of Kincardine, and, in 1747, 5th Earl of Elgin.

James, aged 4 years, became an English clergyman. Died A.D. 1765.

Thomas, aged 1 year, served in the East Indies and in Ireland; aide-de-camp to the king, and lieutenant-general in 1796; M.P. for Marlborough and for Great Bedwin. Died at Exeter 1797, where a monument is erected to his memory in the Cathedral.

Rachael, died unmarried in Edinburgh A.D. 1803.

Christian married James Erskine of Cardross, who died A.D. 1802. Lady Christian died 1810.

EARLS OF ELGIN AND KINCARDINE.

On the death of William, eighth Earl of Kincardine, in France, on his way to 1740.
Naples for the recovery of his health, his eldest son, "Charles," ætat. 7, became
ninth Earl of Kincardine and Lord Bruce of Torry.

He became (by the death of Charles, fourth Earl of Elgin and second Earl of Feb. 10,
Ailesbury, without surviving male issue) "*fifth Earl of Elgin and Lord Bruce* 1747.
of Kinloss," being the heir male and representative of Edward Bruce of Blair-
hall and his four sons—1, Robert of Blairhall; 2, Edward, first Lord Bruce of
Kinloss; 3, William, in Kinloss, of Cothill and Collestoun; 4, Sir George
Bruce of Carnock, his immediate progenitor. All the others having become
extinct in the male line, the English titles and estates of the Earl of Ailesbury
would also have devolved upon the young Earl of Kincardine, but for the strong
political tendencies of his mother, the Dowager Countess, rather by her boasted
of than concealed. This made the Earl of Ailesbury fear that all his great
possessions might be lost by forfeiture, so that, resigning his titles into the hands
of the sovereign, he obtained a new patent, 17th April 1746, as Baron Bruce of
Tottenham, in "Wiltshire," with remainder to his nephew, the Honourable
Thomas Bruce Brudenell, in whom the earldom of Ailesbury was revived in
1776.

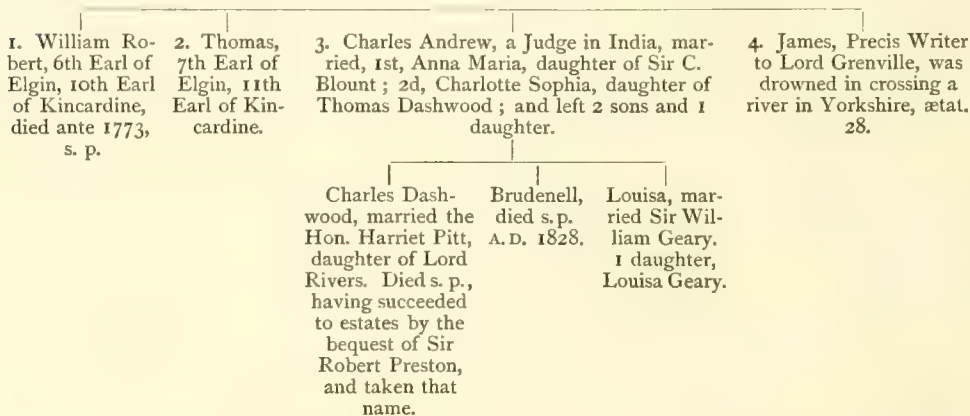
The guardians appointed by William, eighth Earl of Kincardine, for his
children, were—their mother, "Janet, Lady Kincardine," "David Bruce of
Kinnaird," "Judge Graham, of Airth," "Mr Abercromby," and "John Hamilton,
W.S." These gentlemen were anxious to send the young earl to England, to
be educated in accordance with the views of his kinsman, the Earl of Ailesbury,
whose heir he might have become; but to this his mother would not agree.—
(See Appendix).

Charles, fifth Earl of Elgin and ninth Earl of Kincardine, never entered
into public life, although well qualified to adorn it. He employed his talents
usefully in improving his estate, and establishing great limeworks, &c. &c.,
upon it. He built the village of Charlestown for his work-people, and made the
harbour.

Universally beloved by all ranks, he died, like his father, in his thirty-ninth May 14,
year, and was buried at Dunfermline, where a handsome monument was erected 1771.
to his memory.

Charles, 5th Earl of Elgin, and 9th Earl of Kincardine, left 4 sons and 1 daughter, "Charlotte," married to Sir Phillip Durham, Admiral and G.C.B. 2 daughters, Janet and Rachael, died young.

Married, 1759, Martha, daughter of Thomas White, Banker in London, afterwards appointed governess to the Princess Charlotte of Wales. Martha, Lady Elgin, died at Twickenham, 21st June 1810, much regretted.



Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl of Elgin and eleventh Earl of Kincardine, Lord Bruce of Kinloss and Lord Bruce of Torrie, succeeded his brother, "William Robert," at an early age. He was educated at Harrow and Westminster, and at the University of St Andrews. He afterwards spent two years in Paris under a professor of public law, and a considerable time in Germany in the prosecution of military studies.

His first commission in the Guards is dated in 1785.

On the 25th of October 1809, he was gazetted a major-general.

1790. He was sent on a special mission to the Emperor Leopold, whom he accompanied the following year on a tour through his Italian States.

1792. He was appointed Minister to the Netherlands, and afterwards to the Court of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel, whence he accompanied the Prussian army in its first campaigns against revolutionary France. He was next attached to the Austrian army, and remained with it until the final evacuation of the Low Countries in 1794.

1795. Lord Elgin was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Berlin. On his return to England he was sworn of the Privy Council, and immediately after was sent Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Porte, where he continued until the French were driven out of Egypt, on which occasion his Lordship was invested with the Turkish order of the Crescent.

Whilst at Constantinople he learnt that the French were about to despoil several of the temples of Greece of their sculptures, and to send them to Paris,

upon which he exerted himself to the utmost to secure them for his own country. Mr William Hamilton, his attaché and private secretary, was sent to Egypt on a diplomatic mission to the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, and was employed in negotiating the terms of peace, upon the expulsion of the French from that country, by which they agreed to surrender all the works of art which they were on the point of carrying off to France.

At the same time Mr Hamilton secured for the British Museum one of its most valuable treasures. Having received information that the French had concealed in one of their transports the very remarkable tri-lingual Rosetta stone, he went on board the ship, though the plague had broken out in her, and obtained the valuable prize. A few years later the celebrated "Elgin Marbles," together with a fine series of inscriptions, Greek medals, &c. &c., were shipped for England, but in entering the port of Cerigo the ship and the marbles went to the bottom—Mr Hamilton, who was in charge of them, and the crew, only saving themselves by jumping from the bowsprit on to the rocks. With the assistance of experienced divers, Mr Hamilton succeeded, by Lord Elgin's directions, and at great expense, after many months of perseverance under great difficulties, in rescuing these invaluable specimens of Greek art from the sea, and brought them in safety to England.

Lord Elgin having been accompanied by an eminent artist, made also collections of plans and elevations of the *then* existing monuments, with their architectural measurements, decorations, &c., as well as beautiful water-coloured drawings of scenes in Italy, Sicily, and Greece, which are still in the family. For his inestimable contributions to the British Museum, a sum was voted by Parliament, which was far from covering the expenses of their transport; whilst Lord Byron and his followers, with poetic disregard for truth, held him up as the despoiler of Greece.

In returning through France to England, he was detained by Buonaparte, in violation of the laws of all civilised nations, by whom the persons of Ambassadors are held sacred. 1804.

Thomas, seventh Earl of Elgin and eleventh Earl of Kincardine, married— 1799.

1st, Mary, only child of William Hamilton Nisbet of Dirleton and Belhaven, by whom he had—1, George Constantine, Lord Bruce, born in 1800, and died in 1840; 2, William, who died young.

1st. Lady Mary, married Robert Adam Dundas; and being heiress of her mother's estates, took the name of Nisbet Hamilton, and has a daughter, Mary Georgiana Constance.

2d. Lady Harriet Matilda, married Sir John Maxwell of Pollock, died without succession.

3d. Lady Lucy, married John Grant of Kilgraston, and has heirs.

1808. Thomas Earl of Elgin's first marriage being dissolved by Act of Parliament, he married, secondly, in 1810, Elizabeth, daughter of James Townsend Oswald of Dunnikier, M.P. for the County of Fife, by whom he had five sons and three daughters.

1. James, his heir, born 1811. Lord Bruce in 1840.

2. Honourable Robert, governor to the Prince of Wales, 1858; major-general, 1859; married, 1848, Katharine, second daughter of the late Sir Michael Shaw Stewart. General the Honourable Robert Bruce died, June 27, 1862, at St James's Palace.

3. Honourable Sir Frederick William Adolphus Wright, K.C.B., 1862; G.C.B., 1865; 1858, Ambassador in China; 1865, Plenipotentiary to the United States of America. Died, A.D. 1867.

4. Honourable Edward, died young.

5. Honourable Thomas Charles, married, 1863, Sarah Caroline, eldest daughter of Thomas Thornhill, Esq., and has issue—a son, Charles, and a daughter, Elizabeth Marjorie.

1. Lady Charlotte Christian, married Frederick Locker, Esq.—and has a daughter, Eleanor.

2. Lady Augusta Frederica Elizabeth, married Arthur P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster.

3. Lady Frances Anne, married Evan Montagu Baillie, yr. of Dochfour, and has issue.

Thomas, Earl of Elgin, died in Paris, 17th November 1841. Elizabeth, Dowager-Countess, died at Paris, 31st March 1860.

1841. James, Lord Bruce, was M.P. for Southampton when he succeeded his father as eighth Earl of Elgin, and twelfth Earl of Kincardine.

April 22, 1841. He married "Elizabeth Mary," only daughter of Charles Lennox Cumming-Bruce of Roseisle and Kinnaird, M.P. for the Counties of Elgin and Nairn, by whom he had two daughters—"Elma," born at King's House, Jamaica, 19th June 1842, and "Mary," born and died at Craigton, Jamaica, 6th June 1843.

Lady Elgin died at Craigton, 7th June 1843.

The Earl of Elgin had been appointed Governor-General of Jamaica in 1842, and continued there until 1846.

On his return he was appointed Governor-General of the Canadas, and in 1855, Envoy Extraordinary to the United States of America.

1849. He was created a Baron of the United Kingdom by the title of Lord Elgin of Elgin, sworn a Privy Councillor, and received the order of Knight of the Thistle, and was Lord-Lieutenant of Fifeshire.

Before proceeding to Canada, the Earl of Elgin married, secondly, the Lady Mary Louisa, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Durham, by whom he had four sons and one daughter.

1. Victor Alexander, Lord Bruce, born in 1849—takes also the name of Prestoun.	2. Robert, who, succeeding to his father's cousin, Charles Prestoun Bruce, took the name of Prestoun.	3. Charles. Died at Trinity College, Glenalmond, 12th June 1863.	4. Frederick John. Appointed one of her Majesty's Pages of Honour, A.D. 1869.	5. Louisa Elizabeth.
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The Earl of Elgin was appointed Plenipotentiary on a special mission to March China, and concluded the treaty of Tientsin, and a treaty with Japan in 1858. 1857. On his return he received the Grand Cross of the Bath, and was Postmaster-General from 1859-60, when he again returned on a special mission to China.

The Earl of Elgin was appointed Governor-General of India, and, to the 1861. inexpressible grief of all connected with him in public or private life, died at Dhurmsala on the 20th of November 1863.

Victor Alexander, ninth Earl of Elgin and thirteenth Earl of Kincardine, is the present peer and chief of his name. He is the second Baron Elgin of Elgin of the United Kingdom.

The Lady Elma Bruce, eldest daughter of James, Earl of Elgin, married, in 1864, the Honourable Thomas John Hovell-Thurlow, second son of the third Baron Thurlow, and has issue, a son, "James Frederick."

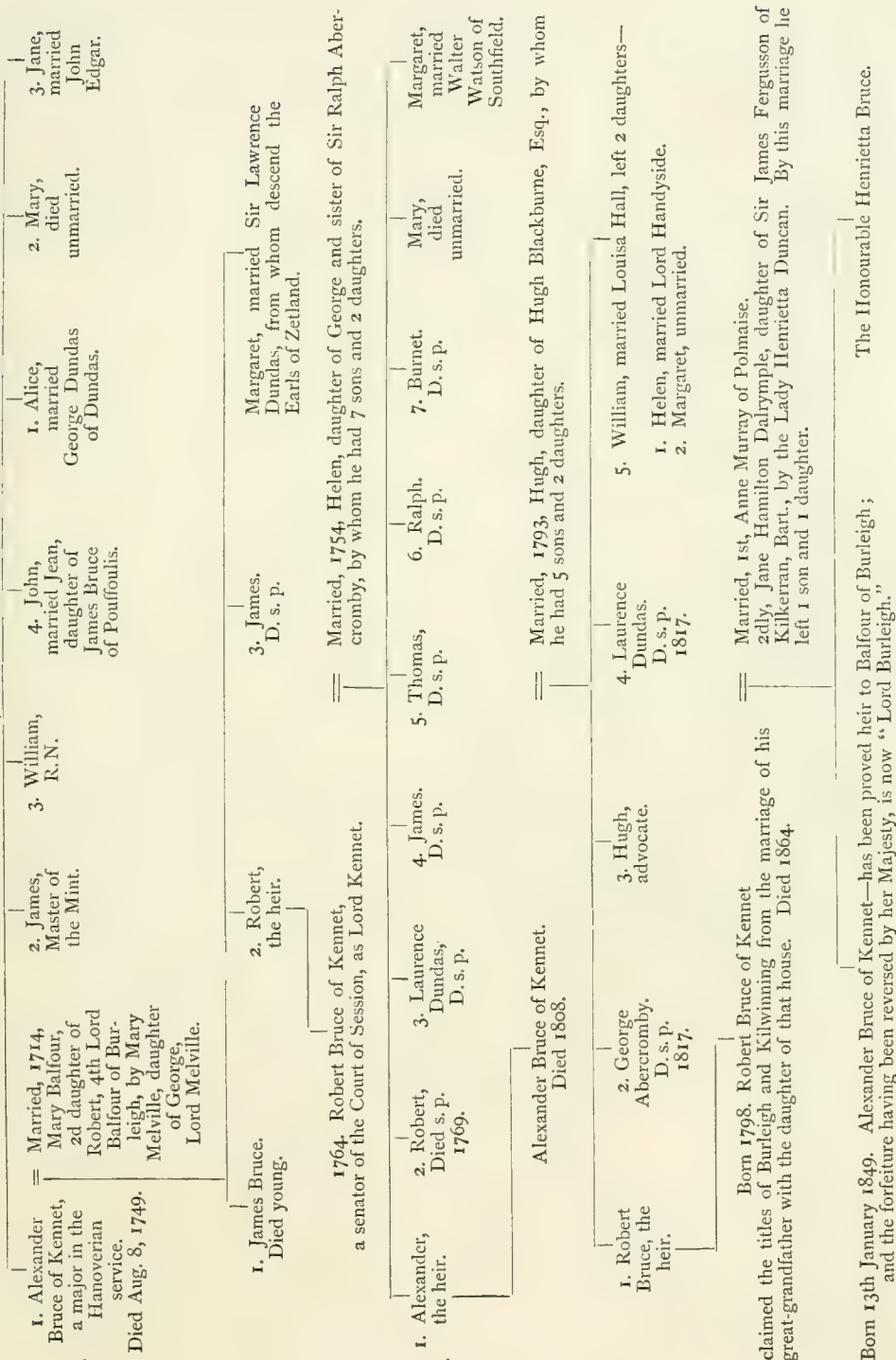
By the death of Charles, fourth Earl of Elgin and third Earl of Ailesbury, in 1747, s. p. *M.*, the young Earl of Kincardine became the head of that line, and fifth Earl of Elgin; and on the death of "*Harry Bruce*," last Baron of Clackmannan, in 1772, the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine became chief of the Bruce name.

His lordship is "Baron Bruce of Kinloss," of 3d May 1608, and Baron "Bruce of Torry," in the peerage of Scotland, and Lord Elgin of Elgin in that of the United Kingdom.

David Bruce was the fifth and youngest son of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan, by Jean Blaccadder of Tullisallan. David succeeded his elder brother, Patrick, in Greene, on Patrick's death without issue in 1544 (but *not* in Valleyfield, as stated by Mr Drummond, that property having been resigned by Patrick Bruce to James Prestoun of Craigmiller).

TABLE VI.

A.D. 1568. Archibald Bruce, son of the deceased David Bruce of Greene, succeeded his father. Died A.D. 1609.		==		Married, 1569, Margaret Bruce, only daughter and heiress of Robert Bruce of <i>H'eter</i> Kennet, descended from Thomas, son nat. of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, of 1389. Margaret's will is dated in 1579.			
6th Feb. 1589. Robert Bruce, served heir to his mother Margaret.		==		Married, 1599, Elizabeth, daughter of Alex. Gall of Maw, in Fife, by whom he had a son, Robert.			
1642. Robert Bruce acquired the lands of Easter Kennet from Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, who bought them from John Hay, afterwards of Woodcockdale, &c.		==		Married, 1628, Agnes, daughter of Patrick Murray of Perdwie, by Margaret Colville of Culross, by whom he had 3 sons and 5 daughters.			
1656. David had 6 sons and 2 daughts.	= Marjory Young, daughter of David Young of Kirkton.	2. Alexander, married Margaret Cleland. Had from his father a charter of Garlet. Died A.D. 1704—of whom Downing Bruce.	3. Robert, married Isabel Paterson, and left issue.	1. Elizabeth, married Colonel William Bruce.	2. Mary, married George Bruce of Comrie.	3. Helen, married John Brisbane, M.D.	
1. David, D.s.p.	2. Henry, D.s.p.	3. Robert, D.s.p.	4. James, was a general in the service of the M. of Brandebourg; captain in Lord Leven's Regiment of Foot; came over with the Prince of Orange in 1688. Died in 1728. Had 4 sons and 3 daughters.	5. Charles, D.s.p.	6. George.	Margaret, married Nielson of Kileathie.	Mary, married Young of Kirkton.



Of the Bruces of Kennet, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, descend some branches who married and settled in Wales. Of one of these was the late Vice-Chancellor "*Knight Bruce*."

BRUCES OF KENNET.

- May 8, I. Thomas, natural son of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, obtained from
 1389. his father by charter the lands of Wester Kennet, Pitfolden, &c. &c.
1393. He is mentioned in the Charter of Rait, granted by King Robert III. to "Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan," the king's beloved cousin, "and to his eldest son David, and the heirs of his body," whom failing, to "Thomas," son nat. of Sir Robert.
1394. Another charter is, "to Sir Robert and his lawful son David, whom failing," &c. &c., to Thomas his son nat.
1399. Thomas had a confirmation charter of his lands from King Robert III. He died in the reign of James I.
- May 2, II. Thomas, his successor, got a charter of confirmation from John Bruce,
 1428. Baron of Clackmannan, in the reign of James II.
- III. David Bruce of Wester Kennet married Agnes Redhach, and had a son and heir, David.
- IV. David Bruce held these lands in the reigns of James IV. and V. He left two sons—I, Patrick, and 2, Thomas.
1547. V. Patrick was his heir in Wester Kennet.
 To Thomas he gave some lands south of Kennet Hill, 24th April 1543.
 Patrick left two sons—I, John, and 2, Robert.
- VI. John Bruce died s. p.
1556. Robert succeeded his brother, served heir 13th June 1556. He married a daughter of Alexander Kinninmount of that ilk, by whom he had an only child, "Margaret Bruce."
- 1568-9. VII. Margaret Bruce married Archibald Bruce, son of the deceased David Bruce of Greene (who was the fifth and youngest son of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan, by Jean Blaccadder of Tulliallan), and, succeeding to her father's estates, founded the House of Kennet.

THE HOUSE OF AIRTH.

ERTHE, or Arth, was a stronghold in Wallace's day surrounded by "draw dykes," the tide probably washing the rock on which the castle stands, although it is now nearly a mile from the Firth. Wallace, finding it garrisoned by upwards of one hundred English soldiers under the command of "Thomlyn of Ware," who oppressed and levied imposts on all the country around, and had, amongst others, taken Wallace's uncle, "the Priest of Dunipace," and thrown him into a dark cave beneath the castle, he attacked and slew the garrison and rescued the prisoners.—See Appendix.

The tower on the west side still retains the name of "*Wallace's Tower*," and its turnpike stair is shown as the place where he killed most of the English intruders.

Edward III. of England dated an order from "Erthe on the Forth."—*Fœdera*, Aug. 3, t. iv. p. 658. 1335.

Erth, Arth, Arthe, or Airth, came into the possession of the Bruces by the marriage of *Edward de Brus*, second son of Sir Robert Brus of Clackmannan (by Isabel Stewart of Rosyth), with *Agnes de Erth*, eldest daughter and co-heiress of *William de Erth*, who went to England "hostage for the king" in 1426-27.—(James I.)

Her sisters were—2d. Marjorie, married to William Drummond, third brother of Queen Annabella, who had Carnock, &c., as her portion.

3d. Elizabeth, married to William Somerville, and was Lady of Playne.

The family must have been ancient and highly connected, for of none others were "hostages for the king" accepted.

"Ostages fifteen, the greatest that of our land were seen."

—WYNTON'S *Chronikill*, vol. i. p. 236.

Nisbet, on Ragman Roll, says of "Alexander de Airth" (1296)—"An ancient family in Stirlingshire, that had the baronies of Airth, Carnock, Playne, &c.

&c., which, in the reign of James I., came to heirs-female, and by marriage to the Bruces, Drummonds, and Somervilles."

The first of the name that we have met with is in 1271—

"Elena," spousa *Bernardi Erth*, one of the nieces and co-heirs of Dufgalli, fratris Maldoveni, Comites de Levenax, and her sisters, "Maria," spousa Johannis de Wardroba, and

"Forveleth," spousa Norrini de Monargund, filiæ quondam "Finlai de Campsi," sint legitimæ et veræ Heredes quondam Dufgalli, fratris Maldoveni, Comitis de Levenax.—Additional, Sutherland Case.

Alexander, dei gratiâ Rex Scotiæ ;

Waltero (Balloch) Comite de Mentheth.

Elena's third of the lands of Campsie are still called *Craig Bernard*.—Douglas's Peerage, "Lennox."

Feb. 13, Alicia de Erth, Domina de Cragbernard, and spouse of Gilbert of Buchanan,
1400. granted a charter at Mwedoc.—Montrose Writts.

Probably a sister of *William* de Erth ; or she may have been another daughter, as some say there were *four*.

In Ragman Roll we find "*Alisaundre de Erth*."

"Marie," que fu la femme "*Huwe de Erth*," Counté de Strivelyn.

"Richard de Erth," Counté de Edinburgh.

"William de Erth," Counté de Peebles.

1303. "Hugh de Erth" submitted to Edward I., with Cumyn, Sir John Graham, John de Vaux, &c. &c.—Ryley, p. 369.

1304. "William de Erth" appointed one of the viscountes of the sheriffdom of Forfar by Edward after the death of Wallace.

1316. Hugone de Erth, militibus,* one of the witnesses to a grant of King Robert I. to the Earl of Ross.—Apud Aberbrothoc, quinto die December, A. R. 10.

1369. Fergusio de Erth, et Beat., s. p. ejus, et William, filio corm. omne temp., &c. &c.—Fresign. apud Strueveln.

Feb. 10, "*William de Erth, milis*," witness to deeds.

1406, Safe-conduct for "Dom. William de Erth, milis," and others, with twenty
and persons.

June 5, "*William de Erth, milis*," "hostage for the king." Last of his name and
1407. father of the co-heiresses.

Feb. 3, 1423-24. Alexander de Arth was one of the representatives of Malyse, Earl of Strathern, by his mother "*Matilda*," one of the daughters of that earl by his third wife "*Isabel*," daughter of Magnus, Earl of Caithness and Orkney.
March 8, 1426-27.

* Probably the son of Hugone, and grandson of the Alisaunder of 1296.

The Earl of Strathern, and his eldest daughter "Johanna," forfeited, from her having been given in marriage to "Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, an enemy of the king and kingdom," in David II.'s reign. Johanna's mother was a daughter of Sir John Menteith, the earl's first wife; and it was one of these ladies (mother or daughter) who was the Countess of Strathern implicated in the conspiracy against King Robert Bruce, for which Sir David de Brechin suffered in 1320.

The earldom of Strathern was given by David II. to Sir Maurice Moray (Malyse's sister's son).

But the four daughters of the Earl of Strathern by his third marriage with "Isabel," daughter of the Earl of Caithness and Orkney, did not suffer for fault-terrie with their father, but were heirs of their grandfather the Earl of Caithness and Orkney.

The eldest daughter married William, seventh Earl of Ross, and left two daughters, Euffame and Johanna—William, the son and heir, dying *vit. pat.*

The second, Isabel, married Sir William Sinclair of Roslin; and Henry Sinclair, her son, became Earl of Orkney, in which he was confirmed by Hakon VI., King of Norway, A.D. 1379.—Pinkerton, vol. i. p. 260.

The third, Matilda, married Hugone de Erth, militibus, and was mother of Alexander de Erth.

The fourth married Reginald de Cheyne, and had a daughter, *Mariot*, who had a fourth part of the earldom of Caithness on her own resignation, and a charter of half the barony of Strathbrock as wife of the deceased John Douglas, 25th May 1366.

King Robert II. granted two charters to David Stewart, Earl of Strathern (his eldest son by his second marriage), of castles and lands in Caithness, as well as in other parts of the kingdom, which belonged to

March 21, 1374-75.

Alexander de Arth by hereditary succession, by reason of Matilda de Strathern, his mother, as well as the second, and all other claims which Alexander de Arth had, both on the resignation of the said Alexander.

William, seventh Earl of Menteith, was served heir to David, Earl of Strathern, by the king's advocate, Sir Thomas Hope, which was confirmed by Charles I. and William, Earl of Menteith; and his heirs-male in that earldom were henceforth to be styled "Earls of Strathern and Menteith." Soon after, however, the king, or his ministers, came to view with jealousy a pedigree which reached back to David, eldest son of King Robert II. by Euphemia Ross (the dispensation for that king's marriage with his first wife, "Elizabeth More," not having been, as yet, found in the Vatican); and Earl William was accused of having boasted that "he had the reddest blood in Scotland." Drummond of

Aug. 26, 1630.

Hawthornden thereupon addressed a special memorial to the king, dated December 1632: "The restoring the Earl of Menteith in blood, and allowing his descent and title to the earldom of Strathern, is thought to be disadvantageous to the king's majesty, and a dangerous blow to that nobleman himself."

The king thus ordered a reduction of Earl William's retours and patent in the Court of Session, and deprived him of his place as Justice-General. The Court set aside his retours and patent, on the erroneous plea that "David, Earl of Strathern, died without issue."

Earl William being thus deprived of honours to which he had a just right, the king was pleased to confer a *new* title upon him; and he having (as we shall see) acquired about that time a nominal right to the barony of Airth, was created Earl of *Airth* and Menteith. His son, Lord Kinpont, was killed by Stewart of Ardvorlich in Montrose's camp; and the first earl was succeeded by his grandson William, second and last earl, who married Catharine, second daughter of Thomas Bruce of Blairhall; but dying without heirs, A.D. 1694, left all his property to the *Marquess of Montrose* and *Sir John Graham of Gartmore*.

The choice of *Airth* as the new title points to the former connection of Alexander de Airth with Strathern, or at any rate is a coincidence.

That Marjory de Erth was the name of the sister married to William Drummond, who had Carnock for her portion, is certified by a deed in favour of her daughter-in-law, dated 20th June 1492 (much effaced): "Marion Cunningham, the spouse of umquhile David Drummond against Robert Drummond of Erthmore ———* that pertained to Marjory Erth."

1360. Sir John Drummond married Mary Montifex, by whom he left four sons and four daughters:—

1st. Sir Malcolm, who died s. p.

2d. John Drummond, ancestor of the Perth family.

3d. William Drummond, who married Marjory de Erth.

4th. Dougal Drummond, Bishop of Dumblane.

1st daughter, Queen Annabella, spouse of King Robert III. Crowned with him at Scone, August 1390, of whom are descended most of the crowned heads of Europe.

2d. Margaret, married Sir Colin Campbell of Argyle.

3d. Jean, married Stewart, Lord of Dowallie.

4th. Mary, married M'Donald, Lord of the Isles.

To William Drummond and Marjorie de Erth succeeded David Drummond, who married Marian Cunningham of Wester Polmaise.

* Illegible.

Robert Drummond married Marion, sister of Sir William Menteith of Kerse.
 Alexander Drummond married Marjory, daughter of Bruce of Auchenbowie.
 Sir Robert Drummond married Marjory, daughter of Lord Elphinstone, 1548.
 Sir Alexander Drummond married Elizabeth Hepburn.

Sir John Drummond married a daughter of Rollox of Duntreath. He sold Carnock to Sir Thomas Nicolson, and was killed, A.D. 1645, at Alford, fighting with Montrose.

The Drummond arms—Or, three bars waved, gules, with a border of the last ; crest, a pegasus proper.

Motto, "*Hos gloria reddit honores*," may still be traced on a stone above the entrance-door of Carnock, with the initials and date. R.D. M.E. 1548.

Thomas Somerville of Playne, filio William Dom. Somerville and Elizabethæ 1449.
 de Erth, had a charter of part of the lands and baronies of Playne, Carnock, and Glorat in Stirlingshire, and of Fordale in Fife.

Mag. Sig. iv. 3. 26th February 1449-50.—Thomas Somerville, filius William "Dom. Somerville et Elizabethæ de Erth, uni eredum umquhile William de Erth."

This Thomas was the second son of William II., Lord Somerville.

He had Playne, part of Carnock, and Auchenbowie.

"Elizabethæ de Erth," Lady of Playne.

Mag. Sig. xvii. 6. 9th April 1511.—Rex conp. char. Elizabethæ de Erth 1490.
 Damæ. de Playne, cum consens *David*, s. filii app. her.

BRUCES OF AIRTH.

THE name of Edward de Brus, second son of Sir Robert de Brus of Clackmannan, who married Agnes de Erth *ante* 1417, never appears as being in *possession* of Erth. He must have died before his father-in-law, who lived until 1427, and probably before his own father also, as his son, "Sir Robert Brus of Arthe, knight," is often called *the son*, instead of the *grandson*, of Sir Robert of Clackmannan, which is clearly a mistake, as Sir Robert's eldest son and successor in Clackmannan was also "*Sir Robert*."

Agnes, Lady Airth, appears to have married, secondly, an Elphinstone. Nisbet says, "John de Elphinstone got the lands of Arth-beg (little Airth) from Agnetta de Arth, *matre sua*."

The Elphinstones were already in possession of part of those lands which they got from the son of Sir Adam More in exchange for his lands of Kythumbre or Kittymuir, in the barony of Stanehouse, and called them "Elphinstone," after their own name.—Char. Conf., 1362. (The present Dunmore.)

Ante 1417. Edward de Brus, 2d son of Sir Robert de Brus of Clackmannan (of 1359) by Isabel Stewart of Rosyth, is named in a charter to William Crauford of Manuel, knight, by Robert, Duke of Albany, of the lands of Erth Chalmerlane, dated at Falkland, 24th April 1417.

== Married Agnes de Erth, eldest daughter of William de Erth, hostage for the ransom of the king (James I.) on his return to Scotland in 1423-24. The date sometimes given of 1426-27 was probably that of his death, as he is not afterwards heard of in Scotland.

. Agnes married, 2dly, an Elphinstone.

Edward de Brus appears to have died early and before his father-in-law, leaving two sons, Robert and William.

I. Sir Robert de Brus of Arthe, knight, appears to have been the *élève* of his uncle, "James, Bishop of Dunkeld and Lord Chancellor." He married a daughter of Sir Alexander Livingstone, and forfeited, with his father-in-law, in 1449-50.

1449-50. That samen yer, the sixth daie of Janvier, James II. held his first Parliament. Then was forfeaulted Sir Alexander Levingstone, Lord Kallendar, and James Dundas of that ilk; and Robert Bruce, the Lord of Clackmannan's brother (nephew), and James Levingstone, son and air of the said Alexander, was put to deid, baith togidder, on the Castle Hill. Their heides stricken off the 3d daie of the Parliament.—'Auchenleck Chron.' p. 26.

Sir Robert Bruce of Arthe, knight, forfeited, with his father-in-law, Sir Alexander Livingstone of Kallendar.—'Black Acts of Parliament,' 1449-50.

See the story of this forfeiture in the Appendix, history of the Dundas family, the Levingstones, and Lords of the Isles.

Sir William, who flourished in the reigns of James I. and II. He went to France, where he performed many gallant actions in the service of Charles VIII., by whom he was made a knight of the Order of St Michael, and permitted to add the fleur-de-luce to his arms, which the Earls of Argyll, founded by him, ever after bore. He also received large grants of land in France, called by Nisbet "*Escario*"—vol. i. p. 145—but usually "*Conquersault*."

He died in France A.D. 1485.

If he had a son, as some say, he too died in France *vit. pat.*; and Sir Alexander Bruce of Brigham, his grandnephew, was his appointed heir, and the first Bruce of Earlsall.—See Collaterals of Airth.

Sir Robert Brus of Arthe, knight, left an only son, Alexander, and a daughter, *Agnes*, by his wife, Sir Alexander Levingstone's daughter. His mother, Agnes de Erth, was still alive, married to an Elphinstone, and had a son, "John Elphinstone," who had the lands of Erth-beg, Nisbet says, "from Agnetta de Erth, matre sua." As Agnes was in possession of the Place or Fortalice of Airth, *it* was not forfeited, but much confusion existed for a long time as to charters of parts and pendicles of the lands which were alienated; so that, on the restoration to favour of his family and connections in 1451, Sir Alexander Brus, who then married a daughter of Alexander, first Lord Levingstone, had from James II. a charter in feu-farm of the lands of Lethbertschielles and Stanehous, "with consent of his beloved consort Queen Mary." To Alexander le Bruse of the Stanehouse et Jonete, spouse sue—to them and their heirs, dated 26th December 1451.—See Appendix.

Joneta, who was a daughter of Alexander, Lord Livingstone, died without succession.

Sir Robert married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of Sir Malcolm Forrester.—See next page.

Married, 2dly, Margaret, daughter of Sir Malcolm Forrester of Torwoodhead, by whom he had six sons—

1. John, his heir, who died *vit. pat.*
2. Sir Alexander of Brigham, afterwards of Earlshall.
3. Edward of Kinnaird.
4. Lucas of Culmalundie.
5. Robert of Auchtenbowie and Carnouck, afterwards of Bynning.*
6. David.

Married, 1471, Elizabeth Menteith, daughter of Sir William Menteith of Kerss. Their sons were—

1. Robert, who succeeded his father in Stanehouse in 1483, and his grandfather, Sir Alexander, in Airth in 1488.
 2. Thomas of Lethbertschielles, progenitor of the Counts de Brus in France.
 3. James of Mungowallies.
- The daughters married—
1. † Helen, Menteith of Kerse.
 2. Janet, William Levingstone, younger, of Kilsyth, who, with his father, was killed at Flodden; and her infant son served heir to both in A.D. 1514.
 3. Elizabeth, Mure of Skaitthmuir.

28th January 1488-89, William Menteith of the Kerss, Archibald his brother, Alexander Menteith, for thaim, their kyn, and frendis, on the tae pairt; "Robert the Broisse of Arthe," "Alexander," "Lucas," and "Robert Broisse," for thaim and brether, emes and frendis, on the uther pairt; bind and oblige thaimselfes to abide the sentence of the Lords of Council "tuiching the making of amendis for the sclaughter of umquhile 'Johne the Broisse of Arthe,' and tuiching the making of amité, luff, and tendernis betwix the pairties in tyme to cum."

Married Euphemia Montgomery, daughter of Alexander, Lord Montgomerie, whose son Hugh was first Earl of Eglinton, succeeding his father in 1488.

In the 'Memorials of the Montgomeries,' vol. i. p. 27 (from 1483-90), we find it asserted that "*Helen*, daughter of Alexander, second Lord Montgomerie, married *Sir James Bruce of Airth*"—a person who never existed; but this being the precise date of *Sir Robert Bruce's* succession, his marriage, no doubt, is the one intended; and very possibly he may have been contracted, as was usual in those days, to *one* of the daughters of Lord Montgomerie, as the lady is sometimes also called *Christian*; but that her real name was *Euphemia* is proved by a number of charters amongst the Blair Writts—such as, "Instrument of Resignation of Robert Brns of Arth, Kt., and John Montgomerie, procurator of Euphemia Montgomerie, of the lands," &c. &c.—See Appendix.

By the Lady Euphemia, Sir Robert Bruce left one son, *Robert*, and perhaps a daughter, *Isabel*, married, 1595, to Andreas de Methvin; or Isabel may have been the daughter of his *uncle Robert*.—See Appendix.

II. Sir Alexander Brus

of the Stanehouse and Arthe, as he is styled, had many other charters from the Abbots of Holyrood and from James II. and III., from 1452 to 1468, at which date his grandmother, Agnes de Erth, also grants a charter to Alexander Forrester. The charter of James II. of Stanehouse, &c., was confirmed by King James IV., 29th June 1489, to Robert Brus, his grandson.—Reg. Mag. Lib. xii., No. 140. It is printed in the minutes of evidence of the 'Montrose Peerage Case,' p. 117.

Agnes de Brois, his sister, was the third wife of Sir William Stirling of Keir, who died in 1471.

Agnes married, 2dly, in 1474, David Blair of Adamton, Airth.—See Appendix.

III. Sir John the Brus

of the Stanehouse, during his father's lifetime (*ante* 1483) was "*sclaughtered*" by the Menteiths, his wife's brothers, as appears by 'Criminal Trials' (p. 93), and by his son's infemity in Stanehouse at that date.

Nov. 6, 1481, see Act of Parliament ii. 136, John the Brois was alive. "The quhilk tyme the saide Commissioners chargit John the Brois of Erthe, Constable Depute in that pairt, to call Alexander, Duke of Albany, the Erle of Marche, and others, to comper in our Sovereine Lordis Parliament, to answer for their crimes of treason."

10th December 1482. In the action and caus persewit by John the Bruce of the Stanehouse aganis Robert, Lord Fleming, and Andro Oliphant his baillie, for the vexation and inquietation of the said John in the peceable bruicking of xii merkis' worth of the lands of Dunbullis, &c.

A.D. 1483. In some of these feuds, public or private, "Sir John the Brois" fell by the hand of his brother-in-law, "William Menteith of Kerse."

Stanehouse appears for some generations to have been the property and residence of the heir-apparent of *Airth*.

IV. 14th October 1488, Sir Robert Brus, Kt.,

son and heir of Sir John the Brus, served heir to his father in Stanehouse, Lethbertschielles, &c., and to his grandfather (1488-89) Sir Alexander, in Airth (being no doubt a minor at the time of his father's death). That same year he had a "*Præcep*" for a certain sum in the Lord Treasurer's books, "for the bysgin of his Place of Ercht," "that was bynt" shortly before the battle of Sauchie by the forces of James III., when *Airth* shared the same fate.

Sir Robert, his *emes* (uncles) and friends, made peace with the Menteiths, his mother's family, who had slaughtered his father, *Sir John*, and with whom, during the life of Sir Alexander, there had been a blood-feud—the Lords of the Council having undertaken to make amité, luff, and tendines betwix the families; Sir Robert's sister "*Helen*" being at the same time contracted to the son of Sir William Menteith of Kerse. It was probably at this time that the *Bruce Aisle* was erected in Airth Church, a priest being appointed to *sign* there, at the mutual expense of the two families. Above one of the doors are the letters J^s.B., and underneath, a shield.—See Appendix.

Married, 1st, Janet Forrester, daughter of Sir Walter Forrester of Carden, by whom he had four sons and one daughter—
 1. Sir Alexander, 1st heir.
 2. † John. 1571-92.
 3. ‡ Captain James, and Jean Hamilton his wife, 1571-92.
 4. William.

Married, 2dly, Marian, daughter of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan, by whom he had two sons—

1. † Robert of Baldrig, near Dunfermline.
2. Andrew of Dysart (from whom most likely descend the Swedish and Russian Bruces).

One daughter, married Drummond of Medhope, s. p.

Marion married, 2dly, Marcus Sinclair of Carbury, A.D. 1556. "Magnus Synclar, sone of Lord Sinclair by Marion Brus his spouse, received from William, Lord Sinclair, 400 pund, money of this realm."
 1575: Andreas Bruis, filius et haeres Mariotæ Bruce Domina Arthe.
 1607, Mr James Brus of Newburne.—Records of Dysart.

'Historie of King James Sext,' at Perth, xxij daie of Fevruar 1572.—Pacification.—*Captain James Brus* is the principal Capten of "Men at Weare" therein mentioned as pardoned for all dedes of hostilitie committed during the troubles and before the last day of July bypast. (Subscrivit)—Argyle, Huntlie, Montrois, Arbroath, Ruthven, R. Boyd, &c.

Married Janet Livingstone, second daughter of the fifth Lord Livingstone by "Agnes," daughter of John, Earl of Morton, whose mother was the Princess Johanna, daughter of King James I. and the Lady Jane Beaufort, his queen, and thus lineally descended from King Robert I. and Edward I. By Janet Livingstone Sir Alexander Brus left 5 sons and 2 daughters.

1. William, who died *vit. pat.*, leaving heirs.
2. Mr Robert of Kinnaird, &c.
3. Sir John of Kincavel.
4. Sir Alexander of Bangour.
5. Robert, jun., of Garwell.

One daughter married Menteith of Kerse.

Second died unmarried.
 It seems strange that two sons of the same parents should have the same name, but it was not without precedent in those days; and in this case it is certified by the gift to him by his father, on the penult day of October 1572, "of the chaplainric of our Ladie Isle, foundit and eilet upon the south side of the Kirk of Airth, then vacant by the decease of Sir John Malcolm, last chaplain thereof," and at the same time of the lands of Garwell.

The charter to *Mr Robert* of Kinnaird also mentions this Robert as *his brother-german*.

* Robert married Margaret of Prestoun, 1490, and was afterwards designed of Bynning. He was murdered in 1540.

† This appears to have been cemented by the marriage of Sir John the Bruce's daughter to Sir William Menteith's son.—See also Appendix.

‡ *John* and *Robert*, brether of Sir Alexander, are witnesses to a deed dated 12th December 1580.

§ 1571, Captain Brus, a son of the Lord of Airth, is mentioned in Bannantyne's Memorials, p. 175-77, as being taken prisoner at St Cuthbert's Church, with ten or twelve horsemen; and at p. 86 we find,—"The people mustertit ilka day in contempt of uthers, with many invasions on either side. Captain Hew Lauter was chosen to be Sergeant-major of the Footbands in Edinbro'." The rest of the Captains were these—Arthur Montgomerie, *James Bruce*, David Melville, and Gilbert Montgomerie.

Charter from Sir Alexander to his beloved brother Captain James Bruce, and Jean Hamilton his spouse, of a house and garden in Airth, A.D. 1588.

V. A.D. 1513, Robert Bruce, only son of Sir Robert by Euphemia Montgomery, succeeded as "heir of the deceased Sir Robert Brus of Erth, Kt., his father," who fell at Flodden Field.

14th June 1526, Robertus de Brus, one of the Lords of the 'Articles prejudicibus,' vol. ii. p. 301.

Oct. 1548. Robert Brus was slain in the streets of Edinburgh in a conflict betwixt French and Scottish soldiers, which he sought to quell, being Captain of the Castle and Provost of the city. In May 1544 he had defended the Castle against the army of Henry VIII. under the Earl of Hertford, said to number 26,000 men, "with great artillerie and all kind of munition," sent to demand that the young Queen Mary, then eighteen months old, should be given up to them, to be conveyed to England to be married to Prince Edward; but "*The Laird of Stanchouse*, captain thairof, caused shoot at them, in so great abundance, and with so guid measure, that they slew a great number of Englishmen, amongst whom were some principal captains and gentlemen, and one of the greatest pieces of ordinance was broken, wherethrow they were obliged to raise the siege shortly and retire."—Lesly, 181. 217, 218.

It is to be observed that Robert Brus is called the "*Laird of Stanchouse*," having resigned Airth to his eldest son, Sir Alexander, on his marriage.

VI. Sir Alexander Brus, Kt., 1547,

son and heir-apparent to Robert Brus of Airth, had a charter from Queen Mary, with consent of the Regent, Arran, on his father's resignation of part of Erth, reserving his liferent and a reasonable terce to Marian Brus (of Clackmannan, "nunc ejus conjugi") should she survive him, July 1st, 1547.

Sir Alexander got another charter in the same terms, of the Mills of Airth, 14th May 1548. In October of that year Robert de Brus, then called "the Laird of Stanchouse," was slain (see above), and on the 8th March 1553, there is a precept of *clare constat* by "Robert, Commendator of Holyrood," for infefting "Alexander Brus, son of the deceased Robert Brus of Erth," in such lands of Erth as were held of Holyrood. Sir Alexander had a great many charters, some of them probably restoring lands forfeited in 1449-50, such as charter of Sir John Sandilands of Calder to Alexander Brus, Kt., and Janet Livingstone his spouse, of the lands of Hill of Airth, &c. &c., dated at Dundas, 31st August 1561. 12th October 1561, confirmation of the same by *Queen Mary*.

Sir Alexander Brus's life was long and influential. His charters show that he provided liberally for all his relatives, brothers, nephews, sons, and grandsons.

1577. Sir Alexander gives a charter of Mumeralls (Mungowell's) to his half-brother, "Robert Bruce" of Baldrig.

1582. He gives a charter of Earlsall to Alexander Bruce, a cousin.—See Earlsall.

He acquired by charter from Lord Elphinstone, and other proprietors, various parts and pendicles of the hill of Arthe, and other properties, which, on the death of his eldest son "William," he settled upon his grandson and successor "*John*," on his marriage with Lord Elphinstone's granddaughter.

To his second grandson "William" he gave "the Stanehouse" (now Stenhouse), to remain with him and his heirs—which it has done to the present day—and Lethbertschielles, whence the *Comtes de Bruce* in France. Patrick, the third and only surviving son of his deceased heir, had Newtoun of Bothkennar and other lands—his widowed mother, "*Jean Fleming*," holding them for her life. From him descended "Katherine Bruce," the revered lady of Clackmannan. Sir Alexander's own younger sons were also independently provided for. Mr Robert, his second son, was first infeoffed, in 1582, in the Halls of Airth, and, in the same year, in Kinnaird in Stirlingshire, and Garthendrie and Garthluscan in Monklands. The two first still remain in his line.

Sir John, afterwards of Kincavel, had Westbordland, &c., in Denny; Alexander, afterwards of Bangour, had lands in Airth; and Robert, junior, probably a priest, was provided with the chaplainries of *Airth* and *Falkirk*, and the lands of Garwell.

Circa VII. William, eldest son and apparent heir of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth,
1573. Kt., was betrothed to "Jean," second daughter of the fifth Lord Fleming. Dying before his father, he left by her 5 sons—1st, John, who succeeded as oy and heir to Sir Alexander; 2d, William, who was infeoffed in Stenhouse in 1611; 3d, Alexander; 4th, Robert, both of whom died young; 5th, Patrick, to whom his mother, "Jean Fleming" (Lady Arthe), bequeaths Newtoun of Bothkennar, from which place her will is dated 7th August 1630; and also a house and garden in Airth, left to her and her son Patrick, in 1621, by Captain Alexander Bruce.—See charter from Sir Alexander to his father, Captain James Bruce, and Jean Hamiltoun his spouse, A.D. 1588.

A charter by Alexander, Lord Livingstone, and Lady Eleanora Hay his spouse, to Sir Alexander Bruce of Arth, Kt., in liferent, and to *William Bruce, his son and apparent heir*, and Jean Flemyng his spouse, in fee, of two oxgates of the hill of Airth—dated at Airth and Callendar, 19th May 1592; witnesses—Archibald Bruce of Powfoulis, John Bruce, and Captain James Bruce;—proves

that *William* was *then* alive, whilst the contract of marriage of "*John*," his eldest son, proves that he died before its date, 22d March 1597.

Sir Alexander Bruce, having lost his eldest son and heir, "*William*," appears 1597. to have been anxious to see his eldest grandson and apparent heir, "*John*," make a suitable alliance. A contract of marriage was thereupon entered into with his neighbours and connections, the Elphinstones, in the following terms:—

It is contracted and agreed between "*Robert*, Lord of Elphinstone," "*Alexander*, Master of Elphinstone," and "*Margaret*," third lawful daughter of Alexander on the one side, and "*Sir Alexander Brus of Airth*," Dame Janet Livingstone, Lady Airth, his spouse, and "*John Brus*," their *oy*, eldest son of umquhile William Brus, younger, of Airth, on the other part, whereby the said "*John*" sall marrie, God willing, and take to his lawfull spouse, the said "*Margaret Elphinstoun*, and sall solempnizat and compleit the band of matrimony with her in face of holie kirk, with all solempnities requisit betwixt the date heirow and the sixteen daie of March 1601;" with the substitution of the brother and sister of each respectively, in the event of either predeceasing.

Dated at the places of Airth and Elphinstone, 22d March 1597.

VIII. Sir John Bruce, betrothed 1597, eldest son of *William*, succeeded as *oy* and heir of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., infeoffed 18th February 1603.



Married 1601, Margaret Elphinstone, third daughter of Alexander, then Master, afterwards fourth Lord Elphinstone, by whom he had three sons and ten daughters.

The sons were—1, Alexander; 2, John; and 3, Michael.

The daughters' names were—1, Jean; 2, Helen; 3, Christian; 4, Marion; 5, Janet; 6, Margaret; 7, Mary; 8, Roberta; 9, Elizabeth, and another, as we find set forth in a decree of the Lords of Council, dated 17th December 1622, at the instance of "*Dame Margaret Elphinstone, Lady Airth*," spouse of umquhile Sir John Bruce of Airth, and of her said sons and daughters all therein named, against Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, and heir of umquhile Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, his father, as cautioner for the said umquhile Sir John Bruce of Airth, his brother." So that before December 1622 both of these brothers were dead.

Sir John Bruce had served heir to his great-great-grandfather, Sir Robert Bruce, 29th August 1598.

He served heir to his great-great-great-great-grandfather, Sir Alexander 1601. Brus, who, in 1451, had a charter of the lands of Lethbertschielles and Stenhouse from James II., with consent of his beloved consort Queen Mary.—See Appendix.

Sir John was obliged so to make up his titles, for the purpose of giving over to his brothers and uncle their inheritances, according to his grandfather's will.

In the ruined church of Airth is an aisle called "The Bruce Aisle," above one of the doors of which are the letters J.^S.B., and underneath, a shield. The S standing above the initials, indicates a knight. On the lower corbel is a date (1614). The initials probably refer to the first Sir John of 1483, the date to the second.*

IX. Alexander Bruce succeeded his father, Sir John, in a much-diminished inheritance. Indeed it appears very doubtful whether he ever served heir to his father. We first find him named in the Stirlingshire Special Retours as
 Feb. 19, 1631. "Alexander Brus, hæres ex conquista Johannis Brus, folio leg. quand. domno Johannis Brus de Airth, milites fratris immediate junioris."

Thus it appears that his second brother John died without heirs in 1630; nor do we ever hear more of Michael the third brother.

Circa 1622. Dame Margaret Elphinstone, Lady Airth, appears to have lived with her ten daughters at "The Place of Airth;" whilst a sale of the barony, real or fictitious, was made to the Earl of Linlithgow, and by him to the Earl of Menteith and Strathearn in 1632, when King Charles I. gave a charter of novodamus to the said earl on the resignation of his ancient titles, and *wrongfully* created him "*Earl of Airth*."—See Strathearn.

April 18, 1638.
 April 5, 1639. The barony of Airth was apprized from the said Earl of Airth by Mr Robert Davidson, who disposed the same to Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, who disposed the same to Mr Thomas Hope, his son;† and he, 1st October 1645, disposed the barony to Sir John Hope of Craigiehall in liferent, and to Sir John Hope of Waterhead in fee; and they and the Earl of Menteith resigned Airth in favour of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, who obtained a crown charter thereof, 24th May 1648. Sir Alexander Bruce had early in life taken service in Germany, and did not return to Scotland until May 1665, at which date there was a pass granted at Amsterdam to "Major Alexander Bruce, Baron of Airth, &c. &c., to facilitate his return home, with his servants and equipage, to any part of England or Scotland, and thereafter to any place where his Majestie shall happen to be."—See Appendix.

He had served under Prince Rupert in the Low Countries for many years with great distinction.

X. Sir Alexander Bruce's pass to return to his native land is dated 9th May 1665, and in September of that same year he died—the last Bruce of Airth in the male line.

* Sir John Bruce's eldest son, "*Alexander*," was his heir and successor.

† Nearly connected with the Bruces.—See Bruce of Blairhall.

Sir Alexander had married in Holland "Anna Vanneck," by whom he had one son, "Alexander," who predeceased his father; and one daughter, "Jeane," who became his heir.

XI. Retour before Sir William Livingstone of Westquarter, &c. &c., of Jeane Bruce, daughter of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., her father, who died in September 1665, as his heir in the barony of Airth.

Jean Bruce,
Lady of Airth.

= Married, 1st, John Hamilton of Grange, who
died before 1674, s.p.
= Married, 2dly, Richard Elphinstone, eldest son
and heir of Sir Thomas Elphinstone of Calder
Hall, who was grandson of William, yr. son of
the second Lord Elphinstone.

Left one son, Charles,
and one daughter, Eilzabeth Elphinstone.

Disposition by Dame Jeane Bruce, with consent of Richard Elphinstone, younger, of Calder Hall, her husband, to Mr James Elphinstone, W.S., of the barony of Airth, reserving the liferent of the granters, and the longest liver of them; dated at Airth, 11th March 1675, same date.

Disposition of the said Mr James Elphinstone to the said Richard Elphinstone, and Dame Jeane Bruce, and their heirs of the said barony.—See Appendix.

Retour before "John Keirie," fiar of Gogar and Sheriff of Stirling, and of Charles Elphinstone of Airth, as heir of Richard Elphinstone, his father, who died in July then past, in the barony of Airth; 27th September 1683.

Jean, Lady Airth, must have predeceased her husband.

XII. Charles Elphinstone succeeded to Airth on the death of his father.

On the penult day of April he was killed by William Bruce of Auchenbowie, eldest son of William Bruce of Newtoun. "It was at the house of William, Lord Forrester, or at a change-house near the end of the Torwood, that Charles Elphinstone, a minor, was killed by Captain William Bruce of Auchenbowie in April 1699."—See Indictment, and in Appendix.

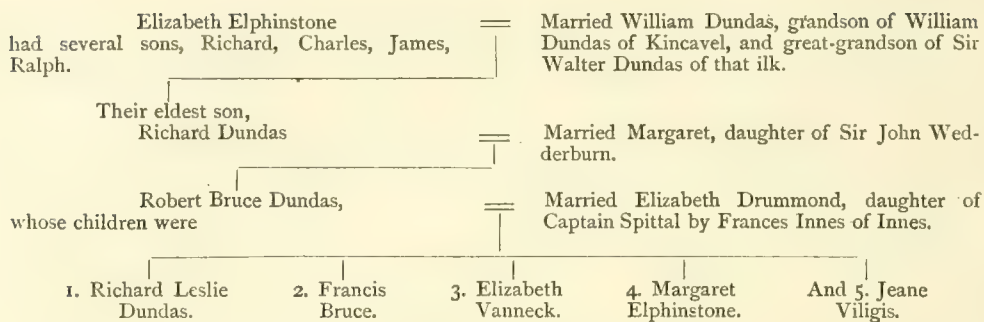
N.B.—William Bruce, yr., of Newtoun, descended from *Patrick* Bruce (youngest grandson of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth), married Janet Bruce, heir of entail of her father, John Bruce of Auchenbowie.—Retour (1694).

The village cross, still standing in the old street of Airth, bears on the south side the Bruce arms, with the lion for a crest; on the north side "the Elphinstone" arms, and the motto, "Do well, let them say," with the initials C.E., 1697 (Charles Elphinstone).

There is a stone also leaning against the rock near the stables, with the united arms of Elphinstone and Bruce.

XIII. Elizabeth Elphinstone, only sister of Charles Elphinstone, succeeded as Lady of Airth.

July
1683.
1699.



William Dundas, husband of Elizabeth Elphinstone, joined Prince Charles in 1715, and suffered imprisonment; and although subsequently liberated, was obliged to sell Airth, which was bought by Judge Graham in 1717.

The Dundases bought Blair, between Kincardine on the Forth and Culross, which at first they called "Little Airth," but it did not retain the name. It still belongs to one of the sisters of the family, and many of the writs herein quoted are in their possession.

A slab of black marble, taken out of the old church of Airth, was carried off some twenty years ago by R. Dundas to Blair, and is now "lost to light" in some old stable there. It bore the following inscription:—

M.S.

Brussiois hic situs est pietate an clarior armis
Incertum; est certum regibus ortus avis.
Heer lies a branch of Brusses noble stemm,
Airth's Baron! whose high worth did sute that name.
Holland his courage honoured. Spain did feare—
The Sweeds in Funen bought the triall deare.
At last his Prince's service called him home
To die, on Thames his bancke, and leave this tombe,
To beare his name unto posteritie,
And make all brave men love his memorie.

Alexandro Brussio
Ex Roberti Brossii, Scotorum Regis
Filio natu secundo progenito
Baroni Airthensi.
Primum in Belgio per annos XLII.
Dein in Anglia pro tribuno Regio.
Viro cum strenuo tum pientissimo.
Ætatis anno LVI. vitæque simul defuncto.
A.D. XVII. Kal. Oct. ob. ^{DC}CLIC. XLII. (1642)?
G. Lauderus, affinis, MP.

The communion-plate belonging to the church bears the inscription, "For the Kirk of Airth, given by Elizabeth Elphinstone, Lady Airth, 1707."

A NOTE WHAT COULD BE INFORMED CONCERNING THE HOUSE OF AIRTH.

Alexander Bruce of Stenhouse, married—1st, to the Lord Livingstoun's daughter, who had no succession.

2d, He *married* Malcolm Forrester's daughter, of Torwoodhead, who had 6 sonnes—1, John ; 2, Robert of Carnook ; 3, David of Kinnaird ; 4, Edward of Mongath ; 5, Luke of Gortrum, or Copmalundie ; 6, Alexander, efter of Erles-hall. The said John married E. Mounteith, who had to him—1, Robert ; 2, Mr Thomas of Larbertschielles.

The daughters *was* Lady Karse, Lady Kilsyth, Lady Skiethmuir.

Robert married my Lord Mountgomerie's daughter, who had to him one sonne, "*Robert*," which Robert married, 1st, Foster of Carden, who bore to him Sir Alexander, John, William, and James, and the guidwife of Perdovine.

2d, He married Clackmannan's daughter, who bore to him Robert of Badrick, Andrew of Dysart, and the guidwife of Medhope. Sir Alexander married my Lord Livingstone's daughter, who bore to him William, Mr Robert, Sir John of Kincavel, Alexander of Bangour, Robert of Garvell.

Daughters—the Lady Karse, and another, who died *younge*.

William married my Lord Fleeming's daughter, who bare to him Sir John, William of Stenhouse, Alexander, Robert, Patrick, and Alexander—and all, died without succession but Sir John, Sir William, and Patrick.

Sir John married my Lord Elphinstone's daughter, who bare to him Alexander John, Michael, and ten daughters. Alexander married a Dutch woman, "Anna Vanneck," who bare to him Alexander and Jeane.

This was probably written *for* or *by* "Margaret Elphinstone, Lady Airth," for the information of her *Dutch* grandchildren.

It is amongst the Blair writs.

COLLATERAL BRANCHES

OF THE

HOUSE OF AIRTH.

BRUCES OF EARLSHALL.

I.—*Collateral of Airth.*

THE first collateral branch of the House of Airth was that of Earlsall, springing from the very root, and again joining the trunk to send forth a fresh shoot.

Edward de Brus, 2d son of Sir Robert de Brus of Clackmannan, marrying "Agnes de Erth," and dying early, left two sons—

1st, Robert, whose descendants carried on the line of Airth.

2d, William, who lived in the reigns of James I., II., and III.

He was sent to France by James III., in command of the auxiliaries, and performed many gallant actions in the service of Charles VIII., by whom he was made a Knight of St Michael, and permitted to add the "fleur de luce" to his arms, which difference ever after distinguished the Bruces, his heirs. He also received large grants of land in France, called by Nisbet, vol. i. p. 145, "Èscario," but usually named "Conquersault." Some say that he married and died in France, and had a son, "Sir Alexander;" but if so, he must have died *vit. pat.*, as the "Sir Alexander" who was his heir and successor was Sir Alexander de Brus of Brygheam, who is proved by many deeds and charters to have been a grandson of his brother, Sir Robert de Brus of Airth. Ante
1460.

Alexander de Brus, 2d son of Sir Alexander de Brus of Stenhouse and Airth, in 1451, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Malcolm Forrester, was a great favourite of King James III., who employed him in various negotiations at home and abroad.

Feb. 9, 1485. He had a grant from that monarch of Brygham, in Berwick, to him and his heirs male; whom failing, to "Edward de Brus," his brother-german; whom failing, to Robert de Brus of Stenhouse* (filio fratris), son of his eldest brother, "Sir John" (slaughtered by the Menteiths); whom failing, to "Lucas" (of Cultmalendie) and Robert (of Auchenbowie), his own younger brothers, to them and their heirs male.

Ante 1495. Sir Alexander de Brus of Bergheam had become the heir of his granduncle, Sir William, in his French estates, which he exchanged with the Lord Monypenny, for the lands of "*Leuchers*, or *Lutherics Monypenny*," in Fife, which name was afterwards changed for "*Leuchars Bruce*."

Monypenny (Fr. Menépené), Sieur de Concrecault, in France, of Scotch birth and extraction, was ambassador from Louis XI. to Scotland early in the reign of James III., and returned with Perkin Warbeck, in James IV.'s reign, when this arrangement was probably made, as an entail of these lands on the same heirs as those of Bergheam is dated "Apud Glasgow, 1/mo. die July 1495, super resig., Alexandri Domini Monypenny."

Afterwards, Sir Alexander de Brus having acquired *Erleshall*, that became the title of the family.

Reg. Mag. Lig., Lib. XIII., No. 424.

Carta Alexandri Brois, de Bergeame, et Agneta Stewart, ejus sponse de terres de Erlishall et Pruskeum, in baronia de Luthris.—Super resig. dicti Alexandri, apud Striveling, 28 *Martii* 1497.

* This proves that Sir John's death took place before 1485, and David, 6th son, disappears *from* all deeds *before* that date.

I. Sir Alexander de Brus of Bergeheam and Earlsall left one son, *William*, and four daughters—

1. Agnes, married to Kinninmouth of Callinch.
2. Elena, married to Trail of Blebo.
3. Jonet, married to Ramsay of Brackmount.
4. Marjorie, married to Balfour of Montquhan.

"Agneti, Elenæ, Joneta et Margt. filiabus quond. Alexr. Brus de Earlsall, milites, &c. &c., 12th October 1506."

II. Ante 1504, Sir William Bruce

succeeded his father. He was knighted by King James IV., in whose days he made a great figure, as also in the days of Queen Mary, who, for his good and thankful service gave him a yearly fee of 100 crowns of the sun.

III. Peter Bruce

succeeded on the death of his father, Sir William, during the reign of Queen Mary. He had a charter under the Great Seal, March 21st, 1572. "Petro Bruce, filio et herede Dom. Willmo. Brus de Earlsall, milites, partis terrarum de Cowbaikie, &c., in Fife." He died in the beginning of the reign of King James VI.

IV. Alexander Brus

(Chartulary, 30th May 1581), "filio et herede Pietro Brus de Earlsall, et Euphenia ejus spouse terrarum de Ethie Beaton in Forfar." Carta Alex. Brus de Airth honorabili viro et mio dilecto. Alex. Brus de Earlsall heredsuis et assign, &c. &c.—August, 1582.
(Test.) JOHN BRUS, meo fratre.
" Mr ROBERT BRUCE, meo filio, &c. &c.

Married Agnes Stewart, daughter of Sir David Stewart of Rosyth by Marion Herries, who married—

2d, Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan.

Sir Alexander's brother, Edward de Bois of Kinnaird, married Christian Stewart, sister of Agnes.

Married Margaret Meldrum of Segie. He had a charter *with her*, under the Great Seal, of the villa de terres de Craigie Wallace, &c. &c., et terres de Langforgone, &c. &c., in Forfarshire, 10th February 1539. Two sons, Peter, the heir, and Robert, who had from his father the lands of Pitlethie.

Married Agnes Scrimgeour, eldest daughter of Sir James Scrimgeour of Dudhope, by Mariot Stewart. Two sons, Alexander and John; and three daughters, the first of whom married—

- 1st, Carnegie of Balmachie.
 - 2d, Leslie of Innerdivat.
 2. Married Nairn of St Fort.
 3. Married James Ramsay of Rind.
- Alexander was heir-apparent in 1581.

1572, married 1st, Euphame, daughter of John Leslie of Parkhill.

1587, 2d, Jonet Elphinstone.

1. John, his son and heir, died *vit. pat.* His will is dated 1585.
2. William, succeeded his father after 1599-1600, when Alexander's will is dated.

Two daughters—Elizabeth, Lady Durie; Janet, Lady Blackmont.

Married Elizabeth, daughter of the brave Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, by whom he had six sons and two daughters, who married—
1. Elizabeth, Sir Andrew Bruce of Pittarhie.
2. Jean, Mr William Dundas of Magdalen's.

The sons were—

- 1. Andrew, the heir, in 1622.
- 2. Robert, who left 2 sons
 - Thomas, died in 1750.
 - and Henry, died in 1759.
 - resided in Esscx.
- 3. William, died s. p.
- 4. Alexander = Married Jean Kirkcaldy
 - Andrew, married Scott.
 - Mary, married Lord Belhaven.
- 5. John, died s. p.
- 6. Mr William, killed at Worcester, 1651.

Married Helen, daughter of Patrick seventh Lord Gray, by the Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of Robert, Earl of Orkney, son *nat.* of King James V.
Two sons—
1. Andrew.
2. Alexander.
A daughter, Helen, married Patrick Bruce of Fingask.

Married Margaret, daughter of Mr James Reid, of Pitlithie, and relict of Sir Charles Arnot of that ilk, by whom he had "*Robert*," his heir; 2dly, Elizabeth Bruce, a cousin, by whom he had "*Alexander*," an advocate, whose line is *extinct*.

V. 1588, William Bruce had a charter under the Great Seal. "Willmo. Brus appt. de Earlsall. Terrarum baronie de Earlsall, Luthris Monypenny," &c. &c. Sept. 22, 1622, he had a charter, "Willmo. Brus et Andree Brus, ejus filio et H. appt. terrarum baronie de Earlsall de novo unit.," &c.; and another (A.D. 1625) of North Carlock—now Dumbrae—in Fife; and another of Moncar's Land, &c. &c., in 1631.

Sir William Bruce, knighted by James VI., married, 2dly, Dame Agnes Lindsay. (1616) in his day the House of Earlsall, commenced by his grandfather in 1546, was finished. The great hall, 60 feet by 25 feet, and 20 feet high, had a circular ceiling lined with wood, and divided into about 300 compartments, painted in relief, with figures representing the virtues, armorial bearings, &c. &c. The walls also were decorated with mottoes and maxims, such as—

"Try and then trvst, after good assvrance;
Bot trvst not or ye try, for fear of repentance."

The Halls of Glammis, Craigievar, &c. &c., of about the same date, were decorated in a like manner.

VI. Sir Andrew Bruce, heir-apparent in 1622, died in the reign of Charles II. 1664, "The Laird of Earlsall died."—"Diurnal of Occurrences."

VII. Andrew Bruce, eldest son of Sir Andrew, who died in 1694, succeeded his father.

Napier's 'V. Dundee,' vol. i. p. 251.—“In March 1679 the Privy Council nominated sheriff-deputes for many of the shires, to interdict irregular baptisms and marriages, holding of conventicles, &c. &c. Captain Graham, Claverhouse, and Captain Andrew Bruce, Earls hall, were nominated for Dumfries, Wigton, and the Stewartries of Annandale and Kirkcudbright. The murder of Archbishop Sharpe called them away to a wider field of action and a more active warfare. Earls hall, the lieutenant of Claverhouse, commanded a party of thirty horse and fifty dragoons, and took prisoner David Hackston of Rathillet, murderer of the archbishop, who was taken to Edinbro' and executed; some of the rest of the murderers were killed in the fight, and others fled to the Prince of Orange, and afterwards came with him to England.”

Again, after the taking of Ruthven Castle (in Badenoch):—

Napier's 'V. Dundee,' 29th May 1689.—“Here the Viscount Dundee, there the Earl of Dunfermline, are stirring the glorious array to battle. Other leaders are rushing about—‘*Grants*’ from *Glenmoriston* and *Ballindalloch*; ‘*Halliburton of Pitcur*,’* spurring at the head of a body of fiery horse; and ‘*BRUCE*,’ distinguished in the wars of *Holland*.”

May 1689. Captain Bruce, with twelve horse, was sent in advance to the heights of Alvie Church (from Ruthven Castle), and there he discovered the enemy safely reposing in a fortified camp. Looking down upon the encampment from the top of a high rock, he assailed the Dutch General with bitter invectives and words of defiance. Then addressing himself to his old comrades of the Scotch dragoons, he urged them to shake off the disgrace of serving under the Dutch robber, and return to the royal standard, reminding them of their former loyalty, and how he had once led them himself. (This was the Scots Greys—“Old Tom Dalzell's Dragoons,” so called from the Commander-in-chief.) At his death Lord Charles Murray, second son of the Marquess of Athole, got them, and was created Earl of Dunmore by James.

(Bruce had become one of Lord Dunmore's officers, but he left the regiment when it was transferred to the service of the Prince of Orange.)

Greatly exasperated, General Mackay answers in the shape of thundering shot, to which “Bruce” quickly replies in kind; after which, without delay, he returned to report the facts to the general.

* It is “Halliburton the Huge,” sworn foe to the name of Dutchman. He fell at Killiecrankie.

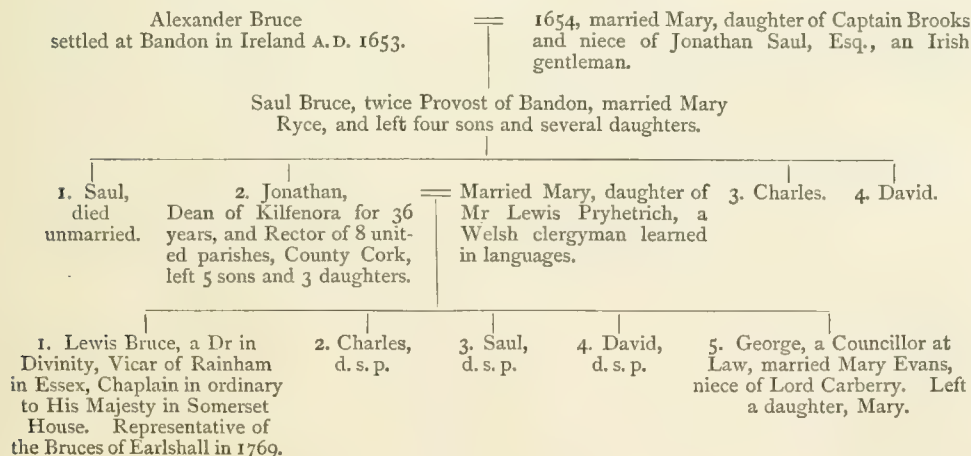
- VIII. Robert Bruce
succeeded his father. He left no male heir.
- IX. 1. Helen, Lady of Earlshall,
died without issue.
- 2 Elizabeth died unmarried.
3. Margaret
died without succession.
- Married a daughter of Hamilton of Monklands,
by whom he had 3 daughters.
- Married 1st, David Baillie, Esq., killed at a
horse-race near Coupar.
2dly, James Henderson, Esq., second son of Sir
William Henderson of Fordel.
3dly, Walter Wemyss of Lathocher.
- Married Captain William Henderson of
Raderny.

Helen, Lady of Earlshall, writes to Lord Elgin:—

“Lathocher, 31st May 1769.—The Laird of Earlshall, who married a daughter of Lord Gray’s, was my great-grandfather, who had a second son who went to the battle of Worcester in September 1651, whose male representatives, if any, are the undoubted heirs-male of the family of Earlshall.”

We must therefore return to Sir Andrew Bruce, who in 1631 succeeded his father Sir William, and marrying Helen, daughter of Patrick, seventh Lord Gray, had by her two sons:—

- 1st. Andrew, his heir, whose line terminated in *Helen*, Lady of Earlshall, and,
2d. Alexander, who, having been taken prisoner in 1651 at the battle of Worcester, was imprisoned for nearly two years in the tower, but on being liberated, married and settled in Ireland. His great-grandson, Dr Lewis Bruce, was in possession of the papers about to be quoted in May 1769.



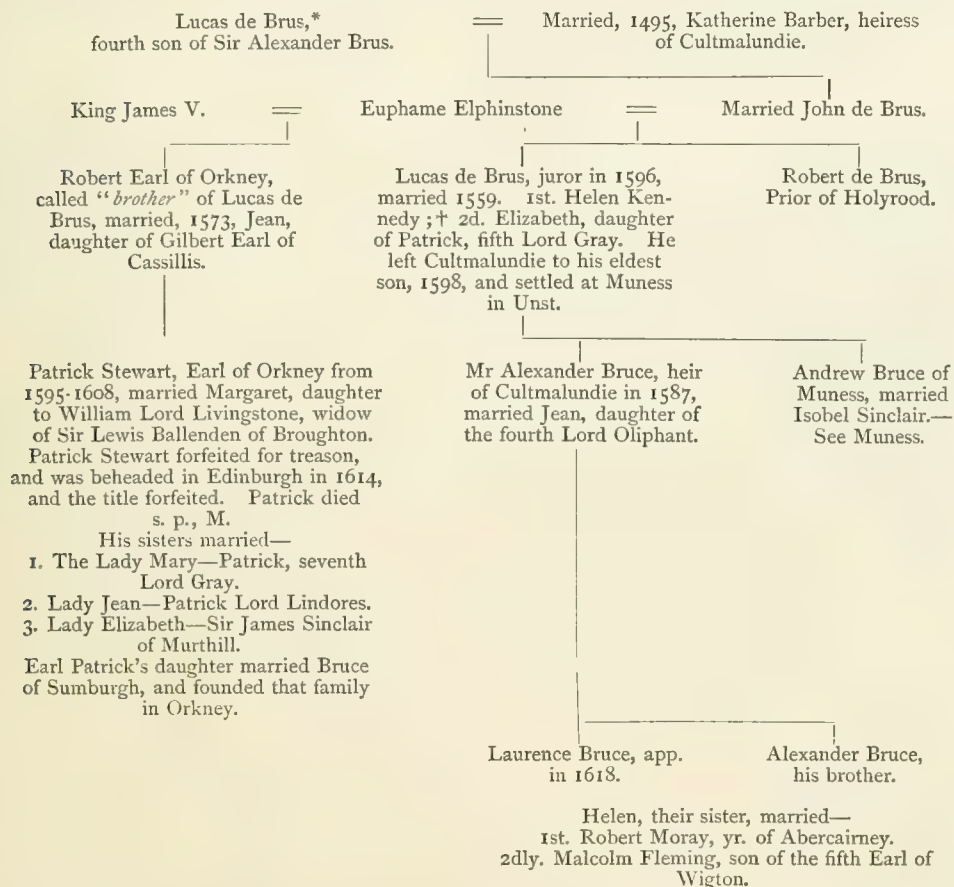
RECORDS OF THE FAMILY OF EARLSHALL IN THE POSSESSION OF
LEWIS BRUCE, D.D., JANUARY 1769.

- March 28, 1497. 1st. Patent grant from King James IV. to Sir Alexander Bruce of Earlsall confirming my Lord Monypenny's bond, with 6000 marks penalty, to make good his sale of lands to Sir Alexander Bruce, particularly the lands of Leuchars Monypenny.
- March 1, 1588. 2d. Sir Alexander Bruce's deed, surrendering to King James VI. the baronies and lands granted in 1497, to have a new patent made out for granting them to the use of himself for life, then to his eldest son "Sir William;" and in default of heirs-male of his own line, with remainder to his relations of the name of Bruce, all particularly named.
- March 22, 1588. 3d. The king's patent to the above purport, in which the name of Leuchars Monypenny is changed to Leuchars Bruce. In this patent Broadland is also settled and limited, with many other denominations.
- James VI. 4th. Letter from James III. to Alexander Bruce of Earlsall.
- 5th. From James V. to the Laird of Earlsall.
- 6th. From Henry VIII. to Alexander Bruce of Earlsall are letters so directed in Dr Bruce's possession.
- 7th. To Sir William Bruce of Earlsall.—Queen Mary. Her gift of one hundred crowns of the sun in yearly fee for his good and thankful service done and to be done. To be paid yearly and termly at Whitsunday and Martinmas by our comptroller or chamberlain, to whom we please to direct our precepts hereupon during our lifetyme.—Given at Henely Castle.—Marie R.
- Nov. 1, 1688. 8th. An original agreement, under the hands of thirteen of the name of Bruce, to support and defend their respective families against all adversaries.
- In this agreement signed by them, the number of horses and men to be supplied on any emergency is specified; and it is thereon agreed that all disputes are to be determined by four judges appointed amongst themselves, under the penalty of being defamed, and never more considered of the family of Bruce.
- 9th. The patent grant of the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the chapter (amongst whom is Andrew Bruce, the dean) to William Bruce of Earlsall, for a perpetuity irrevocable, of parts of various lands and tythes at £13, 14s. per ann., with capons and lambs as fees on certain days.
- These communications were made by "Helen Bruce," Lady of Earlsall, to the Earl of Elgin, her chief.
- Her letter is dated "Lathocher, 31st May 1769," nearly one hundred years ago. Are there any descendants or representatives of Dr Lewis Bruce now in existence?

BRUCES OF CULTMALUNDIE AND MUNESS.

Robert de Brus, a younger son of Clackmannan, married the heiress of Grey Ante of Cultmalundie. 1475.

He is witness to charters of Sir David Brus, his brother. After that date the 1481-88. property again fell to heirs-female, and, in 1495, Lucas de Brus, fourth son of Sir Alexander Brus of Airth, knight, by Margaret Forrester, married the heiress.



* For Edward Bruce, third son of Sir Alexander Bruce, see Kinnaird; his line soon returning to Airth and branching off anew.

† 1566. Laurence Bruce of Cultmalundie found Sir Hew Kennedy surety, in feud with Lord Oliphant. We find also, 19th January 1502, Hector Bruce of Cultmalundie to pay double avail of his marriage, for marrying without leave of William Lord Ruthven, who had a grant of it.

1513. Hector Bruce of Copmalundie, absent from *fury*.

John Bruce of Cultmalundie married Euphemia Elphinstone, mother of Robert Earl of Orkney, by King James V.

Circa 1560. Laurence or Lucas Bruce married Helen Kennedy; and secondly, on her death, "Elizabeth, daughter of the fifth Lord Gray."

1598. This Laurence, leaving his eldest son to inherit his lands in Scotland, retired to Unst, on the south-east point of which he built Muness Castle, as a residence for himself and his family, being obliged to quit Scotland in consequence of having killed a rival in single combat—a *Mac-in-roy* it is said. Over the portal of the ruined castle still remains this inscription—

"List ye to know this building quha began?
'Laurence the Bruse,' he was that worthie man,
Quha earnestly his ayris and offspring prayis
To help, and not to hurt this work alwayis.
XV.XC.VIII."

He had held the office of "Fowdrie of Zetland," it appears, for upwards of twenty years, and his method of collecting *the scatts* (taxes or dues) was far from popular. In an old chronicle we find "Laurence Bruce of Cultmalundie, efter the cuming of the Lord Robert Stewart, Fewar of Orkney and Zetland, to the dominion of the said countrees, obtenit from Lord Robert (his brother) the office of Fowdrie of Zetland. To collect the scatt, &c., was his duty." And it appears that he became very unpopular by changing the weights and measures, wishing to assimilate them to those of Scotland, and thus making the Zetlanders pay more duty on their butter, for which cause "a general complaint before the Regent's grace was numerously signed, the ferd and fyfth dayis of Februar 1576."

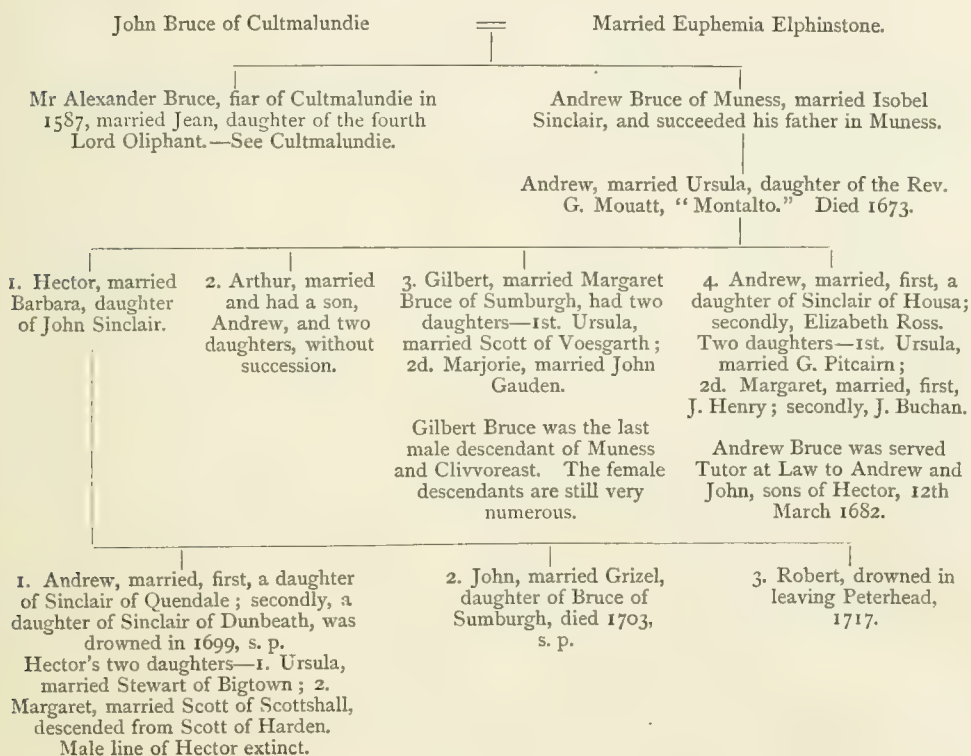
At first, when Cultmalundie's ship appeared in the little bay of Muness, the inhabitants fled, and hid themselves as from the vikings of old; but soon seeing him land with his handsome lady and beautiful children, to walk on shore, and then quietly return to their home on the billows, they gathered about him and assisted in collecting materials for the tower which his people were already beginning to construct, and afterwards lived peaceably and prosperously under his sway, although it was long before any native would sleep under his roof. In Laurence Bruce's time the islanders first began to cultivate the English language.

A kinsman who accompanied him founded the families of Bruce of Symbister and Bruce of Sumburgh, having married a daughter of "Earl Patrick of Orkney."

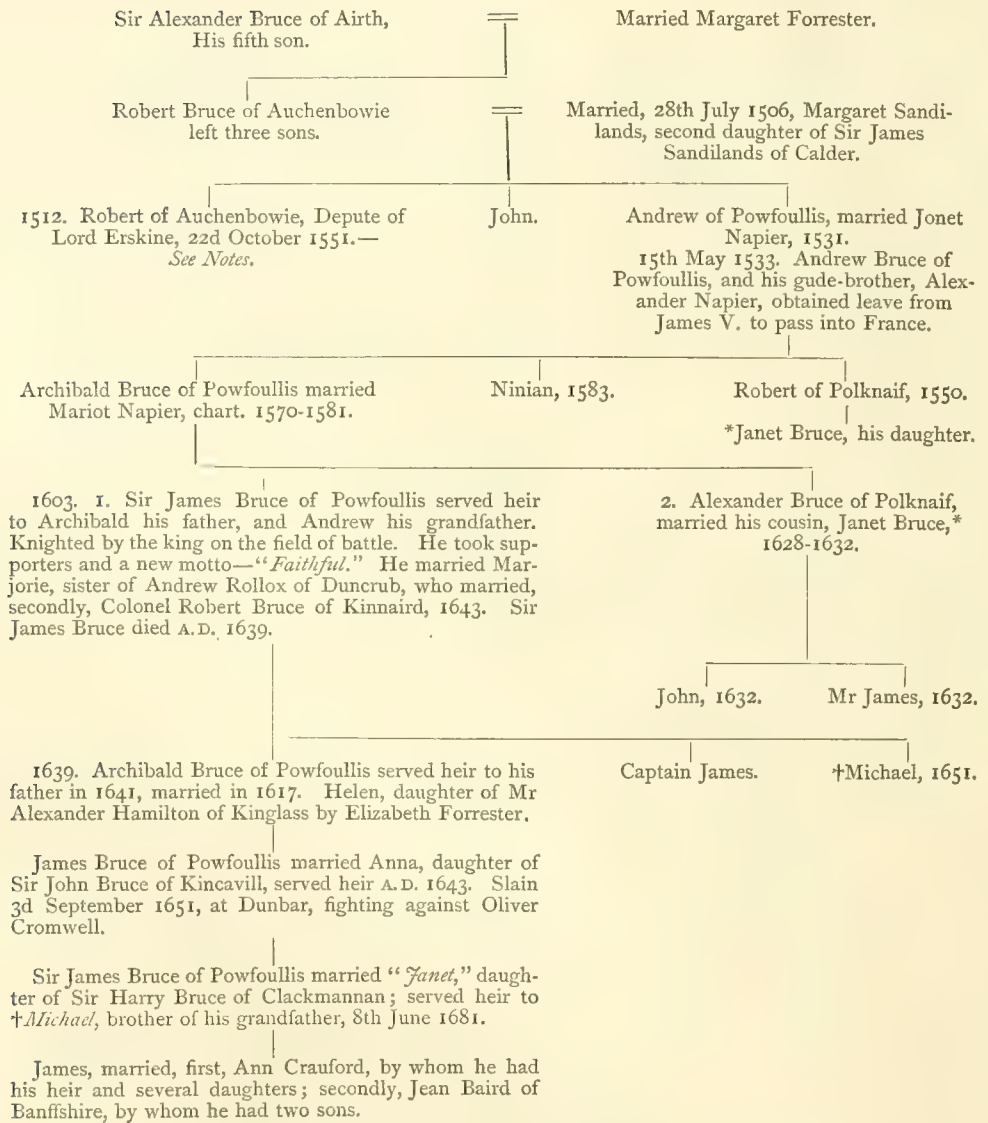
Gilbert Bruce, the last lineal descendant of Muness, married Marjorie Bruce

of Sumburgh, and left two daughters—1st, Marjorie, married Mr Gauden ; 2d, Ursula, married John Scott of Voesgarth, from whose descendants I have this information.

No male descendants of either of these families now remain, but it is still a very common Christian name amongst the natives of the islands. (Who then is "Mr Bruce of Swambister, Zetland," who bought the Fair island in 1866?)



BRUCES OF AUCHENBOWIE AND POWFOULLIS.



NOTE.—The family still flourishes, but the lands have passed into other hands.

From A.D. 1551, when Robert Bruce of Auchenbowie was depute of Lord Erskine, we have no notice of that branch until A.D. 1694, when, by a memorandum from Alexander Binning Monro, Esq., now of Auchenbowie, we are informed that the first documents in his possession regarding the Bruce family are—1st, Retour of the special service of “Janet Bruce,” eldest daughter of Robert Bruce of Auchenbowie (probably grandson of the Robert of 1551), as heir of tailzie to him, dated 12th July 1694.

2d. Disposition by the said “Janet Bruce”—with consent of David, Lord Boyle, and William Boyle, his brother-german—to Margaret Bruce, her second lawful sister, next heir, after her, to their father, and to Major George Monro, eldest lawful son to Sir Alexander Monro of Bearcroft, her husband, dated February 21, and recorded February 27, 1702. (The Boyles were the brothers of their mother.)

3d. Retour of the special service of the said Margaret Bruce as heir of tailzie to the said “Janet,” her sister, dated 29th December 1708.

4th. Disposition by Margaret Bruce, with consent of George Monro, her husband, to herself and her husband, whom failing, to Alexander Monro, their eldest son.—Dated 31st May 1708.

5th. Instrument of sasine to the said George Monro in liferent, and to Alexander Monro, his eldest son, in feu.—16th April 1712.

6th. Contract betwixt George and Alexander Monro, proceeding on contract of marriage betwixt the said George and Mrs Anne Stewart, by which George disposed the lands of Auchenbowie to Alexander, his son, in consideration of the burdens on them therein mentioned.—19th September 1720.

7th. Retour of service of George Monro of Auchenbowie, as heir to the said Alexander, his father.—12th November 1742.

8th. Disposition by Alexander Monro, Professor of Anatomy, to himself and John Monro, his eldest son.—6th June 1744.

9th. Charter of confirmation to Alexander and his son John.—28th July 1744.

10th. Retour of service of “Jane Monro,” and “Isabel Monro, her sister,” as heirs-portioners of their father, John Monro.—Dated 15th February 1790.

Jane Monro became Mrs Hooime of Argaty.

Janet Bruce, eldest daughter and heir of her father, John Bruce of Auchenbowie, who died in 1694, married William Bruce, eldest son of William Bruce of Newtoun, who was outlawed, 22d September 1699, for having killed Charles Elphinstone, laird of Airth, on the penult day of April 1699 (see Airth), which was no doubt the cause of Janet’s resignation in favour of her younger sister, Margaret.

On an old dial at Auchenbowie the Bruce and Monro arms are quartered with the initials—GM. MB.—George Monro, Margaret Bruce.

JOHN AND JAMES BRUCE, DESCENDANTS OF THE HOUSE OF AIRTH.

There is a Memoir printed in the year 1782, written *ante* 1757, in which year the author died.

His name was Peter Henry Bruce. He entered the Prussian service in 1706, and was by birth and education mostly a German. His account of his family history is as follows:—

“James and John Bruce, cousins and descendants of the family of Airth, in the county of Stirling (a branch of the family of Clackmannan), formed a resolution, during the troubles of Oliver Cromwell’s day, to leave their native country in order to push their fortunes abroad; and as some ships in the port of Leith were ready to sail for the Baltic, they agreed to go together; but as it happened that there were two shipmasters of the same name, the cousins, by an odd mistake, embarked in different vessels—the one bound for Prussia, and the other for Russia—and never met again.

“*John Bruce*, my grandfather, landed at Königsberg, from whence he went to Berlin, and entered into the service of the Elector of Brandenburg. By degrees he rose to the command of a regiment, and had a large grant of forest-land from the Elector, on which he built two villages—one named Brucenwold, the other Jetskendorf. He married a lady of family and fortune, of the name of Arensdorf, and had two sons and three daughters. His eldest son, *Charles*, was killed at the siege of Namur; the youngest, *James*, my father, married Elizabeth Catherine Detring, and I was born at Detring Castle, the manor-house of the family in Westphalia, in the year 1692.

“My father was lieutenant in a Scotch regiment commanded by the Earl of Leven, in the service of Brandenburg, which, in 1698, was ordered to return to Scotland, and we accompanied it. The regiment being put in garrison at Fort William, I was left in Fife, in the care of a granduncle, my grandfather’s youngest brother, who possessed a small estate near Cupar, at which place I was put to school for three years, after which my father sent for me to Fort William, where I remained three years more. In 1704, my father got leave of absence to go with his family to Germany, and after staying a year, left me with my relations there, and returned to Scotland.

1706. “I entered my uncle *Rebour’s* regiment at Maestrich to learn the manual exercise, and studied fortification.

"I there received an invitation from *General Bruce*, of the ordnance at Moscow, to enter into the service of the Czar, and followed him to Warsaw. 1711.

"General Bruce was the grandson of James Bruce, who left Scotland with my grandfather, John Bruce.

"He was at this time knight of four orders—viz., 'St Andrew,' 'The White Eagle,' 'The Black Eagle,' and 'The Elephant.'

"In 1714 I received my commission as captain in the artillery and engineers. St Petersburg being still in its infancy, Lieut.-General Robert Bruce had from the Czar the use and the charge of the original wooden hall and gallery built by Peter in 1704 as a shelter and a resting-place for himself and his suite. The General built a good house for himself adjoining it, which was one of the first that made a show in the place."

General Bruce was made a Count of the Empire, with a present of 10,000 roubles, on the occasion of the Czar being honoured by his Senate with the title of "Peter the Great" and "The Emperor of all the Russias." 1721.

At the coronation of the empress, Count Bruce carried the crown, which, besides other magnificent jewels, had for the globe at the top a true Oriental ruby, as large as a pigeon's egg, over which was the cross, set in brilliants.

The Countess Bruce was one of the four ladies who bore the train of the empress, and after them walked twelve married and twelve unmarried ladies, in pairs.

Our author attended the Czar on his Persian expedition, and on many others, as captain of engineers, and had made himself exceedingly useful, so that he could not, without very great difficulty, obtain a furlough, even for a year, to return to Scotland to see his friends.

At last this was granted, but to secure his return, all his pay for the two last years was retained, as well as his house and effects in St Petersburg, so that he did not leave Russia a rich man; the property in Russia having been given by his grandfather as marriage-portions with his three daughters—the sons being expected to make their own way as he had done. After a long land journey, he embarked at Riga, in the *Isabel*, Captain Carnegie, bound for Montrose, but first they were driven by stress of weather into Erdholm, a Danish harbour, where many tempting offers were made him of service in that country. Resisting these, he again embarked and put to sea, and was again driven into Marstraud, in Sweden. At length, however, after a tedious voyage of fifty days, they landed at Aberdeen, and next day Peter Henry set out for Cupar, where he found his mother, brother, and sister well, after an absence of twenty years.

A small estate having been left him by his grand-uncle, he married and settled, and turned farmer, and so continued for sixteen years.

War being then proclaimed with Spain, he was recommended by the Duke of Argyll to the Duke of Manchester, Master-General of the Ordnance, who sent him out as chief engineer, with 20s. per day of pay, to fortify Providence, one of the Bahamas. He went out with the newly-appointed governor, "Tinker," in the *Rose* man-of-war. They arrived at Charlestown, South Carolina, in a storm, under jury-masts, and were detained there for some days—long enough for him to judge of the faulty state of the forts. They went on to Providence in the *Tartar* man-of-war. Finding Fort Nassau in ruins and the island defenceless, he, in two years, constructed, under great difficulties, Fort Montague and some batteries, and restored Fort Nassau from the foundations.

1744. He received letters from Governor Glen, asking him to superintend the works at Charlestown. The *Swallow* sloop-of-war, which was to have conveyed him, was wrecked, and Governor Tinker threw every obstacle in his way. However, on the 21st January 1745, he reached Charlestown, and was kindly received by Governor Glen and council, who desired him to proceed *immediately* to survey the place, which he did, and gave in his report, but refused to stay and carry on the works, without an order from the Board of Ordnance at home.

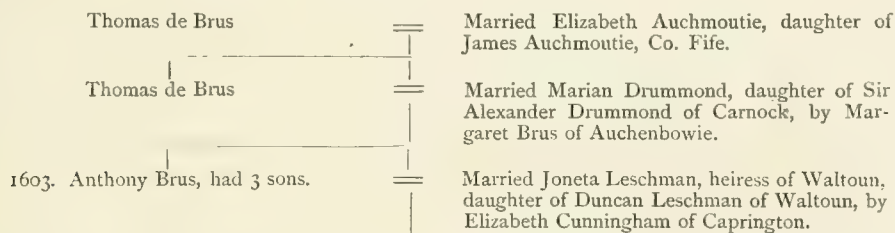
June 1745. He sailed for England, and arrived in London to find great excitement there, on the news of Charles Edward's having landed in Scotland. October 8th. He assisted in repairing the defences of Hull; and proceeded, in obedience to orders, to join the army under General Wade. On the 13th they arrived at Doncaster, where the Dutch troops joined them. The Marshal reviewed the army, and broke up the camp on the 21st; the Dutch behaving as if they had been in an enemy's country—robbing and plundering in a shocking manner.

Oct. 31. Arrived at Newcastle, where they *encamped* in very cold bad weather, and there receiving intelligence that the rebels (!) had besieged Carlisle, broke up to march to its relief—leaving one-fourth of the army sick, in hospital. November 18th.—Got to Hexham, in Northumberland. The extreme cold and damp weather, with the sudden transition from a hot climate, ruined the health of the writer, and rendered him unequal to stand a winter campaign. Hearing that Carlisle had surrendered to the Prince, they marched back to Newcastle, which they reached on the 22d, and being there informed that the enemy had marched for Wales, once more left their warm quarters to go to the south. On the 6th of December they reached Ferrybridge, from whence they sent their foot to Doncaster, and the horse and dragoons to join H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, and arrived at Leeds on the 11th, where they learnt that the *rebels* (!) had returned northwards, on which our army marched back again (!!!)

Here the Memoir terminates. Apparently the writer returned to his farm

near Cupar, where we are told he died in 1747, leaving this Memoir with his widow. We are told that he fortified Berwick before his death.

Sir John the Brus, eldest son of Sir Alexander de Brus of Stenhouse and Arthe, who married Elizabeth Mentieth of Kerse, and was *slaughtered* by her brothers, ante 1483, had a second son "Thomas," who had Lethbertschielles and Woodsyd for his portion. This Thomas was progenitor of the Bruces of Waltoun, and of "The Comtes de Brus" still extant in France.



I. "Thomas of Waltoun," Provost of Stirling; 2. James; 3. Adam de Brus, who went to France in 1633, carrying with him a certificate of his descent under the Great Seal, which, along with his French pedigree and his arms, those of the house of Airth proper, with the star in chief, *Le Comte Charles Hector de Brus* was good enough to send copies of for this collection in November 1858—he being then in his 86th year. The certificate faithfully verifies in every particular what has been set forth from other documents of the descent of the Bruces of Airth, and we shall therefore give it here, translated from the Latin original.

HOLYRUID-HOUSE, 23D JULY 1833.—9 OF CHARLES 1ST.

This deed is addressed to all princes, dukes, archbishops, bishops, &c. &c., stating that Adam Brusius of Waltoun, in the county of Lothian, now living in France, where his merits have made him agreeable to many, and especially to our beloved cousin, the Duke of Tremouilie and Thouart; and at his request, after inquisition made, we testify and certify that Adam Brusius is born in lawful wedlock of the noble and long-illustrious family of the Bruces, and that he is of noble descent by the father and mother's side, as his father was Anthonie de Brusse, Lord of Waltoune, and his mother, Joneta Leschman. His grandfather was Thomas de Brusse of Larbertscheilles and Woodsyd, in the county of Stirling. His grandmother, Mariana Drummond, legitimate daughter of Sir Alexander Drummond, Comarchus of Carnock.—"*Equitis Aurati*."

His great-grandfather, "Thomas Brusse," Lord of Larbertsheilles and Wood-syd; his great-grandmother, Elizabeth Amoutie, daughter of Mr James Amoutie, Comarchus, in our county of Fyff. His great-great-grandfather was *John de Brusse*, Comarchus de Airth, in our county of Stirling; his great-great-grandmother was Elizabeth Menteith, daughter of Robert Menteith, Comarchus of Kersse, in our said county of Stirling. His great-great-great-grandfather was Alexander de Brusse, Comarchus of Airth; his great-great-great-grandmother was Margaret Forrester, daughter of Malcolm Forrester, Comarchus of Torwoodhead, within our said county; which Alexander de Brusse, descended from the Lord Robert Brusse, the Comarchus of Clackmannan.—"*Equitis Aurati*."

Also the aforesaid "Joneta Leschman," the mother of the said Adam de Brusse, was the daughter of the "genorokus viri," John Leschman of Waltoun, in our county of Lanark, whose wife was Elizabeth, daughter of William Alexander, Lord of Menstrie, in our county of Clackmannan, born of him and Margaret Douglas his wife, daughter of Lord James Douglas, Comarchus of Drumlanrig.—"*Equitis Aurati*," in our county of Nithsdale.

Of which families, by both sides, have come all the noble and generous persons, most of whom, during past ages, have, for their eminent fidelity and glorious deeds against the enemies of our kingdom, been advanced by our ancestors of blessed memory, Kings of Scotland, with great honours and high functions, and knightly dignity; all of whom, joined in lawful wedlock, have up to this moment been illustrious by their splendid descent, and have transmitted their honour and fame without blemish to their posterity.

All which things as they are true and certain, and that they may be more known to all as such, we have gladly consented to testify by these our "*Letters Patent*" to the said "Adam de Brusse," to which, in order to give them full credit to all men, we have ordered "*Our Great Seal*" to be set and affixed.

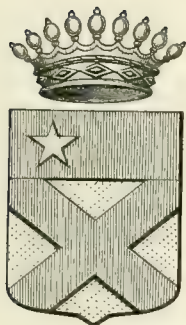
Given at Holyrood-house, 23d day of July 1633, 9th year of our reign.

(Signed) CHARLES R.

With the Signatures of six or eight Peers of the Realm.

In the original the Arms of each family is emblazoned above the name.

Registered 25th July 1633,
THOMAS DRYSDALE.



Adam de Bruce de Waltoun, en == Marié à Eve Marie de Hermant.
Ecosse, 1633, passe, et s'établit
en France, avec un diplôme du
Roi Charles I., constatant sa
descendance de Robert Bruce,
Baron de Clackmannan.

Henri de Bruce, Seigneur de Tezza, == Marié à Claude des Pierres, fille
1651. du Baron de Pierres.

Daniel Charles de Bruce, Seig- == Marié à Catharine de Falaiseau,
neur di Tezza et de la Bonninière, fille du Marquis de Falaiseau.
1676.

Samuel de Bruce,
Chevalier de St Louis,
tué au siège de
Philipsbourg.
S. p.*

Louis Daniel, Comte de ==
Bruce, Seigneur de Dieudonnée de Montaigu,
Montbrard.* fille du Marquis de
Montaigu.

Charles Dieudonné
de Bruce, Chevalier de
Malte, écuyer du
Roi Louis XV.
D. s. p.

Pierre Louis, Comte de == Marié à Marie Adrienne
Bruce, Seigneur de de Bréquigny, fille du
Montbrard. Chevalier de Bréquigny,
en 1767.

Henriette de Bruce,
marié au Baron de
Lachesnaye,
laisse 2 filles.

Louis Prosper de
Bruce.
D. s. p.

Charles Hector, Comte de == Marié à Fanny de Chamont,
Bruce, Chevalier de Malte, fille du Chevalier de Cha-
Chevalier de St Louis, et mont, en 1820.
de la Legion d'Honneur.

Armand David de
Bruce.

Françoise Adelaide de Bruce,
veuve de Arnaud, Comte de
Lamote, Barocé de
Senonnes.

Marie, Robert, et Prosper de Bruce.
Il n'existe en France de la branche d'Adam de
Bruce que moi, et mes deux fils, non mariés, qui
portent le nom de Bruce.—Note par le Comte
Hector de Bruce, en 1858—ætat. 86.

NOTE.—Il ne me reste de mes titres que le diplôme de chartre Ière., et quelques contrats de mariage, qui m'ont été conservés par un notaire; tous les autres titres qui étoient au Chateau de Montbrard, ont péri pendant la confiscation de nos biens pendant l'emigration.

* Samuel et Daniel de Bruce, orphelins et mineurs à l'époque de l'edit de Nantes, en 1684, furent élevés dans la religion Catholiques, et ce fut la première génération qui entra au service du Rois de France.

BRUCES OF KINNAIRD.

The first known charter of *Kynnard* bears date 15 September 1229, in the reign of Alexander II., when Malcom Lockhart signs as witness to a tack of the lands of Kynnard to the Abbot of Holyrood from William Colvyl.

N.B.—Malcolm Lockhart's daughter "*Ada*" married—

1. Sir John Morham of that Ilk ;
2. Sir William Colvyl of Kinnaird.—Douglas's Peerage, vol. i. p. 350.

1241. Ada de Colvyl, a widow, gives the lands of Kynnaird, with the privileges and pertinents thereof in liberum et perpetuam elymosinum, on payment of £10 of silver yearly, to the abbey and monks of Newbattle, for the souls' rest of "David, Malcolm, and William," kings of Scotland, and for the health of Alexander, now king ; and of Mary, his queen, and their son Alexander, *born in 1241*.

1249. Adam de Morham confirms the gift of "a noble lady," my mother, Ada de Colvyl, in the time of her widowhood, of the lands of Kynnaird to the monks and abbey of Newbattle.

Charter from the chartulary of Newbattle of a grant by Ada de Colvyl of the said yearly duty of £10, payable off the said lands of Kynnaird to William *Loccard* and his heirs-male ; whom failing, the lands to remain the property of the abbey.

(*N.B.*—These were the Lockharts of Lee—Ada's brother, Sir Symon Lockhart, carried on the line of the family.)

Feb. 3. 1467. Sir Allan Lockhart sold his rights over the property to the abbey, and the property was disposed in favour of "Sir Alexander de Brus of Stanehouse and Erth," of John de Brus his eldest son (slaughtered by the Menteiths before 1485), and of "Sir Alexander de Brus of Brigham," afterwards of Earlshall.

1499. Charter granted by Andrew, abbot of Newbattle, with consent of the chapter, &c., to a "noble esquire," Edward de Brus, and the heirs of his body, of all singular the lands of Kynnaird with the pertinents, to be held of the same abbey as freely as Sir Alexander de Brus of pious memory (father of this Edward), John de Brus of pious memory, and Sir Alexander Brus of Brigham, formerly held them.

This Edward was the third son of Sir Alexander Brus of Erth. He had the halls of Erth from his father in 1489. The settlement of Kynnaird was pro-

bably made upon him on his marriage with Christian Stewart of Rosyth, one of the co-heirs of her brother David Stewart.

Edward de Brus was infest in the lands of Kynnaird.

May 6,

Robert de Brus (his nephew, son and heir of Sir John of Stanehouse).

1499.

John and David de Brus were constituted the abbot's bailies for infeoffing Edward.

Edward de Brus and Christian Stewart his wife, were executors and trustees on the estate of her deceased brother David Stewart of Rosyth, and for Dame Marion Herries, Lady Rosyth, her mother, who married, secondly, Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan.

Edward de Brus has a seal—"A saltier, in chief, a mullet on dexter side."



In 1543 we find David Brus of Kynnaird son and heir of "Edwarde de Brus of Kynnaarde," by Christian Stewart of Rosyth; and in 1549, Sir David Brus of Kynnaarde. In March of that same year, David de Brus became caution that "Thomas Charteris of Kinfaunis should underly the law, for the slauchter of J. Ross of Craigtowne." Sir David was probably a soldier on foreign service, for his sons Ninian and Edward were both infeoffed in the lands of Kynnaird, &c., during his lifetime, and paid him *an annuity* out of them, which finally consumed the whole.

Char., 22d May, lxxi. No. 6., Char. and Confirmation :—

To Ninian Brus, son and heir-apparent of Sir David Brus of Kynnaird, 1543. Knight.

Ninian Brus, apparent of Kinnaird.—Terr. di Livilands.

July 1,

In the charter from the abbot James of Newbattle to Ninian Brus it appears 1547. that Sir David had four legitimate sons, and one son natural.

The sons of Sir David Brus of Kynnaird, all mentioned in the charter, were—

1. Ninian.

2. Edward.

3. David.

4. Patrick.

John.

A son George alive in 1581, died *ante* 1602.

15th Dec., 1545. Ninian de Brus
died A.D. 1550, leaving an only daughter, Janet
Brus.

==

Married Margaret, third daughter of Sir William
Livingstone of Kilsyth, Knight, who married,
2dly, *ante* 1602, Alexander Baillie of Jarviswood.

Janet Brus, dochter to umquhile Ninian Brus of Kynnaird, was mariet, in yis Kirk of Stirling, to Robert Boyd in Drum, within the prochin of Lainzie, on the iiij day of Januar 1587.

The charter being in favour of heirs-male, the second brother,

1551, Edward de Brus,
succeeded as nearest
heir-male to Ninian
Brus.

== Married, 1stly, a daughter of Crauforde of Roch-
solles ;
2dly, 23d Dec. 1587, Elizabeth Livingstone,
daughter of the late Sir William Livingstone of
Kilsyth.

Dec. 23, 1587. At this date Edward Brus of Kynnaired assigns and disposes of his *lyffrent* in Kynnaired to Sir William Levingstone, brother or nephew of his second wife, who, on the 29th of January following, resettles the same upon them for their lives, excluding aires and assignayes—thus setting aside his brothers. The husband of his niece, "*Robert Boyd*," signs as one of the witnesses. But it appears that, prior to this, Edward had already disposed of the reversion of his estate, after his death, to his cousin Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, so that, on Edward's death in 1602 (Elizabeth Levingstone having apparently predeceased him)—and Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth also being dead—there is a "decree of Registration by the Lords of Council," at the instance of "Mr Robert Bruce, minister of Godis Word," as assignee of umquhile Sir Alexander Brus of Airth, his father, against Patrick Bruce, brother, and charged to enter "HEIR" to umquhile Edward Bruce, fiar of Kynnarde.

July-6,
1602.

Mr Robert had been infeoffed in the haill land in 1581, and in Edward's *lyffrent* in 1588 ; so that this must have been merely a confirmation of his titles.—See Appendix.

Mr Robert Bruce was the second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Knight, by Dame Janet Livingstone, second daughter of the fifth Lord Livingstone.

Oct. 22, 1582. His father settled upon him the lands of the halls of Airth, still possessed by the family, and afterwards the lands of Kinnaird in Stirlingshire, and of Garthendrie and Garthluscane, lying in the district of Monklands, county of Lanark.

Robert was designed by his parents for the study of the law ; or, as the writers of that period have it, "to become a Lord of Session." Having, however, associated with the Melvilles, and other adherents of the Reformed Church at St Andrews, he became devoted to that cause. His mother was particularly opposed to his entering the Church, and threatened him with the loss of the properties designed for him by his father and herself ; but he said that he would give up *all*, rather than resist the "calling of God to the studie of theologie and the ministry ;" and at this time we have some touching allusions in his letters to the nights he spent in his "upper room" at Airth, in sleepless meditation and prayer. At length he was permitted to return to St Andrews.

We find many details of his life at college and afterwards, in Mr William Melville's Diary, p. 105, A.D. 1583:—

"Mr Robert Bruce, second sone to the lard of Arthe, brought up in letters, past his course of philosophie in the Vniversitie of St Andrews, and thereafter, by his father furnesit, was sent to France, where, in the Vniversitie of Louvaine in the Low Countries, he studiet—namelie, till humanitie and the jurisprudence quhilk his father and friendis had sett to be the end of his studies. Thereafter, coming home, he is directed to attend on Court and Session, for his father's affairs and his friendis, till the Lord began to call upon him, and to wark strangelie in his conscience, so that he had no rest nor comfort but in the Word of God and the companie of good men. Yet the manifold effaires of his father and friendis continually importuning him, made him strive against the workings of his *hart*—bot in vain; for he was fain, at last, to show his father that there was neither rest nor life for him unless he got leave to go to the studie of theologie, and be in the companie of Mr Andrew Melville at St Andrews. Sa his father permitted at last, and he came to us that same winter. He said to me *ae* day—purmeineing in the fields—that ere he cast himself again into the torment of conscience whilk was laid on him for resisting the calling of God to the studie of theologie and the ministry, he had rather go through a fire of brimstone half a mile long."

In Mr James Melville's Diary, p. 182, we find:—

1589.

"The ministerie of Mr Robert Bruce was verie steadable and mightie that year, and divers years following—maist comfortable to the good and godlie, and maist fearfull to the ennemies! sa that it was maist sensibly perceavit that as God had substituted to Mr Knox Mr Lawson, sa had he providit Mr Bruce to supplie that inleak. The godlie, for his maist puissant and maist moving doctrine, lovit him; the warldlings, for his parentage and place, revered him; and the ennemies for baith stood in awe of him.

"The chancellor, Mr John Mettellan (Maitland), enterrit into special friendship with him, Mr Andrew, and me, and keepit true and honest till the day of his death.

"He held the king upon twa grounds sure—nather to cast out with the Kirk nor with England."

Page 186.—"In the beginning of winter, the king, accompanied by his chancellor, &c., in verie secret manner embarkit, few knowing till he was away and landit in Upland in Norway, efter meickle foul weather of a stormie winter; and from that travellit to Denmark, and there *mariet* his *quecn* "*Anna*," and made good cheer, and drank stoutlie until the spring time. At his departing he appointit Mr Robert Bruce to be upon the Council, and recommended the

1590.

estate of the country to him, and the ministerie in speciall—reposing, as he professit, upon him and thaim above all his nobles. And indeed he was not disappointed ; for of the favor of God there never was a more peaceable and quyet esteat of a country, nor during the time of the king's absence ; sa that, whereas before, or syn syne, few months—yea, weeks—was there without some slaughter, there was na sic thing during that time.

“Bodwell (Bothwell) then came in public of his awin accord, and made his repentance before Mr Robert Bruce, in the Kirk of Edinbro', for his licentious, dissolut lyff, and for his by-past sins . . . ; but he was taking God's name in vain,” and nothing with him ever throve after.

N.B.—This was Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell—so created by James VI. His father was “John Stewart,” Prior of Coldingham, son nat. of James V. ; his mother was Lady Jean Hepburn, sister of Queen Mary's Bothwell. He was on bad terms with Chancellor Maitland ; and being accused of consulting with witches to compass the king's death, he laid the blame of the accusation at Maitland's door. Bothwell was Sheriff of Berwick and Lauderdale, and High Admiral of Scotland in 1586, and kept a great following of armed men on the Borders, with which he several times surrounded the king at Holyrood and at Falkland, as he said, to drive Maitland from his councils and obtain his own pardon. In 1593 a convention of nobles was held at Stirling, which declared him guilty of high treason. Still James proffered him a pardon on condition of his quitting the country. But this he at first rejected, and returned to the north of England, trusting in the protection of Queen Elizabeth ; but this also failing him, he retired to Spain, and died at last in France. He married Lady Margaret Douglas, relict of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, and made over his large estates, before leaving Scotland, to his step-son, “*Francis Scott.*”

Mr Robert Bruce, although the intimate friend of Maitland, seems to have had faith in Bothwell's reformation ; and sometimes, when the king was angry, he would say that “he thought Mr Robert meant to take the crown off his head and sett it upon Bothwell's”—and sometimes that “he thought Mr Robert meant to declare himself King Robert's heir.”

On the return of King James VI. with his queen Anna from Denmark on the 1st of May 1590, there were great demonstrations of joy and loyalty in Edinburgh, and the coronation of the queen was appointed to take place on Sunday the 17th of May. “The coronation was within the Abbey Kirk with gret solemniti, and the crown set upon her head by Mr Robert Bruce and Mr David Lindsay (at that time minister of Leith) [in 1600 Bishop of Ross]. The Chancellor Maitland, made at that time Lord Thirlstane, bore the queen's

crown." The preaching being "endit, the Duke of Lennox and the Lord Hamilton, Mr Robert Bruce and Mr David Lindsay—two ministers—goes all four togidder to the king's Majestie that, according to his direction, they might perform that quhilk wes enjoinit to them before, quhilk wes, to proceed to the act of coronation. Thereafter, Mr Robert Bruce declaires *that* quhilk wes directit by his Majestie to be done concerning the ceremonies of coronation.

"The Countess of Marr immediatlie cumis to the queenis Majestie, and taks her richt arm, and openis the craige of her gowne, and lyes back a certain pairt of boith.

"Mr Robert Bruce immediately pours furth upon thoir pairts of her breast and arm off quhilk the claithes were remouvit, a bonnye quantity of oyll, quhilk pairts efter the annoyntment were coverit with some whyte silk."

Her Majestie then retires, attendit by "her two virgins of Denmark," and having put on a princely robe, returns again to her own seat in the kirk. Then the king's Majestie commands the crown to be brought until him, quhilk being done, he delivers the same out of his hands to the said Duke of Lennox, Lord Hamilton, and the chancellor, quha, eftir the resait thereof, placit the same on the queen's head.

The crown being firmly *knitt* upon her head, the king sends immediately the "*schepture*," quhilk the said Mr Bruce delyverit to her Majestie, speaking these few wordis to her: "We, by authoritie of the king's Majestie, with consent of his Estates, representing this haill body of the countrie, place this crown upon your Majestie's head; and we deliver this schepture unto your Heiness, acknowledging you to be our Sovereign Queen and Ladie, to whom we promise all poyntes of office and obedience, dutifull in those things that concernis the glorie of God, the comfort of the Kirk, and the preservation of his Majestie and your Heiness his spouse; and we crave from your Majestie the confession of the faith and religion which we profess," &c. &c.

Mr Bruce then made a short narration unto the nobilitie and people of the innumerable benefits bestowed by God upon this country, "That first He had given them a king, brought up sincerely in the true religion, and has given to him the queenis Majestie to be ain helper professing the samen religion, to our gret comfort."

After which they made homage and fidelitie to his Majesty in the name of the nobles and haill Estates of the kingdom.

The commissioners for this homage were—

"The Duke of Lennox and Lord Hamilton;

"Mr Robert Bruce and Mr David Lindsay;

"The Provosts of Edinbro' and Dundee ;

"The Laird of Parbroth and the Laird of Ormistoun."

—See *Historie of King James Sext*, Bannatyne's Collections.

1592. Edinburgh was divided into eight parishes by agreement with Mr Bruce (who was chief minister) and the other ministers and magistrates ; and a minister and a stipend was appointed for each—Mr Bruce and others being appointed a council. That same year he was nominated Moderator of the General Assembly for the second time.

Mr Bruce objecting to the return of Colonel Stewart, sometimes called "Earl of Arran," to Court, as dangerous and unpopular, is accused by the king in return (at the instance of the Master of Gray) of harbouring Bothwell. He craves vindication from the "infamous slander" laid to his charge—"that he and others had conspired to take the crown off the king's head and set it upon Bothwell's. The king moved "that they might drop the matter," which Mr Bruce refused. A day was appointed for receiving witnesses—viz., "The Master of Gray" and Thomas Tyrie. The presbytery, session, and Mr Bruce urge the Master of Gray, by letter, to produce his evidences. At length he, ashamed, purged Mr Bruce of *all* laid to his charge, and offered to fight his honest quarrel with any man, "*save the king.*" For shame he left the court, and vindicated Mr Bruce by letter. Upon the day appointed, Mr Bruce and the session went down to the palace and urged the trial. The king told him to bury it, and complained that he insisted so much ; at last, no accuser appearing, the matter dropped.—(P. 279, *King James Sext.*)

1593. After this convention the king had *sindrie* communications with the kirkmen in Edinbro', and in particular with Mr Bruce, chief minister there, who oftentimes dissuaded him frae company-bearing or showing any kind of favour to the Catholic lords, whilk he promised to obey ; and yet notwithstanding of this oftentimes reiterat . . . yet admitted and *ressavit thaim* all in als great favor and credence as afore.

1594. Page 338.—After this convention, Mr Robert Bruce and Mr Balfour past westward of purpose to sollicite the Erle of Argile to accept upon him to be lieutenant to pass into the north to punish the Catholic lords, whilk wald be a thing acceptable unto God, profitable for the commonweill, and honorable to himself ; whilk if he gave promise to do, they sould do diligence to procure for him a commission from the king—the whilk he willingly accepted.

1600. On the 5th day of August 1600, the Earl of Gowrie and his brother were slain at Perth, for attempting a conspiracy against the king—as was alleged, but not believed of many—upon the 6th of August. The Town Council of

Edinburgh received a letter from the king, giving them notice of his deliverance, *and commanding the ministers to return public thanks*. The ministers agree to keep in the general and not to enter into particulars, because the reports vary even amongst the courtiers themselves; and the king's letter did not speak of *treason*. Called to the Privy Council, Mr Bruce was appointed to speak. The chancellor desires them to go to church and thank God for the king's miraculous deliverance from so great and vile a treason.

Mr Bruce replies—"They had unanimously agreed that they were not certain of the treason, and had heard various reports; but would go and in general bless God for his Majestie's deliverance from a great danger; or, if their lordships pleased, delay till they got certainty." (It was only two hours since the news came.)

As they spoke, David Lindsay comes from Falkland, and tells the matter as he had it from the king's own mouth.

Then Mr Bruce said, "He was well content if he spoke nothing but that for which he would be answerable to God."

So they all went with him to the cross, when Mr Lindsay made a discourse; and the people, with uncovered heads, praise God—the bells rang, fires were put on, and all other demonstrations of joy.

The ministers thought the Privy Council were satisfied, but misreports were made to the king.

The king asks Mr Bruce why they had disobeyed him, and refused to praise God for his deliverance. Aug. 12.
1600.

He answered, they did not disobey, and were ready to do so in general terms, as they had all done on the Sabbath after.

The king asked if they were *now* fully persuaded?

Mr Bruce answered—"Surely, sir, I would have more light before I preached it treason, to persuade the people. Were I a private subject, not a pastor, I would rest on your Majestie's report as others do."

The king asked Mr John Balfour—"Are *you* fully persuaded?"

He answered—"I will speak nothing to the contrary, sir."

"But are you persuaded?"

"Not yet, sir;" and so with all, except Mr Hewat, who said he believed.

A little while after the chancellor intimated sentence, whereby they were discharged from preaching in his Majestie's dominions under pain of death; and charged to move out of Edinburgh in 48 hours, and not to come within 10 miles of it, under pain of death, unless they would confess to a fault; but Mr Bruce could not be persuaded to speak against his conscience in the pulpit. "I had," he says, in a letter to the Earl of Marr, "two great extremities to eschew: on

the one hand, undutiful disobedience to my prince ; on the other, uncharitable and false judgment towards the dead." So, after much debate on all sides, he sailed for Dieppe on the 8th of November 1600—having made a deed, which still exists, assigning the charge of his affairs to his beloved spouse, "Martha Douglas."

1601. Next year, after having been twice written to by Mr Edward Bruce, abbot of Kinloss, then residing in England, he returned to Berwick, there to confer with Lord Marr, the king's ambassador. April 1601, he had a conference with the king himself at Brechin. The king received him lovingly—at least in appearance—and took unusual pains upon him, reasoning long with him upon the Gowrie conspiracy.

The king wished him to subscribe *his* articles of faith. Mr Bruce wished to see them. They were not at hand. After this Mr Bruce was ordered to confine himself to his house of Kinnaird, and one mile around.

June 25, 1601. The king calls him to Perth. Sir P. Murray produces "*The Articles*." The king asks if he is willing to preach according to them.

He answers "No. He is Christ's ambassador in preaching, and ought to preach nothing but the Word of God."

The king answered—"Obedience to princes, though wicked, is in the Word," and "I durst lay a wager there is not a word of King James the Sixt in the Scriptures."

Mr Bruce answered—"If there be a king in it your Majesty is there. I am discharged to preach the pleasures of man, but place me where God placed me, and I shall teach as faithful obedience as God shall give me grace."

The king gave Mr Bruce leave to pose him upon the particulars (of the killing of the Gowries). "Then first," said Mr Bruce, "if it please your Majesty, had you a purpose to slay my lord?"

"As I shall answer to God," said the king, "I knew not that my lord was slain till I saw him in his last agony," and "I was very sorry, and prayed from my heart for him."

"What say you then of Mr Alexander, sir?"

"I grant," said the king, "I am art and part in Mr Alexander's slaughter, but it was for my own defence."

"Why brought you him not to justice? seeing you should have had God before your eyes!"

"I had neither God nor the devil, man, before my eyes," answered the king, in some *froth*, "but my own defence."

Further, Mr Bruce asked the king if he had any purpose that morning to slay Mr Alexander.

The king answered—"That day, on his salvation, he lovèd him, in the morning, as his brother."

In the end Mr Bruce signified that he was persuaded by the king's oaths that he was innocent of any purpose to slay them in the morning.

He afterwards yielded to sign the resolutions according to the Act of Parliament; and Sir James Semple of Beltrees, his cousin, tried to get things arranged for him to return to his parish in Edinburgh, where he was much wished for—but in vain. From that time he was allowed neither rest nor peace.

His last interview with the king was on the 5th of April, the day the king went to England.

Sir James Murray of Polmaise was sent for Mr Bruce, and after breakfast he was taken into the king's bed-chamber, whither the king came after he had put on his boots, when Mr Bruce made him his congratulations and recommendations for the care and preservation of his kingdom, &c. &c.

Mr Bruce took his leave, and had as good countenance of the king as ever he had in his life; and after the king had mounted his horse Mr Bruce went to him again, and the king gave him good countenance, and said, "Now all particulars are passed between me and you, Mr Bruce."

In the end of the year 1603 Mr Bruce came to his house of Monkland, near Glasgow, and there the session sent to invite him to take part in the ministry of that town. 1603.

He was inhibited by the commissioners from preaching in Edinburgh. That same time he preached in the garden to my Lord and Lady Elphinstone, for they had been visited by the pestilence. 1605.

In August 1605 he was banished to Inverness, where he continued four years. He preached every Sunday and Wednesday, with readings and exhortations every evening. Lord Enzies was his great opponent there; Lord Lovat was very kind to him. He spent three months at Aberdeen, but was charged to return to Inverness.

Mr John Strachan, minister of Forres, dying, Mr Bruce supplied that town for some months. 1613.

His son Robert being at Court, at last prevailed for him to have leave to come home to his own house of Kinnaird. Thither he returned in August 1613. He then built or repaired the church of Larbert, and he preached there, and in other places, against all kinds of profaneness, and was greatly revered.*

He removed again to his house of Monkland.

1619.

* The chaplaincies of Dunipace and Lethbert were included in the "Eccles or Kirktown of St Ninians" at that time, but were afterwards raised into independent churches.

1620. He was cited by the Council for preaching at Cramond, against "false apostles," and warded in his own house of Kinnaird, and one mile around; then to Monkland, when complaints were made against him that he held private *fasts* in his house.

About this time his excellent wife died.

1621. He was warded in the Castle of Edinburgh for coming there on private business. On being liberated he was sent back to Kinnaird till the month of April, and then was to transport himself to Inverness, to remain within four miles thereof during his Majesty's pleasure, "as no more Popish pilgrimages could be allowed to Kinnaird," his friends visiting him there being so designated.

Sept. 1624. He obtained leave to come south about his private affairs. This was the time of the marriage of his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, with James Campbell, son and heir of John Campbell of Moy, near Forres, Commissary of Inverness.

In March next the king died, and the severity against Mr Bruce was greatly mitigated. Until his death in 1631, he seems to have lived at home in peace, revered and beloved by all his friends.

In the Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton, a letter from Mr Bruce is given at length, vol. i. p. 223, sympathising with Lady Eglinton in her domestic sorrows, and signing himself your ladyship's most loving cusing and faithful friend, Robert Bruce—Kynnaird, *ii. of September 1629.*

And in the same book, p. 218, is an extract of a letter from Lady Margaret Levingstone to her sister Lady Eglinton:—

"In the meantyme, will entreat your ladyship to have me excusit both to my lord your husband and your ladyship's self, for not wreatting myself in respect of Mr Robert Bruce being here, whom I mind to keep still with me till your ladyship's cuming. He teaches to my ladie this forenoon, and there are to hear him the Ladys Boyd and Kilsythe, with Kilsythe himself."

This was within two years of Mr Robert Bruce's death, which took place at Kinnaird in August 1631, in the 77th year of his age. On finding his sight fail he called for the large house Bible; and desiring his daughter "Martha" to place his finger upon the 28th verse of the 8th chapter of Romans, he said, "In this faith I die." (This Bible is now at Kinnaird, and has notes in his hand on the margin.)

His tomb is in the churchyard of Larbert. He was buried at the foot of the pulpit from which he had often preached; but the site of the new church being changed from that of the old one, it is now in the open ground, and has lately

been enclosed, and a new headstone placed over it by his descendants. The old stone still remains in tolerable preservation.



Several memoirs of Mr Robert Bruce have appeared, but, being taken from a sectarian point of view, none of them do justice to his loyalty and disinterestedness. He was no follower of John Knox ; no ambitious and rebellious churchman. He sought to place the religious establishment of his country on a firm foundation, and to preserve his young king from Popish machinations. He could not bring himself to believe in the Gowrie conspiracy, because these two young men having passed *scathless* through the fiery ordeal of an education in the University of Padua, he looked upon them as the destined supporters of the Protestant cause, in good faith and truth. He never guessed at the feelings of revenge and ambition which lurked beneath their courtly demeanour, fostered by the study of Machiavelli, and brought still more into play by a residence in the English Court ; for it has now been proved by letters (marked, " to be returned by the bearer, that I may *see* them burnt ;" but which intention was frustrated by the catastrophe) that there WAS a conspiracy, not to *kill* the king, but to take him prisoner to "*Fast Castle*," an almost inaccessible *peel* on the rocky coast of the German Ocean, about 70 miles from Perth, and 25 from the English border. This stronghold was the property of "*Logan of Restalrig*"—and of the four conspirators *he* was the *active* agent. Lord Gowrie and his brother Alexander, Master of Ruthven, never committed themselves in writing. Logan carried on the correspondence with the *fourth*, whose name never has transpired. He is addressed by Logan, with great respect, as "Right Honourable Sir," and invited to a conference in the Canongate with "Mr A. R.;" but he is most particularly warned to reveal *nothing* of the plot to Gowrie's old tutor, or to Lord Home, "*before the turn were done*;" for his lordship is "*kittle to shoe behind*" (might kick out), "and the other" (Mr Wm. *Rhynd*) "would dissuade us from our purpose with reasons of religion, which I can never abide." It is not then to be wondered at that Mr Bruce could not bring himself to believe in a conspiracy

so guarded, and confined to the knowledge of these four individuals, and Logan's one trusty messenger, "Laird Bower," "who would not spare," he wrote to his mysterious ally, "to ride to hell's yett" to pleasure him. "And who was this unnamed coadjutor who was trysted to meet them in the Canongate, or at Restalrig, or to take boat as if for a pleasure trip, and land at Fast Castle?" On the appointed day, when the royal prisoner was expected to pass, "NICOLSON," Queen Elizabeth's agent, was known to ride to Leith, and there to wait long for a signal from a passing sail—which, however, never came! And when the news arrived that Lord Gowrie and his brother had been killed in their own house—the latter by the king's own hand, after having passed the day together in amity and good fellowship—it is scarcely to be wondered at that many doubted *who* were the conspirators!

Another inaccuracy we must observe upon in one of these memoirs. It is said that Mr Bruce had great sorrow and distress of mind from the conduct of a daughter. The daughters of his house were irreproachable, and married and settled well—Martha, as we have seen, tending him to the last. But there was, indeed, a lamb of his flock, a distant relation of his mother's, to whom he acted a father's part, when abandoned in her last agonies of mind and body by her own father and all her friends. For her, and with her, he sorrowed and prayed incessantly during the last three days of her miserable existence, and brought her to earnest repentance and full confession of her crime. Jane Levingstone, daughter of John Levingstone of Dunipace, was married at sixteen to the Laird of Warristoun, "Kincaid of Warristoun House, near Edinbro'." Her nurse went with her to her new home. Kincaid was a man of intemperate habits and brutal manners; and in the indictment, *his brothers* set forth that "the said Jeane Levingstone, guidwife of Waristoun, having conceivit ane deidlie rancour, haitred, and malice against umquhile John Kincaid, for the allegit biting of her in the arm, and striking her divers times, the said Jean, in the month of July 1600, directit Jonet Murdo, her nurse, to a certain Robert Weir, in the Abbey of Halyrudhouse, where he was for the time, desiring him to cum down to Waristoun and speak with her," &c. &c.

This man was a groom, who was once in her father's service; and the lady, at the instigation of her nurse, and with the knowledge and consent, it appears, of one at least of her female servants, arranged to conceal him in a cellar until the laird should be asleep, and then that he should come forth and strangle him. For this deed Weir was to be rewarded with a bag of money.

But she says in her confession,—“I think I hear presently the pitifull and fearfull cryes which he gave when he was being strangled; and the vile sin which I committed, in murdering my own husband, is yet before me.” It appears

that she fled to the hall, and sat there till Weir came and told her that the deed was done, and that he must be allowed to escape by a back way, whilst she and her women remained to tell what tale they might of the manner of his death. But the lady was in no state to fain, and with the "fause nourise and two hyrèd women," was taken "*red-hand*." They were instantly put to an assize, and sentence of death passed upon them. It is recorded that the Laird of Dunipace behaved with such hard-heartedness towards his daughter that he would not see her previous to her execution, nor yet would he intercede for her, through whose delinquency he reckoned his blood to be for ever dishonoured.

At the solicitation of the family of Dunipace, Lady Warristoun was led to the scaffold before sunrise, shortly after three in the morning of Friday, 5th July 1600; whilst *the nourise* and one of the "hyrèd women" were burnt on the Castle Hill at four o'clock, so that the populace, who might be so early astir, should have their attention divided at two opposite stations nearly a mile apart.

"The Maiden," on which her head "was stricken off," was erected at the "Girth Cross," near Holyrood; and her carriage and demeanour is described as that of a penitent and heart-broken child. Much has been said and sung to her youth and beauty; and many popular ballads are still extant on the subject, and may be found in the collections of Jamieson, Kinloch, and Buchan.

There is also a "memorial of her conversion, with an account of her carriage at her execution," which was privately printed by the late "Charles K. Sharpe" from an MS. in the Advocates' Library. It is believed to have been written by Mr James Balfour, at that time the colleague in Edinburgh of Mr Robert Bruce.

"After her devotional exercises were completed, and he had received her last farewell, Mr Bruce could no longer abide, but left the scaffold, and departed." He was doubly her pastor, being the chief minister of Edinburgh, whilst Dunipace was part of the parish in which his own home was situated; and being of the Levingstone clan, he had no doubt known her from her earliest days.

All these sorrows came upon him in the year 1600—the year also of his father's death—when, as we see by the letter of his brother, Sir John Bruce of Kincavel, his presence was much required, and anxiously looked for at Airth, to settle the family affairs (see Appendix)—his elder brother "William" being dead, and his nephews, still under age, left to his guardianship; but on the 8th of November, that same year, he was forced to leave his country, and for a time to take refuge in France. Soon after we find him in correspondence with Mr Edward Bruce, Abbot of Kinloss, who was no doubt instrumental in procuring his recall.

Mr Robert Bruce, minister of the Gospel, second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, by Dame Janet Levinstone, second daughter of the fifth Lord Levinstone (who was fourth in descent from King James I., and ever the faithful guardian of Queen Mary, and died in attendance upon her in France). Mr Robert Bruce, some of the particulars of whose eventful life we have already detailed, died at Kinnaird in August 1631, leaving, by Martha Douglas, two sons—Robert the heir, and John—and two daughters, Elizabeth and Martha.

April 26, 1624. Elizabeth Bruce married James Campbell, son and apparent heir of John Campbell of Moy, near Forres, Commissary of Inverness, son of Alexander, youngest son of Sir John and Lady Muriel Campbell of Calder, who, in fulfilment of a marriage-contract between the said James and Elizabeth, daughter of Mr Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, settles upon them the lands of Flinesmoir, Little Budyetts, and Moy.

1653, 9th May. John Campbell, then eldest son, had a gift of these lands on his marriage with Jean Moir, daughter of the Principal of Marischall College. The said John, with consent of Jean his spouse, disposed the said lands to John Hay of Lochloy, 22d Dec. 1665, who again disposed them in favour of his brother-in-law, *Sir Hugh Campbell of Calder*, Feb. 1669.

Martha, youngest daughter of Mr Robert, married, after her father's death, 1648, James Ramsay, only son of Ramsay of Barnboyle.

Robert Bruce, eldest son of Mr Robert, succeeded his father in 1631. He was killed at Naseby in 1645.

Mr John Bruce, who signs a deed with his sister "Martha" after their father's death, was an English clergyman. This generation is entirely omitted in most accounts of the family. Robert was attached to the Court, and probably, after the accession of James VI. to the English throne, they lived in England, which gives occasion to the editors of Mr Bruce's life to say that "his family relapsed into Prelacy."

Dec. 1, 1638. Robert Bruce resigns the Halls of Airth in favour of his eldest son and heir-apparent, Robert, who has a charter of the same; and in 1643-44, on his approaching marriage, there are various other instruments of resignation.

A.D. 1645. Colonel Robert Bruce succeeded his father. He was at first a captain in the Earl of Mar's regiment of horse.

In 1650, he was called to be one of the captains of the Life Guards of Charles II., in which he continued till the fight of Worcester, where, "doing all that became a gentleman and a good soldier, he received those wounds which soon after caused his death."—See letter from Charles II. in Appendix.

Jan. 3, 1655. Alexander Bruce, served heir to Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, *younger*, his brother-german, in the lands of Kinnaird, within the lordship of Newbattle, six oxgaites of lands; eight oxgaites of lands in Bothkennar, in the lordship of Stirling; nine and a half oxgaites of lands of the Halls of Airth and orchard-lands thereof. The Milne, commonly called "Mungall Milne," the teynd sheaves of the aforesaid lands.—From the *Retours of Stirling* (No. 212).

Alexander Bruce.

By his second marriage he had *no* succession, and "*Helen*," his eldest daughter, was his heiress.

"*Jean*," his second daughter, married her cousin "Henry," third son of her uncle, "Colonel Sir Henry Bruce" of Clackmannan; and her son, "Harry Bruce," was the last Baron of Clackmannan.

* Both these marriage-contracts are at Kinnaird.

† The marriage-contract is at Kinnaird, as also a deed of settlement upon daughters failing heirs-male.

Married, 22d Aug. 1590, contract signed 9th June,* Martha Douglas, second daughter of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, by Marian, daughter and heiress of James Douglas of Parkhead.

Martha's father, Sir George Douglas, was killed at Pinkie.

Her eldest brother, Sir James, was killed by William Stewart, 31st July 1608.

Sir James Douglas, his son and heir, on his marriage with Elizabeth, grandchild and heiress of Michael Lord Carlyle, was raised to that dignity.

Her second brother, Sir George Douglas of Mordington, Knight, gentleman of the bed-chamber to King James VI., married Margaret, daughter of Archibald Dundas of Fingask, and had issue—Sir George Douglas, ambassador from King Charles II. to Poland, Sweden, &c.; and a daughter, Margaret, married to Sir James Lockhart of Lee.

The third brother, John Douglas, was a Doctor of Divinity.

The daughters married—

1. Elizabeth, Dundas of Arniston.
2. Martha, Mr Robert Bruce of Kinnaird.
3. Mary, John Curruthers of Holmains.

Martha Douglas, the much-esteemed wife of Mr Robert Bruce, died in 1621.

Married, 1624, Margaret Menteith, daughter of Sir William Menteith of Karse, by whom he had two sons and several daughters. *Robert* and *Alexander*, in succession, became their father's heirs.

Anna married, 1655, Mr James Bruce, brother-german of Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, Bart. They lived at Carsbrook, and had a son, Alexander, living in Airth in 1701.

Jean married, 1659, Mr Michael Bruce, brother-german of William Bruce of Newtoun: Sir Henry Hervey Bruce is their descendant. Mr James Bruce, minister of Killinchie, Ireland, was their son and heir. Mr Michael and Patrick Bruce were *his* sons.

From this *Patrick*, in June 15, 1722, Sir Henry Hervey Bruce's descent is correctly noted in the baronage; but the *two first* generations, as above, are proved by deeds at Kinnaird, signed by Mr James Bruce at Belfast, his son—"Michael, minister of Holywood," a witness.

Mariae Bruce married first, contract registered in 1671, John M'Pherson; second, 1685, Mr Alexander Brown of Thornydykes.

Elizabeth married, Aug. 8, 1687, Thomas Rothead, "The Laird of Whytsonhill." Contracts at Kinnaird.

Married, 1643-44, Dame Marianne Rollox, sister of Sir Andrew Rollox of Duncrub, and widow of Sir James Bruce of Powfouillis (who died in 1639). Leaving no issue, his brother Alexander was his heir.

Married, 1st, contract signed 3d Jan. 1667,† Helena Bruce, daughter of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, by Elizabeth Haliburton, who signs the marriage-contract along with her son, Sir Henry Bruce, Sir Robert being then dead.

Helena died young, leaving two daughters, "*Helen* and *Jean*."

Married, 2dly, 1676, Margaret Elphinstone, daughter of Michael Elphinstone of Quarrole, and widow of George Norval of Boighall (by whom she had a son, Michael Norval, but no succession by her second marriage).

Harry Bruce married, as we have seen, in Clackmannan, "Katharine Bruce of Newtoun, another cousin," who survived, as "The Lady of Clackmannan," until 1795, when she died, aged 95 years, leaving no descendants. Jean Bruce's descendants, however, still exist in the female line,—her daughter, Janet Bruce, having married Dr William Bruce of Newtoun (Katharine's brother), whose son, "Henry," was father of William Bruce, who bought Cowden—and his daughter, "*Margaret*," married Donald Earl of Airlie.

Alexander Bruce had a long and troubled career, being deeply involved on the Royalist side, together with the Lairds of Clackmannan and Newtoun. He at one time made over his estate to his sister, "Mariæ Bruce," who, as well as another sister, Elizabeth, appears to have married so much later than Anna and Jean, that we should have been inclined to suppose them his *nieces* (the daughters of his brother Robert), but that in these contracts they are expressly called Alexander's "sisters-german." It may have been that the contracts were only registered at the dates mentioned.

Mariæ appears to have been a widow, and rich, when she came to her brother's assistance in 1670, and probably made him, or his daughters, her heirs. There are lists of her jewels, &c.

Helen Bruce,
eldest daughter of Alexander Bruce, and his heir
in 1711 by a deed of entail, by which her son
and heir, and his successors, were obliged to re-
tain the name and arms of *Bruce*,

== Married, 9th Sept. 1687, David Hay, son of John Hay of Woodcockdale and of Brigarke, &c., in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, who, as well as his father David, had held Easter Kennet, and considerable property in Clackmannan, disposed in 1639 to Robert Bruce, fiar of Clackmannan, and Robert Bruce of Wester Kennet.

From an old family Bible, printed in 1561 (the same which *Mr Robert* called for on his deathbed), I copy the following entries by Helen Bruce:—

1. Helen Hay, our first child, was born in January 1689, and baptised on the 12th day by Mr Sutherland, minister of Larbert. Witnesses—James Hay of Carribber, Mr John Hay of Woodcockdale, and John Drummond of Newton. 1689.
2. Alexander was born in January 1691, and baptised by Mr Sutherland before the same witnesses.
3. John was born in January 1693, and baptised on the 10th of that month by Mr Paterson, minister of Borthwick, before the same witnesses.
4. James was born in January 1694, and was baptised the 8th of that month by Mr Paterson. Witnesses—Carribber and Woodcockdell, James Galloway of Balgair, and Andrew Kerr.
5. Margaret was born the 11th August 1695, and baptised by Mr Sutherland the same day, before the same witnesses.
6. David was born the 25th November 1696, and baptised by Mr Sutherland

Witnesses—Woodcockdale, and his son, John of Carribber, and Andrew Kerr, writer, my father, and Robert Boyd, writer.

Of these, "Alexander," "John," and "James," all died young.

1696. David Hay died, and Helen married, in 1701, Robert Boyd, the family lawyer, who appears to have managed the estate well, paid off encumbrances, and to have left a considerable sum of money to her, and her son David, at his death, in 1725. He had a brother, "Major Ninian Boyd," of the Scotch Greys, who claimed his property, which, however, was secured by will to his step-son, "David Bruce." Were they the descendants (as the names would denote) of Ninian Bruce of Kinnaird's daughter, "Janet," who married Robert Boyd in 1587?

Mr Robert Boyd also, in concert with Judge Graham, preserved to the ladies of the Callendar family some small remains of the confiscated estates of the Earls of Levingstone and Linlithgow, as papers at Kinnaird attest. He was also the guardian of the young Lord Forrester and his brothers, minors, who then lived with their mother at Letham, as appears by their accounts, &c. &c., at Kinnaird.

Alexander Bruce, Helen's father, died in 1711, when he must have been a very old man, as he was, with his brother, in 1651, at the battle of Worcester (see letter from King Charles II.), "and fought manfully in these wars;" which gives occasion to those who edited the life of Mr Robert Bruce to say, "his descendants relapsed into Prelacy"—that is, they were ever loyal to their anointed king, as Mr Robert ever had been, and spent their lives and fortune in his service.

1728. Helen Bruce, "Ladye of Kinnaird," died; of her four sons only "David," the youngest, survived.

1. Helen, her eldest daughter, married "Counsellor Hamilton," "Wishaw's brother;" and *their* only son, "William Gerard," better known as "Single-Speech Hamilton," died unmarried. 2. Margaret, died unmarried. The daughters kept their father's name of "*Hay*."

David Bruce succeeded his mother, taking the name and arms of Bruce of Kinnaird only, as heir to his grandfather Alexander, in accordance with the marriage-contract between Alexander and Helen Bruce of Clackmannan.

1729. David Bruce, by his 1st wife, Marion, had 2 sons, the youngest of whom only survived.

"James Bruce," the Abyssinian traveller, who was named by Alexander Hamilton of Pencaitland, his uncle, as his 1st heir to the Pencaitland estates, after the 2d son of his only daughter, or her daughter, should there be no 2d son, so that the estates of Dirleton and Pencaitland should never be held by the same person.

Circa 1731, David Bruce and John Hamilton, W.S., another brother of Wishaw, bought the estate of Newtowne of Bothkennay, which was afterwards resold to meet family provisions.

Marion, 1st wife of David Bruce, died in 1733, leaving her son an infant.

David Bruce

had by his 2d marriage 6 sons and 2 daughters. 1st, Alexander, at the Scotch bar, died in Edinburgh.

2d, Andrew, a planter in St Vincent, settled "Bruce Hermitage Estate" in Dec. 1775, which date still exists on the ruined lintels of some of the buildings. It is now "in the bush," having been destroyed by a hurricane in 1780.

3d, David, in the army, was killed at the taking of the Moro in Havannah in 1762.

4th, Captain William Bruce proposed and led the attack on Gwalior in 1780, and took it from the Mahrattas, although it was supposed to be impregnable.

5th, Thomas, agent for St Vincent, died in Edinburgh.

6th, Robert, physician, Lucknow, died in Serampore in May 1800, leaving a considerable fortune, and large claims for money lent to the Nabob of Oude which never were settled.

His large collections of natural history brought home after his death were bought by the Duke of Marlborough, but only two years' interest of the money was ever paid to his heirs. All these 6 sons of David Bruce died unmarried.

== Married Marion Graham, eldest daughter of James Graham, advocate, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, by his 1st wife, "Marion Hamilton," eldest sister of Alexander Hamilton of Pencaitland.

Nov. 12, 1715, David Bruce and other young Scotchmen had been taken prisoners at Preston, when Judge Graham "went to Carlisle on his own charges" to plead for them, A.D. 1717. He bought *Airth* from William Dundas, husband of "Elizabeth," Lady Airth, who having also joined Prince Charles in 1715, and having been taken prisoner, was obliged to sell it for the fines.

Judge Graham married, 2dly, the Lady Mary Livingstone, from whom the present family of Grahams of Airth descend. Lady Mary died in 1734; the judge (suddenly), 6th Nov. 1746.

== Married, 2dly, Agnes Glen, sister of Governor Glen of South Carolina, and of Andrew Glen of Longcroft, county Linlithgow, whose only daughter, Elizabeth Glen, married in 1767 George eighth Earl of Dalhousie, and was grandmother of the late earl. Obiit 1807.

Of David Bruce's two daughters, the eldest, 1. Agnes, married Hamilton of Bangour, and had a son, William, whose son, Captain William Hamilton, R.N., married Lady Mary Maule, sister of the present Earl of Dalhousie, without succession. From the two elder daughters of Hamilton of Bangour by Agnes Bruce descend the families of "Sir Bruce Chichester, county Devon," and Sir George Grant Suttie, Bart. Elizabeth, the 3d daughter, married Mr Warrenne, without succession. Thus the Chichesters and the Sutties were the only descendants of David Bruce's 2d marriage in the second generation.

2. Elizabeth Bruce died unmarried.

In May 1758 David Bruce died. He was a remarkably handsome man, and is said to have inherited the fine features and stately carriage of his ancestor, *Mr Robert*. He was also much looked up to in those troublous times as a man of probity and discretion.

James Bruce, his only son by his first marriage, succeeded his father; but being at the time in Holland, his stepmother and her family continued for some time in possession of the estate, and during his travels he allowed them the use of the house and grounds.

James Bruce was the second but only surviving child of David Bruce of Kinnaird by his first wife, "Marion Graham," eldest daughter of James Graham of Airth, advocate, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, by *his* first wife, "Marion Hamilton," eldest sister of Alexander Hamilton of Pencaitland. His mother dying in *November* 1733, whilst he was yet an infant, and his father marrying again in 1735, he was sent, on attaining his eighth year, to the care of his aunt Helen and her husband, Counsellor Hamilton, in London.

After a year spent under their roof, and three more at a preparatory school, he was entered at Harrow on the 21st of January 1742, along with his cousin, William Gerard (afterwards known as "Single-Speech Hamilton," and by some supposed to be the author of the Letters of Junius), with William Graham, his mother's half-brother, but of his own age, and with two sons of Mr Alexander Hamilton, the Counsellor's brother, whose attention and kindness was unremitting, as is acknowledged in a letter from Judge Graham about the time that his son and grandson were about to leave Harrow, and in many letters from David Bruce.

Judge Graham, after thanking Mr Alexander Hamilton for all the trouble and care he had taken for his son William, says :—

"The confusion of our country, altho' we have no session, has kept me here or two months past, that I have not seen David Bruce. We have both suffered extremely by the Highlanders, but by my absence I have *wanted* the vexation which they must have daily given me had I been upon the place. This has prevented my discoursing David upon what you write of his son's inclination. For my part, I should think it a great happiness that he had taken so lucky a turn ; for altho' it will necessarily require a university education, which is attended with great expense, yet it is a sure card at length, and all of us will endeavour our utmost, when he is fit for it, to procure him a comfortable settlement. But of this I will talk more fully with David in a few days, when I go to the country. I am not surprised with the notice you are so kind as to give me of your intention to alter your state. You made choice of a most valuable person last time. If you are so lucky as to be joined to such another, I may safely pronounce you the happiest man in Britain. One thing I am sure of, I wish it with all my heart ; for I truly am, my dear sir, your much obliged and humble servant,

(Signed) "JAMES GRAHAM.

"TO MR ALEXR. HAMILTON.

"EDINBURGH, 13th Feb. 1746."

Shortly after (12th April 1746), Mr Alex. Hamilton writes to David Bruce :—

"As I expect the boys from Harrow will come home about the 8th of next month, I take the opportunity of desiring you to let me know whether you are as yet come to any resolution with respect to your son's further progress in his education, for I believe it will not be fit he should return to Harrow. On Monday last I met him at Acton, where he came to see his uncle William and his other friends. As to Oxford and Cambridge, there is, as I am informed, such a general dissoluteness of manners prevails, that I cannot take upon me to recom-

mend either of them to you for his education ; and as the Rebellion is not yet quite extinguished in Scotland, I am doubtful how far you may think it proper for him to go to your house. However, I believe it will be necessary that you let me know your sentiments on this subject soon ; for did you know him as well as I do, you would think, as I do, that the education of so valuable a young fellow ought not to be neglected. All friends here send their compliments, &c. &c.

(Signed) "ALEX. HAMILTON.

"LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS."

Accordingly, on the 8th of May 1746, James Bruce left Harrow with the highest commendations from Dr Cox, the head-master, for the care and assiduity with which he had prosecuted his studies, and the rapid proficiency he had made in Latin and Greek classics. He had also made many valuable friends—amongst others the Hon. Daines Barrington, with whom he kept up a constant correspondence, especially at the time of the publication of his *Travels*, when he took the most friendly interest in the smallest particulars, such as ink, paper, &c., at that period much more difficult to be procured than at present.

After May 1746, James Bruce lived for a year at the private academy of a Mr Gordon, where he made great proficiency in French and other modern languages, fencing, and many other accomplishments, which were of great value to him in after days.

In May 1747 he arrived in Scotland, and spent the summer and autumn amongst his friends, devoted, as he always continued to be, to field-sports. In the month of November of that year he was entered by his father at the Edinburgh University.

On the 6th of November 1746, it appears, by a discharge to his curators by William Graham of Airth, that Judge Graham had died, leaving his son and sole heir, a minor, to the guardianship of Alexander Hamilton of Pencaitland (his first wife's brother), David Bruce of Kinnaird, James Gordon of Ellon, John Hamilton, Writer to the Signet, Alexander Hamilton, Lincoln's Inn, &c. This discharge, being dated the 26th March 1752, has often been supposed to be the date of the judge's decease ; but it expressly affirms the contrary, and that it is the date of William Graham's coming of age, so that he could only have been fourteen when his father died. On the 18th of September 1746 Alexander Hamilton writes to David Bruce : "Yesterday I brought Mr Graham and your son to town with me from my little farm in Essex, where they had been with me for a few days, both in perfect health. Mr Graham is very desirous that his father would permit him to cut off his hair and wear a wig, which I hope you'll prevail on him to consent to. Hair, unless carefully dressed, which requires

much time and great trouble, is disagreeable. Pray give my compliments to the judge, Mrs Bruce, and all friends, and believe me your most humble servant,
 (Signed) ALEX. HAMILTON."

So much for schoolboy fashions in 1746.

With the death of Judge Graham the desire to keep the boys entirely out of Scotland, where the dangerous fascinations of a chivalrous but hopeless loyalty might still entangle them, in some degree ceased; and instead of studying, as was his wish on leaving Harrow, for the English Church or bar, James Bruce's studies at the Edinburgh University were directed to Scotch law, of which Mr Erskine of Cardross was then professor, and with his family he was particularly intimate: but languages and literature were more to his taste than law, and a friend, writing of him to his father at that time, observes that the margins of his law-books were covered with notes and quotations from the Italian poets. Alienated from his home by an uncongenial stepmother, he never lost his love and respect for his father; and upon his expressing a wish that he should apply to the Court of Directors for an Indian appointment, which was at that time the object of ambition to so many, he gave up Edinburgh and the law, and returned to London in July 1758—the more readily that the climate of Scotland had proved too severe for him, so as to excite serious apprehensions of a tendency to consumption. He was then twenty-two years of age, and had much outgrown his strength.

After nearly a year spent amongst his friends in London, who were in no hurry to part with him, an event took place which proved the turning-point of his fate, and probably saved him from suffering the cruel imprisonment at Calcutta which proved fatal to so many of the Company's servants in 1756. Amongst his friends in London was the family of Mrs Allan, the widow of an eminent wine-merchant, who, having been bred to that business in France, had carried it on successfully in London. Mrs Allan was the granddaughter of Sir Thomas Smyth of Crow Hall, in Suffolk, a gentleman well known in the county both for his fortune and family, but whose son, "regarding his predecessors more than his posterity," managed to squander away the estate, "and left his children to the care of Providence." "It will ever be to Mrs Allan's honour that she did all in her power to assist her father, and, continuing the business after her husband's death, has carried it on with success these twenty years, till it is now without a rival, for the benefit of her children—one son and one daughter." This daughter, Adriana Allan, became the object of his choice. "She has had," he says, writing to his father, "a most complete education, is in every respect perfectly amiable, and has a handsome fortune; which last, as

it is very necessary, I mention for your satisfaction, though it is, of all the advantages of which she is possessed, that which I value the least. Besides this, I am to be admitted a partner into the house, which being of the greatest reputation in London, is of itself a fortune." He adds that he had the approbation of Mrs Allan, and of all his own friends, especially his dear uncle, William Hamilton, "now, alas! in his grave," and that their marriage only awaited her brother's return from Paris.

The marriage is thus recorded in books of the parish register of Hayes, county of Kent :—

"James Bruce, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, and Adriana Allan, of All Hallows Staining, of London, were married the 3d February 1754."

His letters on his marriage to his father, and those of his bride, are still extant. She appears to have been very amiable, and her portrait (at Kinnaird) shows that she was very handsome ; but already consumption had numbered her days. A few weeks after her marriage her letters are dated from "Bristol Hot Wells," with hopes expressed that her cough had somewhat benefited by the change, and much dependence by both on the skill of their good friend Dr Pitcairn. A warmer climate was prescribed for winter, and, accompanied by her mother, James Bruce and his young wife proceeded as far as Paris on their way to the south of France. They arrived on the 2d October, and on the 10th, exhausted by the fatigues of the journey, Adriana died. Again letters to his father attest the sorrows of his bereavement, and the trials he had gone through during the illness, and on the death of his wife, from the persecution of the Roman Catholic priests, and the difficulty with which Christian burial was obtained for a Protestant.

A rapid ride on horseback through wind and storm took him back to Boulogne, whence he crossed to London, where he relinquished for a time thoughts of any other profession, devoting himself to improve his talent for drawing, which he studied under a master, "Bonneau" by name, recommended to him by Sir Robert Strange, having as yet only studied it as relating to the science of fortification, which must, however, have been very valuable afterwards in the execution of his architectural drawings, maps, &c. After two years or more dedicated to these quiet studies, he again sailed from Falmouth, and landed at Corunna in July 1757, with the professed object of being present at the vintage ; for he was still a partner in his brother-in-law's house, and had already made some excursions to Guernsey and Alderney, and had seen and made drawings of the French ports of Cherbourg, Harfleur, and St Maloes, where immense preparations were making for war with England. On his arrival at Corunna, 5th July 1757, he proceeded *viâ* Ferrol and Oporto to Lisbon, then lying in ruins

after the great earthquake. On the 15th November he left Lisbon for Madrid. During this journey the remains of Oriental palaces, and the tales of chivalry ascribed to the Moorish wars, produced in his mind a great desire to examine the treasures of Arabic literature buried in the Escorial. To accomplish this he obtained an introduction to Don Ricardo Wall, then minister to his Catholic majesty, but of British extraction, and sincerely anxious to promote the interests of Spain. Being well aware of the acquisition a man of Mr Bruce's talents would be, he used every art to induce him to enter into his master's service; but these temptations, though exceedingly flattering, were declined, and Mr Wall's assistance was only requested to obtain access to the library of the Escorial. But this, it appears, was impossible. The Spaniards, with a jealousy peculiarly their own, conceal their records and history from all prying eyes. With great facility for acquiring languages, and for observing and delineating all he saw, he travelled through the greater part of France and Germany, and, along with a party of English gentlemen in the Dutch service, arrived in time to witness the battle of Crevelt, fought between the British and the French on the 23d June 1758, and the impression it made on his mind prompted him to return home and seek a more adventurous career. On reaching Rotterdam he received letters announcing his father's death, which obliged him immediately to sail for England; and for some time his private affairs, both in England and Scotland, retarded his designs, although they produced no suspension of his studies. With an intention of acquiring the Eastern languages, he had collected in Holland most of the books published by the Dutch and Italians on Oriental literature, and to examine, in the works of Ludolf, the Ethiopic or Geez—a circumstance which perhaps determined him to explore the sources of the Nile.

We have observed that in passing through Portugal and Spain in 1757, he had spent a few days at Ferrol, in Galicia, a harbour where the Spaniards generally station a part of their navy. Here he was brought into contact with several persons, from whom he received much information concerning the dockyards, to which he was surprised to find that models of the latest and most approved British ships of war had lately been secretly conveyed. He also procured a plan of the harbour and works of Ferrol, not with any immediate view of using it, but from general curiosity, and feeling himself justified in so doing by the disingenuous conduct of the Spaniards with regard to the British shipping. A report now became prevalent that the Court of Spain was about to declare war with Britain, and the discourtesy with which Lord Howe was received when driven into Ferrol by stress of weather seemed to countenance it. In the end of the year 1760 it occurred to him that the observations he

had made might be of use, and that in case of a war with Spain, Ferrol was a point at which that country might easily be invaded. He communicated his views to Mr Wood, and added that if, in the case of a war with Spain, the king would intrust him with the command of a forlorn-hope and a pair of colours, he would not desire the assistance of another boat except that in which he landed till he had planted them with his own hand on the beach at Ferrol.

A Spanish war was not yet begun, and although Mr Pitt received Mr Bruce's offer favourably, he could not adopt it, and allowed him to return to Scotland, where his presence was required for his private affairs. In a short time Mr Wood sent for him and informed him that an expedition was to be prepared against Ferrol, and that Mr Pitt wished to converse with him upon the subject ; but after waiting a considerable time, he learnt from Mr Wood that another person had offered to interweave a plan with his which he considered dangerous and impracticable.

It was proposed to invade France and to take Bourdeaux with the same army, which should afterwards attack Ferrol, and proceed to the relief of Portugal. Mr Bruce took an opportunity of stating his opinions to Mr Pitt, and afterwards, by the minister's request, sent in a written memorial. On reading it, Mr Pitt approved ; but the project languished, on account of various obstructions, till the time of Mr Pitt's resignation, when the Earls of Bute and Egremont were forced to execute those very measures in which they had refused to assist the former Ministry. Mr Bruce was immediately informed by Mr Wood that his memorial addressed to Mr Pitt had been laid before the king, and that his plan had been strongly recommended by Lord Halifax. The Earl of Egremont and Mr Grenville had several meetings with him, in order to concert the various parts of the expedition against Ferrol, without making any attempt on the coast of France ; Lord Howe was to be intrusted with the command, with the troops destined for the relief of Portugal. But no sooner was the Portuguese ambassador made aware of this than he procured an audience of the king, and strongly objected to the troops intended for the assistance of his country being employed against Spain in that direction.

Disappointed in his offer of public service, Mr Bruce determined to return to Scotland and attend to his own affairs. On the same evening, however, on which he received accounts of the Ferrol expedition being abandoned, Mr Hamilton, his cousin, then Secretary for Ireland, brought him a message from Lord Halifax, desiring to see him. His lordship laughed at the idea of Mr Bruce retiring to live in Scotland at his time of life, and suggested that the way to rise in the present reign was by enterprise and discovery. He observed that Africa, though almost at our doors, was yet unexplored ; that Dr Shaw, a

writer of undoubted credit, had spoken of remains of magnificent architecture in the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers; and that something should now be done to preserve them by drawing, and to add them to the king's collection. As a further inducement, he informed him that Mr Aspendale, his majesty's consul-general at Algiers, had been recalled, and that a Mr Ford, who had been appointed to succeed him, was since dead; and he warmly advised Mr Bruce to accept this opportunity of visiting Africa under the protection of a public character, promising that he should have leave to appoint a vice-consul for the despatch of business during his absence, should he make wide excursions into the country; and that if he made large additions to the king's collection, he should receive the rewards stipulated in the affair of Ferrol, or advancement in the diplomatic service. To these proposals Mr Bruce acceded. He had afterwards several conversations with Lord Halifax and Mr Wood on the affairs of Africa, in the course of which mention was frequently made of the sources of the Nile, and the obscurity in which they had ever been concealed.

Mr Bruce returned to Scotland for the winter of 1761, leaving the care of his interests in London to Dr William Pitcairn and Mr Wood; and in February following they informed him that he was appointed consul-general at Algiers, and that Mr Wood was concerting the means of his visiting Italy and studying its treasures of art on the way. As a pretext for this, he was appointed to see the grandmaster at Malta, who had incurred his majesty's displeasure by his partial and unfriendly behaviour during the war, and to communicate the intelligence of hostilities about to be commenced against the island by the British fleet under the command of Admiral Saunders. Mr Wood by his own exertions had lately given to the world a work on the ruins of Baalbec and Palmyra,* and was most anxious to procure a similar description of the African province. Another problem engaged at this moment the minds of scientific men. A transit of Venus over the sun had taken place in 1761, and another transit was expected to take place in 1769, and to be visible in the northern parts of Europe and Asia. Mr Bruce purposed to travel in Armenia to observe this phenomenon, if compatible with his other arrangements. Having been presented to his majesty, at whose gracious request he promised to make for his princely collection accurate and complete delineations of all the remains of ancient architecture that he should discover in the course of his travels, he left Britain in June 1762, on board a ship carrying despatches to Sardinia, which landed him on the coast of France; and receiving great civility in passing through that country, left Lyons on the 11th July, and reached Turin on the 15th, and thence by Parma and Bologna to Rome. He afterwards returned to

* Published by Wood & Dawkins in 1753 and 1757.

Leghorn and Florence, expecting despatches from home; but finding none, returned, after three months' residence at Florence, to Rome, at both places employing himself in studying architecture and art generally under the best masters. At Rome he had his portrait painted and sent home, and also a miniature, both of which are now at Kinnaird.* They were destined for a young lady to whom he was engaged to be married *on his return*; but that return was so long delayed, and it was so confidently asserted that he had died in the course of his travels, that the young lady, whose health was failing, was taken by her brother to Italy and there married to an Italian marchese. But this happened some years after the date of the portrait, which he writes was begun at Rome on his birthday in August 1762.

Another year passed away without bringing any orders to sail for Algiers, or of taking any steps towards the business at Malta.

In January 1763 he was instructed to await further commands at Naples, which he was the more willing to do that he had a great desire to visit Pæstum. These magnificent ruins had first been brought into notice in 1746 by Baron Antonini, but no correct plans or elevations of them had yet been made. At Florence he had accidentally met with some drawings by a Spanish officer, which he bought, and showing them to Sir James Gray, the British ambassador at Naples, proposed to him, who was well calculated for the undertaking, to publish a small work on Pæsto, in which coins should contribute to illustrate its history. This Sir James declined to undertake, but advised Mr Bruce to visit the ruins, to verify or correct the drawings in his possession. With this view he left Naples for Pæsto, and took plans and elevations of the principal ruins, which he found to consist of three temples of the Doric order, which are still amongst his collection of drawings. He also traced the walls of the city, which are about three miles in circumference, and the ruins of an amphitheatre, an aqueduct, and some baths. Returning to Rome and Florence, he engaged a painter (Signor Zocchi) to compose a frontispiece for his intended work, and intrusted the drawings to Mr Strange, then in Italy, to be engraved.

In the month of February despatches arrived from England, informing him that the differences with the Grandmaster of Malta had been arranged, and that a British ship had received orders to stand in for the Italian coast to carry Mr Bruce to Algiers. Sailing from Leghorn, he arrived at Algiers on the 20th of March 1763, and immediately entered upon his official duties. These duties after a time were rendered exceedingly onerous by a quantity of printed passports designed for British ships having at the taking of Minorca by

* By Pompeo Battone.

the French fallen into their hands, and being sold by them to the Spaniards and other enemies of the Barbary States ; and when British ships presented *written* passports provided for them in the mean time, they were not received—indeed one ship was taken possession of and its crew sold as slaves. The Dey and the party who supported the renegadoes were alike indignant with the English consul ; nor was he well supported from home, more than eight months passing without his letters being answered. The Dey had demanded his dismissal, and in the autumn of 1764 Mr Bruce was informed by Lord Halifax that an ambassador was appointed to the Barbary States, and that Mr Kirk would succeed him as consul at Algiers. No mention was made of the permission which had induced him to accept that office, and he was constrained either to make his excursion as a private individual, or entirely to abandon the principal design of his residence in Barbary.

But by this time the Dey had become aware of the error he had been led into, and admiring the firmness and integrity with which Mr Bruce had served his country, not only gave him permission to travel through the inland provinces of Algiers, but also the most cordial promises of friendship and protection, and letters of recommendation to the governors of the places which he intended to visit ; whilst the merchants settled at Algiers (principally Venetians), deeply regretting the departure of one who had ever faithfully maintained their interests, presented him with a beautiful gold cup (now at Kinnaird) filled with sequins.

On the 25th of August 1765 he sailed for Tunis, going on shore to visit the ruins of Utica and Carthage. At Tunis the English and French consuls were eager to serve him and to make his stay agreeable. There he made all preparations for his expedition. Mr Lumisden, the talented author of ‘Roman Antiquities,’ sent him from Rome a young Bolognese architect and draughtsman of considerable ability, although still very young, Luigi Balugnani by name, the only assistant he ever had, and the number of drawings they executed together is surprising. In the north of Africa, the ruins of Baalbec and Palmyra ; and in the interior, Tucca, Keff, and Hydra. Near Constantina, where the Dey had a palace, Mr Bruce discovered the ruins of Cirta, the capital of Syphax. By Jibbel Aures, Spaitla, &c., where he found magnificent remains of Roman architecture, he returned to Tunis in February 1766. He next prepared to visit Tripoli ; but here the Dey of Tunis could no longer protect him, and the Basha promising an escort, but failing to do so, he rashly ventured to cross the desert attended only by his own suite, ten in number, and being attacked by a party of Arab horsemen, whom they repulsed with difficulty, lost four men in the encounter.

At Tripoli the consul, the Honourable Mr Fraser of Lovat, who had despaired of their safety, received them with every sort of kindness. From Tunis and Tripoli Mr Bruce sent on his books, drawings, and such instruments, &c., as he could spare, thus saving them from a shipwreck, a short time after, in leaving Bengazi in a small Greek vessel for Crete. Mr Bruce swam ashore with great difficulty, and was cruelly treated by the Arabs whilst he lay insensible on the beach. It was at Ptolometa that he was cast on shore, where he drew one Ionic temple; but fever now laid him prostrate, and he remained for some time at Crete, where very obliging letters reached him from M. Peyssonnel, the French consul at Smyrna, enclosing letters which would have procured access to all the Agas of Caramania, besides the offer of his house in Smyrna. April 1767 he sailed to Rhodes, where he found his books and papers forwarded from Tunis, thence to Castel Rosso, on the coast of Caramania, where his fever returned and obliged him to give up all hopes of travelling in Asia Minor. His next move was for Sidon, where he was kindly received by M. Clairembaut, a French gentleman. The French had at this time a flourishing establishment in the Levant, and in the families of the merchants there and at Aleppo he says he spent some of the happiest moments of his life.

On the 16th of September Mr Bruce set out from Sidon on his way to Baalbec, and from thence to Palmyra. Of both places he made fine drawings, which were presented to the king on his return; but Mr Wood having already given the measures of the principal buildings to the public, he omitted *that* labour. The drawings of Palmyra were thirteen in number.

A long illness again detained him at Aleppo, where he was attended by Dr Patrick Russel, and by the kind hospitality of M. Belville, a French merchant, was at length restored to health. Nor had he lost time during his illness, for under Dr Bell at Algiers, and Dr Russel at Aleppo, he studied the practice of medicine, ever a ready introduction amongst savage tribes. At this time two different expeditions occupied his attention. The transit of Venus over the sun was to happen in June 1769; but being only visible in the northern parts of the globe, he could only attain his object by a long and dangerous journey through Armenia and the regions north of it, inhabited by the wandering Tartars. He had lost all his astronomical instruments at Bengazi, and having written to his friends in England and France to purchase new ones, was greatly discouraged by their replies—"none could be had in time, as all the best artists were engaged by the different astronomers who intended to observe the transit." The other expedition was a journey into Abyssinia to discover the sources of the Nile; but for this also astronomical instruments were indispensable. At

length these arrived, by way of Egypt, at Alexandria, whilst Mr Bruce had in the mean time visited many places on the Phœnician coast, and halted at Tripoli, Beyrout, Tortosa, &c., by the way.

On the 15th of June 1768 he sailed from Sidon, and soon arrived at Alexandria, where the advent of his astronomical instruments had given the Bey and his minister a high opinion of their possessor as a learned *astrologer* and *physician*. From the Bey he received letters in favour of "*Yagoube, his physician*," to the Sheriffe of Mecca, the Naybe of Masuah, and the King of Sennaar.

On the 12th December 1768 Mr Bruce sailed from Cairo on his voyage up the Nile, the account of which, being written by himself in many volumes, may be read at this time with more than usual interest by those who would contrast the Abyssinia of the present day with that of one hundred years ago. Of his wanderings in Asia Minor and the Levant he published very little, intending, probably, at some future period, to bring out a work on the ruins he had discovered and so carefully delineated, all of which, except those in the king's collection, are still at Kinnaird in the state in which he left them. Nor were the drawings of Pæsto left by him with Mr Strange to be engraved ever published in his name. They were pirated during Mr Strange's absence, it is supposed, and published under another name whilst Mr Bruce was in Abyssinia, and never expected to return.

In a letter addressed to Mr Strange from Sidon, May 10, 1768, he says: "I hear that the engraving of my prints of Pæsto, at Paris, has not only procured an edition, but likewise that M. Soufflot is engraving and printing by subscription, at London, a work on my plan precisely. I suppose in your absence he has seen my prints and probably copied them; pray let me know how this is, and whether in some review or magazine you have given the public some notice that it may wait for mine." M. le Comte de Buffon, who was then employed on his great work on natural history, announced to the world the assistance which he had received from Mr Bruce in that science, and from seeing his beautiful drawings of plants, birds, and fishes, &c., which in many volumes still remain at Kinnaird. Luigi Balugnani, his only assistant in his charts, plans, observations, and designs of all descriptions, died before he reached home, and many of them were finished long after his death, showing the master-hand. On his passage from Alexandria to Marseilles he had nearly been deprived of all the fruits of his labours; the weather being stormy and shipwreck imminent, the superstition of the crew had nearly induced them to throw all Mr Bruce's baggage overboard. At Marseilles, however, he was received and welcomed by a large circle of friends, and after reposing for a

time in the south of France, he set out for Paris with the Comte de Buffon in July 1773, and met with a most flattering reception.

To the Jardin des Plantes at Paris he consigned a portion of the seeds of new plants which he had collected, and to the king's library a copy of the Book of Enoch, a literary curiosity of great value. His health being unconfirmed, he returned to Italy, and after two months spent at the baths of Poretta, and some time at Bologna, went on to Rome, where he was received with great marks of attention by the Roman nobility, and was presented to Pope Clement XIV., the celebrated Ganganelli, who gave him a case of gold medals relating to various incidents of his Pontificate.

Returning to France in the spring of 1774, he remained there until June, when he reached England, from which he had been absent twelve years. The public, as might be expected, were impatient to hear his adventures, and his beautiful drawings and collection of Ethiopic MSS.* excited great attention.

He had an audience of the king, and was favourably received by his majesty, who was pleased to approve of his labours, and to accept those drawings of Baalbec, Palmyra, and the African cities which the traveller had promised to make for his collection. His success, however, made enemies, particularly Mr Wortley Montague and the Baron de Tott. They said he had gone into Armenia, and never had been in Abyssinia at all! and although by a letter from Sir Joseph Banks, July 21, 1788, it appears that Mr Bruce deposited his Abyssinian MSS. for some time in the British Museum, no one took the trouble to inspect them. His incidents of Abyssinian life and manners, too, were scarcely credited; and instead of adapting his stories to the credulity of his hearers, he would rather go on telling them something more extraordinary to move their wonder.

In Scotland he was received with much joy. A report of his death had been circulated for the last four years, and was not contradicted until his arrival at Marseilles.

He now intended to settle in his native country, and for two years was fully occupied in renovating his house, which during his absence he had left in the occupation of his stepmother and her children, and in regulating his affairs, which had gone into disorder during his absence. A number of lawsuits took up his attention, and prevented for a time his application to literature.

On the 20th May 1776, James Bruce married Mary Dundas, daughter of Thomas Dundas of Fingask by Lady Janet Maitland, daughter of the sixth Earl of Lauderdale.

After his marriage he dropped his correspondence with literary men, whether

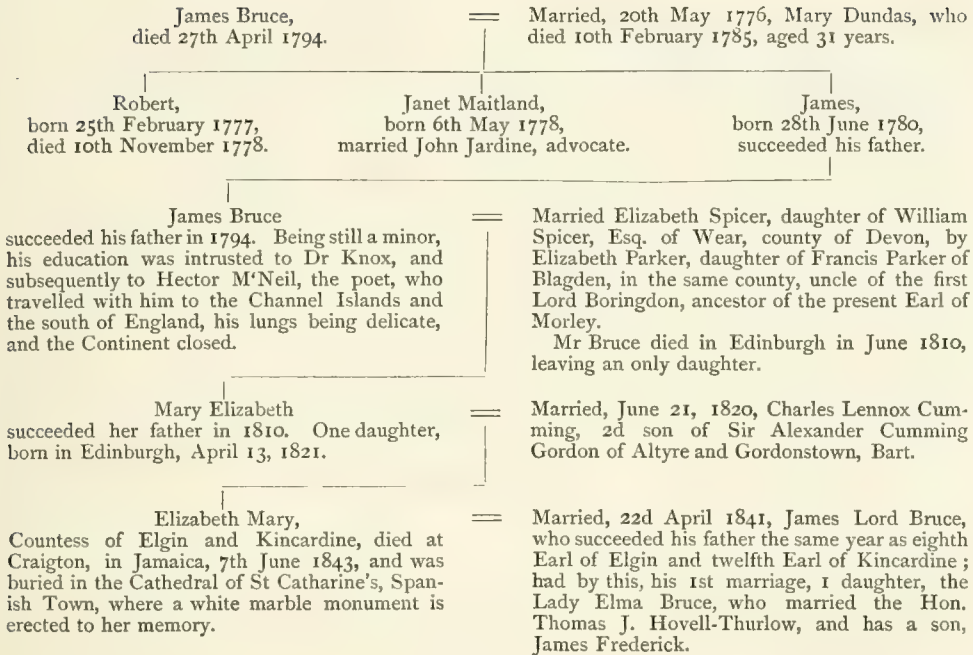
* Now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

in France or England, although ever hospitably inclined to those who were pleased to visit him. He spent his autumns at Ardwhillery, near Callander, in Menteith, on the banks of Lochlubnaig, resembling, he said, in many of its features, the lake of Dembea. The stream which forms the Teith is distinctly seen winding through the lake, and is the chief branch of the Forth, although after this junction the river takes the name of the inferior stream. Happy in the repose of domestic life, Mr Bruce was in no hurry to present himself as a candidate for literary fame ; but in the spring of 1785 he had the misfortune to lose his wife. Thus left in solitude, his friends, especially Daines Barrington, urged him to undertake a task, which, as a duty to himself and to all who took an interest in African discovery, he was bound to perform. At length he yielded to their wishes, and began to arrange the narrative of his travels from his various note-books, and to translate the history of Abyssinia from the original MSS. The first part was written by his own hand, later portions dictated to his clerk, John Logan, who also filled the post of librarian for many years after his death.

In 1788 the work was ready for publication, and was submitted to the inspection of the Hon. Daines Barrington, the Bishop of Carlisle, and other literary friends. It was printed in Edinburgh under his own inspection, and published in London by the Robinsons in 1790, in five volumes quarto, under the title of 'Travels to discover the Sources of the Nile in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773.' The work was translated into French the same year by Mons. Castera, and into German by J. J. Volkman, with a preface and notes by Blumenbach, and had a rapid circulation on the Continent. Three years after, Mr Bruce was advised by his friends to publish a second edition in octavo, and was making arrangements for the purpose, which were arrested by his sudden death.

On the 26th of April 1794, having entertained some company at dinner, Mr Bruce, hastening down-stairs to hand a lady to her carriage, missed his foot, and fell headlong from the sixth or seventh step to the ground. He was taken up insensible, and expired early next morning.

On the Thursday following his remains were deposited in the vault beneath the monument he had erected to his wife and child at Larbert. He left one son and one daughter.



BRUCES OF KINCAVEL.

Sir John Bruce was the third son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Knight,
by Dame Janet Livingstone.

He had from his father a charter of Westbordland, in Denny.

Circa
1582.

Sir John Bruce
His sons were—1. Alexander; 2. Robert,
minister of Aberdour; 3. Walter; 4. William;
5. John of Wrae.

His daughter, Margaret Bruce, married Sir
John Stirling of Garden, Knight. Her brothers
appear as witnesses.

= Married Jeane Drummond, eldest daughter of
Sir Robert Drummond of Medhope, the last
laird thereof, for his only son was killed at the
battle of Auldearn, A.D. 1645.

“ At Kincavill and Edinbro' the 13th day of October, the yeir of God 1^m vic
and threttie-aught yeires. It is appoyntit, &c. &c., betwixt Sir John Stirling of
Garden, Knight, with speciall adveyse, consent, and assent of Archibald Stirling,
fiar of Garden, his eldest lawful son and apparent heir, on the ane pairt, and
'Margaret Bruce,' lawful daughter of umquhile Sir John Bruce of Kincavell,
Knight, with special adveyse, consent, and assent of Dame Jeane Drummond,
Lady Kincavell, hir mother, Mr Robert and Walter and William Bruces for

thaimselfes, and taking burden on them for the said Margaret Bruce, thair sister, on the other pairt," &c. &c. This contract is signed by J. Stirling, M. Bruce, Mr Robert Bruce, Jeane Drummond, W. Bruce, &c.

1595 and 1643. Dated Aug. 27, 1600. This Sir John Stirling of Garden, Knight, was the eldest son of Sir Archibald Stirling of Keir by Dame Grizell Ross, his second wife. He had a grant from his father of the lands of Nether Dechmont, in the regality of Dalkeith and parish of Livingston, of Uchiltrees and Ballindeoch.

He married, 1st, Margaret Menteith, younger daughter of Sir William Menteith of Kerse, at Alva Church, 17th August 1613. They were then infeft in the tower and place of Garden. His first wife died 21st July 1628.

Oct. 13, 1638. Sir John Stirling married, 2dly, Margaret Bruce, daughter of Sir John Bruce of Kincavel, and of "Dame Jean Drummond, Lady Kincavel."

Circa 1607. Sir John Bruce died, and his eldest son, Sir Alexander, succeeded.

Mr Robert, second brother, minister of Aberdour, was famous for his piety and his travels in Palestine.

1643. "Anna," a sister, married James Bruce of Powfoullis. "Mr John Bruce" of Wrae, her brother, signs for her.

1503. Patrick Hamilton of Kincavel was Sheriff of Linlithgowshire.

1525. James Hamilton of Kincavel rendered his accounts at Edinburgh. He was brother of Patrick, one of the *first martyrs*, who suffered for his tenets in 1528. James Hamilton also was summoned for heresy. He was permitted to return for a few months to arrange his affairs, when he revealed to James V. the treason of Sir James Hamilton of Finard, who was captain of the Palace of Linlithgow, and had conspired to kill the king, whose favourite he was.—Chalmers's 'Caledonia,' vol. ii. p. 846. .

1542. The houses of *Pardovanc*, *Bynnica*, and *Kincavel* were burnt by Queen Elizabeth's army in revenge for the death of the Regent Moray. "The ruins of West Binny." It belonged to the Bruces in 1500-1527.

BRUCES OF BANGOUR.

27th March 1597. Alexander Bruce, fourth son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth.

Sir John Bruce of Airth is called his nephew in 1617—that is, nephew of "umquhile Alexander of Bengour."

Patrick, his son, succeeded.

His grandson, "Robert Bruce," married Janet Lauder, daughter of Sir John Lauder of Fountain Hall, Bart.

== Married Helen Hamilton, who married, 2dly, William Congalton of that Ilk, who had by his 1st wife, "Mary Hay," daughter of John Lord Yester, his heir, "William Congalton," who, succeeding him, married "Margaret Bruce," daughter of Helen Hamilton by her 1st husband. Contract dated 1609, whereby Helen Hamilton, her mother, becomes bound to pay the debts upon the estate of Congalton, extending to 10,000 merks, and to keep and maintain the said William, his wife, brothers, and sisters.

BRUCES OF STENHOUSE.

Sir John Bruce's two younger brothers, and his father's brothers, had all received landed estates from Sir Alexander before his death in 1600; and of these, *two* at least are still held by their lineal descendants—Stenhouse and Kinnaird.

Sir John Bruce of Airth's second brother, "William Bruce," had from his grandfather, "Sir Alexander," "the *Stanehouse* or *Steinleigh*," given by charter to a former Sir Alexander by James II., and confirmed by James IV. to his In 1541. grandson, Robert de Brus, in 1489.—Reg. Mag. Sig., lib. xii. No. 140.—See Appendix.

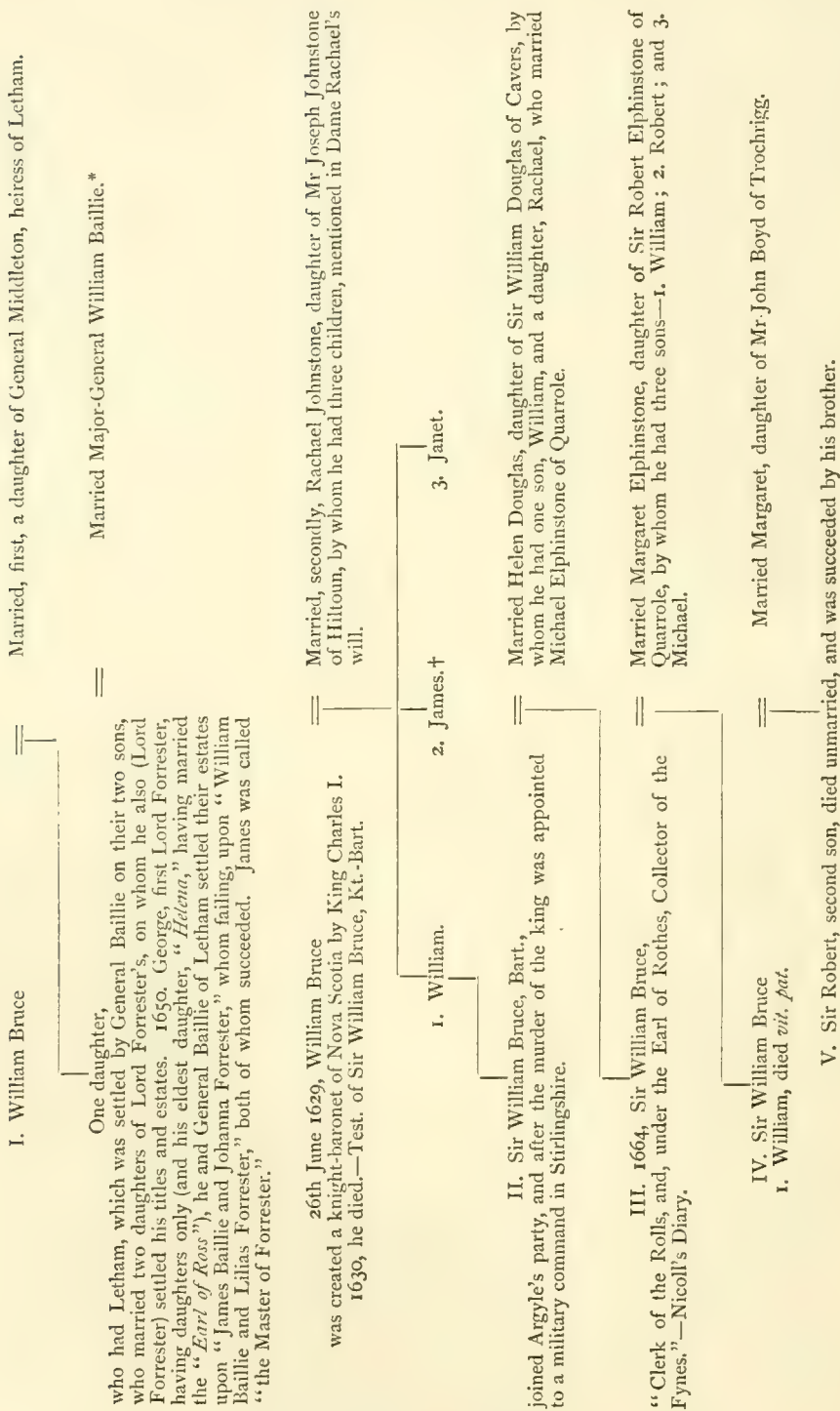
The Stanehouse, until Sir Alexander Bruce's death in 1600, had been held by the "Lards of Arthe," or given by them to their "eldest son and heir" on his marriage; but by Sir Alexander it was settled upon his second grandson, "*William and his heirs*," and in his line it still continues.

William Bruce was not of age at the time of his grandfather's death; and his uncle, Mr Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, was his guardian, and that of his younger brother, "*Patrick of Newtoun*."

William Bruce of Stenhouse had a charter of confirmation under the great June 28, seal as "*brother-german of Sir John Bruce of Airth*." 1611.

It is to be regretted that the deeds belonging to this branch of the family were burned in the house of their agent in Edinburgh about the beginning of the century.

In all accounts of *Airth* and *Stenhouse* given by "*Douglas*" and others, "*Sir John the Brus*" has been most unaccountably overlooked, although his son "Robert's" accession to Stenhouse on the death of his father, "Sir John," slaughtered by the Menteiths in 1483, and to Airth, on the death of his grandfather, "Sir Alexander," in 1494 (when the two estates were again united), is certified by many charters.



Married Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Andrew Agnew of Lochnaw, Bart.

VI. Sir Michael Bruce

Six sons and four daughters.

1. William, who died young; 2. Andrew, who died young; 3. William, his heir; 4. Peter Crauford Bruce; 5. Michael; 6. Robert.
1. Eleonara; 2. Elizabeth; 3. Rachael; 4. Jamima, who married Brisbane of that ilk.

VII. Sir William Bruce,

third son, succeeded, and had three sons and two daughters.

The sons were—1. Michael; 2. William; and 3. Alexander.

The daughters were—1. Anne, died unmarried; 2. Mary, married George Moir of Demore, and had two daughters—1. Mary Anne, married Colonel Knight Erskine of Pittodrie; 2. Isabella Margaret, married Joseph Dundas of Canonhall.

VIII. Sir Michael Bruce

No succession. Died 1862.

Died 1842. William,

his brother, left four sons and three daughters.

1. William Cunningham, present baronet; 2. Ronald, an officer in the Bombay Army; 3. Michael, do. do., married "Louisa," daughter of Colonel Wilson, Bombay Army, and has issue; 4. Arthur, married Maria, daughter of Dr Murray.

1. Ann, married, first, Lieutenant Simpson; secondly, Baron Gerstein von Hohenstein; 2. Emma, married, first, Captain Simpson; secondly, Major Robert Lewis Taylor, Bombay Staff Corps; 3. Ada, married O'Grady.

IX. Sir William Cunningham Bruce,

eldest son of William Bruce, Captain in the 74th Highlanders. He had two sons and two daughters—

Michael, born in 1853; William Walter, in 1856.
Grace Catherine, and Corinna Maria.

Sir William Cunningham Bruce is thus the lineal male representative of the house of Airth.

Married, 1795, Mary Anne Cunningham, daughter of Sir William Cunningham Fairlie of Robertson and Fairlie, Bart., R. W.

Married, 1823, Isabella, daughter of Alexander Moir of Scotstoun, Aberdeenshire.

Married in India Jane Catherine, daughter of William Clark, Esq., banker.

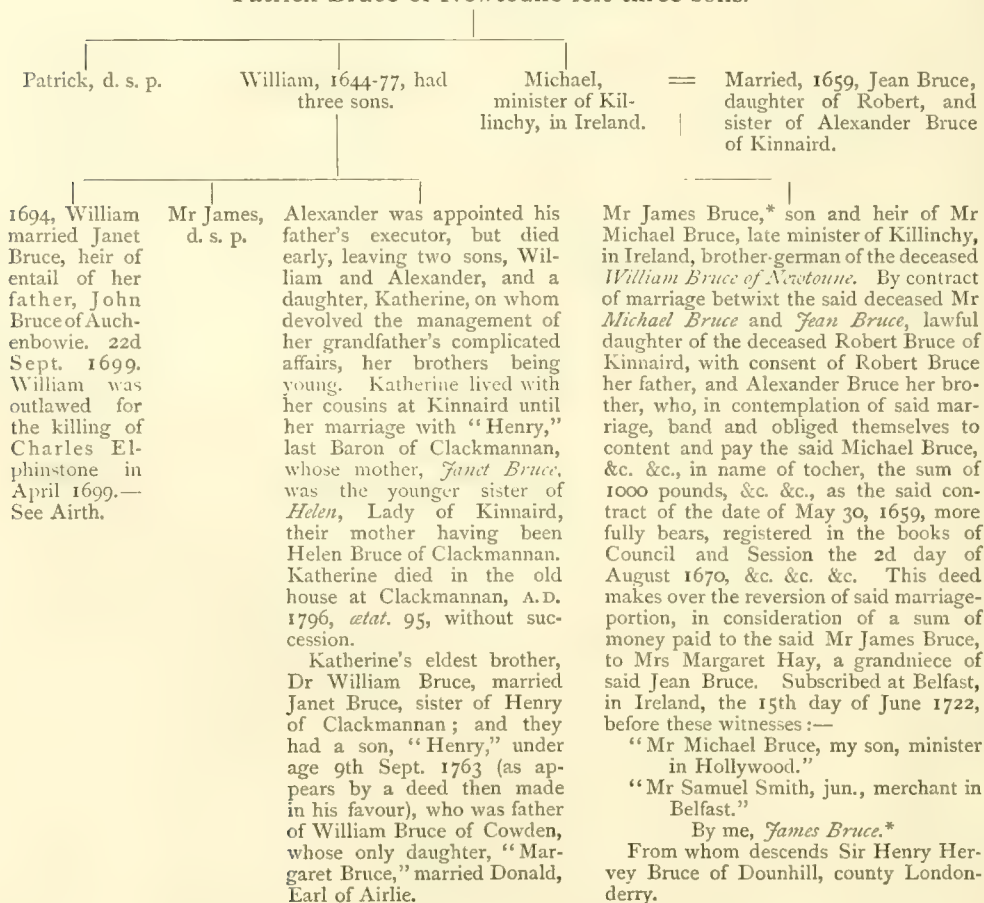
Married, 1850, Charlotte Isabella, third daughter of the Honourable Walter O'Grady, second son of the first Viscount Guilleamore.

* Lieut.-General Baillie of Torwoodhead, an illegitimate son of Sir William Baillie of Lamington, went to Sweden, and served under Gustavus Adolphus. He was called into Scotland by the Covenanters in 1638.
† James was a captain of dragoons in the reign of Charles I. He married Anna, daughter of Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, and is called in the contract brother-german of Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse. Their son Alexander lived in Airth in 1701.

BRUCES OF NEWTOUNE.

1630. Patrick, third and youngest surviving son of "*William*," eldest son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, knight, succeeded on his mother's death to the small property of Newtoun in Bothkennar. Her will, dated at Newtoun, 7th August 1630, gives to him also a "house and yard" in Airth, sold to her, "Dame Jean Fleming, Lady Airth," in liferent, and to Patrick Bruce, her youngest son, in fee, 6th April 1621.

Patrick Bruce of Newtoun left three sons.



* Mr James Bruce had a second son, Patrick, who carried on the line of this family.

In the year 1644, William Bruce of Newtounne writes as follows to Lord Livingstone :—

“MY VERRIE HONLE. LORD,—

“I intendit before this tyme to have seen your lop., bot things haive so crosslie fallen out concerning my awine pettie bussines, that I could not help it. Desire I earnestlie your lop. nott to be offendit. I haive tryit the ‘major’ his dyet, who intendis in 8 or 10 dayes to be reddie, against quhilk tyme I sall do my best. My Lord of Montrois and Bolkittok are joynit, and will mak up 3000 men. At the writting heiroff, Westquarter, the Governor of Stirling, writt to the Lord of Marr, desyring the shyre to be in readines because the ennemie was about the Balloch in Menteathe. Quhat they intend is nott as zett knowin, bott I will assoore your lop. they trubel the haill kingdome, and if it be nott preveenit they are like to cause us worse. My lord, if ther wer any ether occurrentis, I should be glad to wreat. Onlie one thing: ther ar. also great kneverie in Scotland, as in Ingland.—I continue till meeting, your lop. humbell servant,

(Signed) . “W. BRUCE.

“CLACKMANNAN, *the 10th Decemb.* 1644.

“To my verrie honle. and nobill Colonell,
my LORD LIVINGSTONE,”

The “Major” in 1644 was Colonel Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan in 1664 Sir Henry Bruce had a pass to go beyond seas.

1645.

“William Bruce of Newtounne, finding his affairs in great disorder by reason of his engagements for the Lord of Clackmannan, thought fit to dispone his own proper estate in favour of his own proper creditors, with a view to prefer them to his cautionary, and therefore dispones his estate in favour of the Earl of Wigton,” &c.

1677.

There are letters from William and Alexander Bruce (sons of Alexander) to their sister Katharine, addressed to her at Kinnaird, begging her to attend to their interests in their grandfather's estate. They write like young boys, and say they have lately returned from the coast of Guinea, and are about to sail for the Indies.

1724.

About 1731, David Bruce of Kinnaird, and Mr John Hamilton, W.S. (Wishaw's brother), bought Newtounne in Bothkennar.

THE CUMYNS

THE CUMYNS.

INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE the days of Malcolm Cænmore little is recorded of the civil polity of Scotland. Until after 1070 the monks had little footing in the land, and it is chiefly on the foundation of their chronicles that early history is built. Of the reign of Macbeth, which was *not* a short one, and is said to have been very prosperous, nothing is told, except that "he distributed great alms at Rome" (but whether in person or by deputy, does not appear); nor would his name be now a household word were it not for the meteoric gleam cast across it by Shakspeare's magic-lantern, contracting into the dramatic action of an hour the murder of "the gracious Duncan," a reign of fifteen or sixteen years, and the death of the usurper.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that we should know little of the life of Donaldbain, the brother of Malcolm Cænmore, who, after his brother's death, seized the crown, and held it, in accordance with the ancient law of tanistry, in preference to the sons of the deceased king.

He is said to have been supported by the "*Northmen*," probably by his cousins the Orkney Jarls, and it appears not unlikely that he had succeeded to his grandfather "Crynan's" sway in Athol and the Hebudes. Whom he married we are not told, but he had an only daughter, called, like his grandmother, Beatrix or Bethoc. This lady married "the Count de St Pol," who, dying early and leaving no son, his brother was his successor; whilst his only daughter by Beatrix, "Hextilda, Countess of Etheletela,"* became the wife of *Richard Cumyn*, the descendant of Robertus de Cumyn, created Earl of Northumberland

* Probably *Ethel* or *Athol*, or such part of it as did not pertain to the Church.

in 1068 by the Conqueror, whose friend and relative he appears to have been, and who so severely avenged his death on the people of Durham the following year.

By their mother "Sybilla," sister of Syward, Malcolm and Donald were nearly connected with Northumbria; and when Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Danes were oppressed in England they found a welcome refuge in Scotland, until imperceptibly the greater part of the country became the property of these strangers. Many of the English barons possessed large estates in both countries.

"De Quincey, De Ferrarius, De Valloines, Baliol, and de Brus." Some of them became all-powerful in Scotland. Of these—

"The Cumyns," an Anglo-Norman family, were the first in date and in power. United to the Baliols and the Bruces by the ties of consanguinity, they were at length separated from the latter, and crushed by them during the rivalry of the wars of succession which followed upon the death of the Maiden of Norway, when Edward of England set up his claim to be the *over-lord*, and not the *ally*, of Scotland.

From the accession of David I. the chancellors of Scotland were generally of Saxon or Norman origin.

1133. William Cumin (for, like Bruce, the name was spelt in many different ways) was Chancellor to King David I. (who had been Prince of Cumbria by gift of his brother Edgar before he succeeded to the crown of Scotland on the death of his brother, Alexander I., in 1124). David I. was, besides, connected with Northumberland by Maude, his queen, daughter of the unfortunate Walthiof by Judith, niece of the Conqueror; and with her he had the county of Huntingdon, and was thus the first Scottish sovereign who was also an English baron. The earldom of Northumberland, however, which Walthiof had held, was the object of his ambition for Prince Henry, his only son. During this contest, his chancellor, William Cumin, was charged to hold Durham, and although not succeeding in being *elected* to the vacant see (although *nominated* by the Empress-Queen), David's object was attained, and both parties agreed to invest Prince Henry with Newcastle and Northumberland—from Tyne to Tweed—and all the other fiefs that belonged to the Prince of Scotland in right of his mother.

1141-2. After this, the chancellor's grandnephew, Richard Cumyn, marrying Hextilda, granddaughter of King Donaldbain, founded a family in Scotland next in power to that of the king.

DE COMIN, COMYN, CUMINE, COMINGE, CUMMING.

According to Sir Bernard Burke (see Extinct Peerage on Moreton or De Burgo, Earl of Cornwall, A.D. 1068), John, Count de Comyn and Baron de Tonsberg in Normandy, descended from Charlemagne, was founder of the noble house of Blois in France, and progenitor of the noble families of De Burg and Burke in Ireland; one of the counts having assumed the name of *De Burgo* on having been appointed governor of the chief towns in Normandy.

John, Count de Comyn and Baron de Tonsberg, was the son of Baldwin, founder of the house of Blois, who was the son of another Baldwin, son of Godfrey, a distinguished soldier of the cross, and grandson of "Charles, Duc d'Ingeheim," fifth son of the Emperor Charlemagne.

JOHN, COUNT DE COMYN and BARON DE TONSBURG.

Eustace, Count de Comyn and Baron de Tonsberg.

Robertus de Comyn, Comes, created Earl of Northumberland 1068, killed at Durham 1069.— See next page.

Harlowen de Burg, founder of the Abbey of Grestein in Normandy, died, vit. pat., having married "*Arlotta*," mother of William the Conqueror, by whom he left two sons, both of whom were with their half-brother at the battle of Hastings.

1. Robert, Count de Moreton or Mortein in Normandy (Comes Moretoniensis), created Earl of Cornwall, with grants of 793 manors, slain in Northumbria, A.D. 1087.

2. Odo, Bishop de Bayeux, created Earl of Kent in 1067, obit. 1096-98. — See Selsden's 'Titles of Nobility,' p. 527.

William, his son, rebelled against Henry I., demanding the earldom of Kent, which his uncle Odo had held.

From Adelm, his son, is derived the house of Clanricarde.

From John descended Hugo de Burgo, Great Justiciary, Earl of Kent. Temp. Henry III., A.D. 1227.

HISTORY OF THE CUMYNS FROM THE CONQUEST.

1066. ROBERTUS DE COMYN or Cumine, one of that ancient family in France, came to England with William the Conqueror, and is generally supposed to have been the progenitor of all those of the name in Scotland.

1068. King William appointed Robertus de Cumyn, Comes, to be Earl and Governor of Northumberland, and sent him with 700 veteran Normans to enforce his authority.

At Durham, the soldiers becoming undisciplined and committing excesses, the natives rebelled. The Bishop of Durham (Egilwine) gave Cumyn warning of their discontent, but without avail.

1069. On the 28th of January, at decline of day, multitudes assembled and girt the town. At daybreak they entered, slaughtered the Normans, and burnt the earl's dwelling, with all in it. Earl Robert and his 700 men were all killed save one.

The western tower of the church taking fire, the people fell upon their knees and ceased from killing, when suddenly the wind changed, and the church was saved.

Anno MLXIX. Comes Robertus Cumin, cum D.C.C. fere viris, apud Dunelmum a Norhimbris ucciditur.—'Chronica de Melros.'

Upon Wednesday 28th January 1069, St Dunelm.—Sir James Dalrymple's Col. 198.

In Spied's 'History of England,' published in 1632, we read the following:—

"Excester also, seeking to shake off the fetters of the Norman bondage, as likewise Northumberland, to recover their former liberties, took arms. Against whom, King William, in all haste possible, sent Robert Cumine, and went himself, strongly prepared, against Excester, which he most strongly beleaguered, at which time the citizens thought fit to shut their gates against him; and, besides, contemptuously taunted and flouted him, until a great piece of the wall falling down (by the especial hand of God, as the historians of that age report), they

immediately set open their gates and submitted themselves to his mercy. The chief instigator of their disloyalty was '*Githa*,' mother of King Harold, and sister to Sweyne, King of Denmark.

"But fortune to Cumine was not so favourable in the north, nor himself so circumspect as valiant; for, lying securely as he thought, in the citie of Durham, he was, on the sudden, surprised in the night by Edgar Ætheling and his followers, when Robert and his 700 Normans were slain, only one escaping, who brought the bloody news thereof to King William, which happened in the third year of his reign, and in the year of Christ 1068-69, January 28. The depth of winter notwithstanding, William posted to the north, whose only terror daunted all further attempts; so that, taking some of the authors of the rebellion, he cut off both their hands, and some their heads—conceiving, thereupon, more hatred against the English—and in that spleen of displeasure he returned to London."

Upon the death of Robert Cumine, Cospatrick, son of Maldred by "*Algitha*," 1069.
daughter of "*Uchtred*" (who had been Earl of Northumberland in the reign of Canute), bought the earldom from King William; but on its being soon after 1070.
discovered that he had countenanced the murder of Robert Cumine, he was obliged to fly from the wrath of King William, and took refuge with Malcolm III., King of Scotland, who made him "*Earl of Dunbar and the Marches*," and gave him that debatable land to defend, and to supply his followers with food. Cospatrick's race still exists in the Dunbars and Dundases, although there is no longer a "*Counte des Marches d'Ecosse*"—though, oddly enough, *he* who held that title by lineal descent from Cospatrick in 1400, claimed cousinship with Henry IV. of England through the "*blude of the Cummyne*," Henry claiming alike descent.—See Appendix.

ROBERTUS DE COMYN, Comes, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, killed at Durham, 28th January 1068-69, left two infant sons.

1. John, killed in the wars between the Empress-Queen Matilda and King Stephen after 1135. He must have married one of the heirs of Andrew Gifford of Fonthill.*

William, son and heir.

1120. William Cumyn held one-third of Fonthill in Wiltshire. He died before 1149, when his widow, Maud, daughter of Thurstan Banaster or Basset, married, 2dly, William de Hastings.

1. William Cumyn, son and heir, was killed in 1144 in a contest about the bishopric, which so distressed and disheartened his uncle that he gave up the struggle.†

2. Richard, who had a grant of the castle and honours of Northallerton in 1144. Progenitor of all the Cumyns in Scotland.

2. William, bred a clerk by Gaufrid or Geoffrey, Bishop of Durham, and Chancellor of Henry I. in 1133, was himself Chancellor of King David I. of Scotland.

1142. After the capture of King Stephen at Lincoln, David I., on joining his niece, the Empress-Queen, left his chancellor, William Cumyn, at Durham, with instructions to hold that important bishopric in her name, and with the hope that he would be elected to the vacant see.

On the death of Bishop Geoffrey, his friends, wishing to further the views of Cumyn, kept the event a profound secret.

The body of the deceased bishop being embalmed, or *salted*, in order that it might be preserved above ground until the arrival of the Scottish chancellor, who had been brought up amongst them, but one point remained to be gained—"the consent of the chapter"—and this was refused. Escaping from Durham, they chose "William de St Barbara," Dean of York, to be their bishop; but this was only the beginning of trouble, for in the chancellor they had to deal with a most determined opponent. In vain the Pope deprived him of the archdeaconry of Worcester, and launched an anathema at his head. In vain the newly-appointed bishop endeavoured to enter the episcopality by force of arms. Cumyn set at naught the anger of the distant Pope, and drove out the monks who attempted to give secret admission to his rival, and, converting their monastery into a fortress, filled it with men-at-arms, and for three years kept the bishop at bay, being supported by Alan of Brittany, Earl of Richmond. The death, however, of a favourite nephew, "*William Cumyn*," induced him to make arrangements for a compromise, and on the bishop again seeking admission in 1144, Cumyn received him in the garb of a penitent at the gates, and consented to his enjoying the undisputed possession of his bishopric, whilst a grant of the castle and honours of Northallerton were bestowed on the chancellor's nephew, "*Richard Cumyn*."

"William de St Barbara," Dean of York, was acknowledged by all parties Bishop of Durham, and enthroned 18th October 1144, whilst Prince Henry was Earl and Governor of Northumberland, not merely in right of his mother, but also by the treaty signed at Durham in presence of the Empress Maude and of Prince Henry himself, who leant more to the side of King Stephen than his father David I. had done, which might have been the principal cause of Cumyn's change of tactics.

* Dugdale, in his 'Baronage,' vol. i. p. 499, says:—

"In the Conqueror's time, *Osbert Gifford* held ten lordships in Wilts." He adds: "There was one Andrew Gifford who held the Barony of Fentell (Fonthill) in Wilts, which, upon his death (*temp.* John) was, by the king's consent, resigned to Robert de Mandeville, William Cumyn, and William de Fortibus, as right heirs."

William de Mandeville, 3d Earl of Essex, married, 1st, Hawise, daughter and heir of William le Gros, Earl of Albermarle. His 2d wife was *Christian*, daughter of Robert, Lord Fitzwalter, who married, 2dly, Raymond de Burg.

William de Fortibus was the son of *Hawise*. He became Earl of Albermarle, and married Christian of Galloway, who died 30th Henry III., A.D. 1246, when the Lady Devergoile, her elder sister, became her heir.

† Strange confusion has arisen about the lives and deaths of various bishops of that period in the north of England, all of whose names were "William." Thus Fordun, C.L.V. p. 45, says: "William Comyn, Chancellor of Scotland, promoted to the see of Durham by the Empress Maude, had many controversies with his clergy. At length some of their number mixed poison with the wine of the Eucharist and administered it to the bishop. He perceived the poison, yet drank it, and died."

And even Lord Hailes, in his 'Miscellaneous Occurrences,' repeats this mistake, vol. i. p. 297, A.D. 1158: "Hic Willelmus Cumyn, Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, admissam suam in ecclesia Sancti Petri a ministris altaris veneno potionatus est, qui licet venenum videret in calice, nihilominus illud fide fervens sumpsit, et non diu post supervixit. Deo gratias!"—Fordun, p. 43.

This ejaculation, says Lord Hailes, is oddly placed by Fordun. He meant doubtless to express his thankfulness for the faith of the bishop, not for his murder. It was, however, "William the Treasurer," Archbishop of York in 1158, and not "William Cumyn," to whom this refers.

RICHARD CUMYN, grandnephew of the Chancellor.

Richard Cumyn (styled the Chancellor's nephew) had a grant of the castle and honours of Northallerton in 1144, on his granduncle's cession of the bishopric of Durham, besides the other estates of his family.

He also obtained from Prince Henry, son of David I., lands in Peeblesshire.—See next page.

13th July 1174. Taken prisoner before Alnwick, with William the Lion, he became one of his sureties the following year.

1176. He was fined £100 for not attending the Judges' Itineravit in Northumberland, and for other services by which he held his estates in that county.

From 1178 until his death, in 1189, he acted as High Justiciary in Scotland. He left by his Countess Hextilda several sons.

Married, 1152, Hextilda, Countess of Ethel-etela, daughter of Bethoc or Beatrix, daughter of King Donaldbain, only brother of King Malcolm Cænmore.

Why Countess of Ethel-etela we have not been able to discover; but Hextilda being of the royal house of Ethel or Athol, probably succeeded to the appanage of her grandfather Donaldbain, who, after his father Crynan, appears to have been chief of Athol during the reign of his brother Malcolm Cænmore. The Cumyns were ever after nearly connected with Athol.

John, d. s. p. vit. pat., buried at Kelso, ante 1159.—See grant to Kelso of the Church of Lynton-Ruderic, by Richard and Hextilda.

William, son and heir, born 1163, died 1233, ætat. 70. He was "Seyner de Kirkintilt," &c., by inheritance; and after 1210 Earl of Buchan, by marriage with "Marjorie," only daughter of Fergus, Earl of Buchan.

Odo, a priest, witness in the Glasgow chartulary of a grant to Kelso, with *Hextild*, his mother.

David, married Isabel de Valloines.—See Cumyn of Kilbride.

David was one of the "Magnates Scotiæ" who engaged to maintain the peace with England in 1237.

Isabel, wife of David Cumyn, one of the heirs of *Christian*, wife of William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, in 1234, died 1249, leaving

William of Kilbride, son and heir.

Ydonea, married Adam Fitzgilbert.

Richard de Cumyn, styled the Chancellor's nephew, appears to have been the first of the name who held lands in Scotland. Lynton-Ruderic, now "West Linton," in Peeblesshire, was granted to him by Prince Henry, son and heir of King David I., probably on his marriage with Hextilda, that prince's cousin.

"We find in 'Origines Parochiales Scotiæ,' that, between the years 1152-59, Richard Cumyn (the second of a race which rose within a century to a height of power which no other family in the land had ever reached before, or attained in after times) gave to the monks of St Mary of Kelso the *Church of Lynton-Ruderic*,"*

* On the Church of Lynton being pulled down in 1781-82, it was found to have been built into the remains of a much older fabric; and in one of the walls were found stones on which a cross and shears were sculptured in relief.

The church, with its burying-ground, stood on the banks of the Lyne, on the west side of the village, at a place called Linton Green.—'Origines Par. Scotiæ.'

with all its rights, and half a caracute of land in the township, for the soul's rest of his lord 'Earl Henry,' and of his own son '*John*,' whose bodies were buried there" (in Kelso), "on condition that he himself, and Hextild his wife, and their children, should be received into the brotherhood of the convent, and be made partakers of its spiritual benefits."

This grant was confirmed by Prince Henry's sons, "Malcolm the Maiden," in 1159, and "William the Lion," in 1195-99, and twice at other periods during his reign. Also by Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, in 1175-99, and by Walter, Bishop of Glasgow, in 1232, and by Pope Innocent IV. in 1243-54.

Between 1165 and 1189, Richard Cumyn, with consent of Hextild his wife, and of his heirs, gave to the Augustines of the Holyrood, Edinburgh, "*the whole lands of Sleparisfield*." This grant is confirmed by the donor's son, "William Cumyn."

Another grant is confirmed by "the Countess Hextild," his relict. The Cumyns were the first lords of the manor on record.—'Origines Par. Scotiæ.'

KIRKINTULLOCH.

Kirkintulloch, alias Lenza, Deanery of Lennox, now called Kirkintulloch and Cumbernauld.

These parishes lie on the south side of the Kelvin.

Towards the end of the twelfth century, "William, the son of Thorald," Sheriff of Stirling, and lord of the manor of Kirkintulloch, gave its church to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth; and in the beginning of the next century, "William Cumin," then lord of Kirkintulloch, quitclaimed to the monks the church, and granted to it an adjacent oxgang of land. The church continued the property of Cambuskenneth till the Reformation. Of the tenure of "William, the son of Thorald," nothing is known.

To William Cumyn William the Lion granted "the lands of Lenneth, by the boundaries by which the king himself held it."—Charter of Conf. by Alexander II. at Cumbernauld.

Between 1200 and 1202 William Cumin quitclaimed to "William, Bishop of Glasgow, in presence of the king and court at Alith, the lands of Mucraht," which he pleaded belonged to Kirkintulloch, but which the bishop contended was part of Balnain.—'Origines Par. Scotiæ.'

King Robert I. granted to Malcolm Fleming the whole barony of Kirkintulloch, which had belonged to Sir John Cumyn, knight.

1369. Part of these lands were exchanged with Robert de Erskin, with the proviso,

"If it happen that the old heirs of the barony of Leyneh, in the Lennox, should, through the treaty of peace between England and Scotland, recover the said barony as their inheritance, then the former lands to be restored," &c. &c.—Original in Wigton Charter-Chest.

N.B.—Robert de Erskin had some claim on the barony of Cadyow, having obtained from King Robert II. a grant of £20 sterling of annual rent out of that barony in exchange for the lands of Bonnington.

No traces now remain of the ancient castle, once a stronghold of the Cumyns, and a place of considerable consequence during the wars of succession. The name of the town was *Caer-pen-tulach*, or "the fort on the point of the hill." On the summit are the remains of an old Roman fort, one of the stations of the Roman wall. After the church was founded (dedicated to St Ninian), the name was changed to "*Kirkentulach*." *Cumbernauld*, *Cumar-n'ald*, signifies "the confluence or meeting of rivulets."

Children of RICHARD CUMYN by his Countess HEXTILDA.

1. John, buried at Kelso, ante 1159.
2. William, son and heir.—See next page.
3. Odo appears to have been a priest. He signs as witness to charters, in the Glasgow chartulary.
4. *David*. He flourished under Alexander II., and was witness to many charters. He was one of the "*Magnates Scotiæ*," who engaged to maintain peace with England in 1237.

He married "*Isabel*," daughter and sole heiress of Roger de Valloines (the friend of William the Lion), who had the barony of Kilbride. In 1181-89 William the Lion settled a dispute between Roger and Jocelin, Bishop of Glasgow, about the donation of the Church, which Roger then renounced to the bishop, Jocelin conceding to him to have a chapel and chaplainry, supported by himself, in his own Castle of Kilbride.—'Origines Par.,' p. 100, 101, &c. Circa 1194.

Isabel, wife of David Cumyn, was one of the co-heirs of *Christian*, the granddaughter of her uncle, Robert de Valloines, who had been the second wife of William Mandeville, third Earl of Essex, and married, secondly, Reymond de Burg, but died in 1234 without succession. 17th Henry III.

The said David Cumyn received a summons to fit himself with horse and foot to attend the king into Gascony.—Dugdale. 26th Henry III.

He performed an act of beneficence to the monks of Newbattle.—Chartulary of Neubottle. 1245.

1249. He died when "*Isabel*," his widow, granted to the Church of Glasgow a ter-
 Conf. in ritory in her forest of Dalkarn, for the safety of the souls of her parents and of
 1250. her husband,—

I. *David Cumyn*, then dead.—Chartularies of Glasgow, p. 39, 41, 259.

Roger de Valloines* had left a bastard son, "William," who signs as a witness to the charter of his sister Isabel.

1261. Isabel, Ladye of Killibride, died, and her son William became her heir.

II. *William Cumyn of Kilbride* appeared before Alexander III. in court at Jedburgh, on Whitsunmonday 1250, and resigned the lands of Steinduff, in the forest of Dalkarn, to the Bishop of Glasgow.—See chartularies of Glasgow, Soltre, Kelso, Paisley, &c., for notices of this William Cumyn.

III. *John Cumyn of Kilbride* succeeded his father.

He was probably under age, as he is not amongst the "Magnates Scotiæ" in 1284, nor at Brigham in 1292; but "John Cumyn of Kilbride," in 1296, was taken prisoner, and liberated in 1297, on swearing at Breda to serve the English king in France, on pain of forfeiture.

IV. Edmund Cumyn, who submitted to Edward I., with John Cumyn the Guardian, at Strathurd.—Ryley's 'Placita,' p. 369.

Edmund is called also of Elphinstone and Tranent.

Oct. 15, Mons. Edmund Cumyn, and all those who had submitted at Strathurd were
 1305. fined three years' value of their estates by Edward I.—Ryner's 'Fœd.,' vol. i. p. 969.

King Robert I. granted to Walter the Steward, on his marriage with the Princess Marjorie, the barony of Kilbride, granting to Mary Cumyn, the spouse of Edmund, the lands of Gillianachie and Sanchope, and the mill in the thanage of Formartine, Aberdeenshire.—Robertson's 'Index,' p. 2, 3.

William Cumyn of Kilbride had held large estates in Aberdeenshire, probably the inheritance of David his father; and his name is frequently to be

* DE VALLOINES.—Peter de Valloines held several lordships in England, temp. William I., and was founder of Binham Priory, Co. Norfolk; from him descended—

Robert de Valloines, who died 1184, whose daughter and heir "*Gunnora*" married Lord Robert Fitz-Walter, whose daughter "*Christian*" was the 2d wife of William de Mandeville, 3d Earl of Essex. *Christian* married, 2dly, Reymond de Burg. Died in 1234 without succession.

Philip, 2d brother, came to Scotland, temp. Malcolm Cænmore, High Chamberlain to William the Lion, and was one of his hostages in 1174. Got Panmure and Benvie from the king. Died 1215. His son William succeeded, and left an only daughter, *Christian*, who married Sir Peter de Maule, of whom the house of Panmure.

Roger, 3d brother, also settled in Scotland, and held Easter Kilbride in 1174-99. His daughter and heir married *David Cumyn*. *Isabel*, Lady of Kilbride, was one of the heirs of *Christian*, Countess of Essex, in 1234.

found in the charters of his cousin, the Earl of Buchan, as a witness. He certainly held a high place in the clan.

William of Kilbride is often mistaken for a brother of the Earl of Buchan, instead of a brother's son; and his father *David* is altogether overlooked in Douglas, &c.

YDONEA CUMYN, married to ADAM FITZ-GILBERT, Progenitors
of the Hamiltons.

William Cumyn of Kilbride granted to "*Adam*," the son of Gilbert, in free Ante maritage with his sister "*Ydonea*," "*Blyth and Ingoliston and the Halch*," by ¹²¹⁰. these boundaries—"as the Polyntarfe falls into the Lyne," &c.—'Origines Par. Scotiæ.'

"*Christian*," the daughter of Sir Adam, son of Gilbert, in her widowhood, for Between the souls of herself; of Sir Adam Fitz-Gilbert, her father; of Idonea, her mother; ¹²³³⁻⁴⁹. of Sir Henry, her son and heir, and his wife and children; of Sir Walter Cumin; Sir Alexander Cumin, Earl of Buchan; of Sir John Cumin, &c. &c., gives her lands of Ingoliston and Blyth to the chapel of St Mary's.—'Origines Parles.'

We nowhere find the name of this lady's husband.

These Fitz-Gilberts were the progenitors of the Hamiltons of Dalserf. For two generations, however, the heads of the house did not take any surname.

"A foundation charter of a chaplainry in 1361, by 'David Fitz-Walter, knight, Lord of Kinneil,' gives the second generation of the family of Hamilton, not yet bearing the name, but blazoning the well-known cinque-foils of the family arms."—'Sketches of Early Scottish History,' by Cosmo Innes, vol. ii. p. 53.

Sir Walter, filius Gilberti de Hamilton, had a charter from King Robert ¹³¹⁵⁻¹⁶. Bruce, "to him and Mariam Gordoun, his wife, of Machan, cum pertin. in Valle de Clude," &c. &c.

Sir Walter had a charter of Kinneil and of *Lethberd* (Larbert), and of Auld- ¹³²³. cathi, and afterwards of Cadyow, now Hamilton.

Machan or Dalserf is that portion of the lands of the Haughs of Clyde lying between the Clyde and Avon.

The old residence of the Hamiltons of Dalserf was at Auldtown, but there is a still older site at Castle Hill, where probably the Cumyns had their residence, and from which several royal charters are dated.

WILLIAM CUMYN, Great Justiciary, and afterwards Earl of Buchan.

We now return to William Cumyn, son and heir of Richard and Hextilda, and progenitor of all the great families of the name in Scotland.

William must have been born in 1163, as he died in 1233, ætat. 70, according to the Chronicles of Melros.

1200. William Cumyn was sent as one of the envoys to England to congratulate King John on his accession.

Before that time, it appears by various charters that he was married, but to whom we cannot affirm with certainty, although in the genealogical tree of the Stewarts it is said that his first wife was Matilda Urquhart (de Montalto), daughter of Cætisa, daughter of Banquo.

By his first marriage he had three sons and two daughters.

1. Richard, whose only son John married "Matilda," Countess of Angus, and died in France, vit. pat., having a son, who died the following year, 1243.

2. Walter, Earl of Mentieth, in right of his wife, dying s. p. in 1258, he was succeeded by the sons of his brother Sir John.

3. Sir John, the Red Cumyn No. 1 (generally mistaken for the son of Richard, instead of his younger brother). His eldest son "William" married the daughter of his uncle Walter's widow by her 2d marriage, and inherited half of that earldom. Black John, his 2d son, became Lord of Badenoch, and chief of his family.

The daughters of the Great Justiciar, by his first marriage, were—1. Margaret, married Bartime Seton; 2. Agnes, married Phillip de Melydrum.—See Appendix.

William Cumyn early acquired the manor of Lenzie in Dumbarton and of Kirkintilloch, by which title he was designated "Seyner de Kirkentilt."

1209. He became Great Justiciary of Scotland, and was sent with Philip de Valloines, High Chamberlain, the Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, on an embassy to England.

1210. He married "*Marjorie*," only child and heiress of the ancient Earl of Buchan, "*Fergus*," who died in 1209, and in her right became "Earl of Buchan."

1212. He succeeded "*Malcolm*," Earl of Fife, as Custos Moraviæ, and captured Godfrey M'William, supposed descendant of William the son of Duncan, eldest son of Malcolm Cænmore, and thus put down a rebellion in Moray.

1223. Gillespoe, another member of the M'William family (then chief of Badenoch), fell into his hands, with his sons; and soon after he acquired, as the reward of his success, the lordship of Badenoch, for *Walter*, his second son.

He founded the Abbey of Deer, and he and his countess, Marjorie, made 1218. large donations to Arbroath.

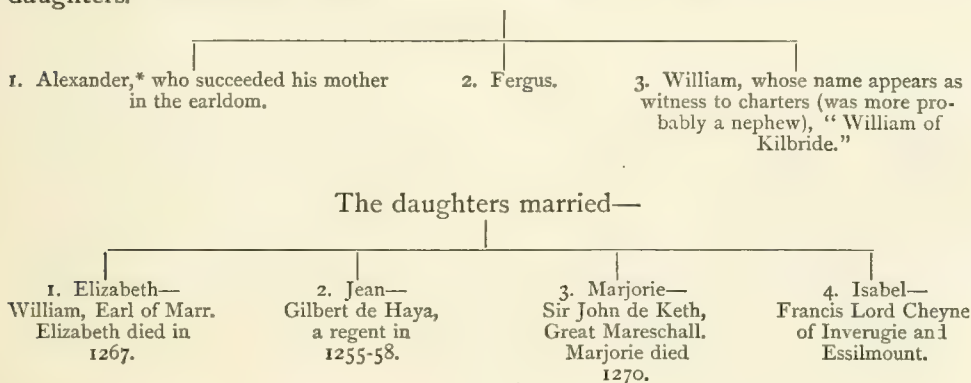
William, Earl of Buchan, gave a stone of wax to the altar at the tomb of 1233. St Kentigern, Glasgow Cathedral.

"Obeiit Willelmus Cumin, Comes de Buquhan, Abbatie de Der fundator."— 1233. 'Chronica de Mailros.'

His countess survived him; for a controversy arose with the abbacy of Aberbrothock, when she confirms a grant of a merk of silver, made by her father, 1236. "*Fergus*, Comes de Buquhan," to the said abbey.

Soon after (1240), her son Alexander, Comes de Buchan, appears as a witness to a charter granted by Alexander II., ann. reg. 26.

William Cumyn left, by the Countess Marjorie, two or three sons and four daughters.



RICHARD CUMYN, eldest son of the Great Justiciar by his first marriage.

On the death of William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan and Great Justiciar, his 1233. eldest son by his first marriage succeeded to the paternal estates held by the Great Justiciar before his second marriage in 1210 with the Countess Marjorie.

Richard Cumyn was thus the chief of his name; but his second brother "Walter," being by marriage "Earl of Mentieth," and by gift from King Alexander II. (in 1228) Lord of Badenoch, and his half-brother "Alexander" succeeding his mother as "Earl of Buchan," their names as earls appear before his in all documents, his signature being amongst *the magnates*. Thus it is found,

* There is a confirmation charter of Alexander, Comes de Buquhan, to the abbacy of Aberbrothock, as formerly granted to them "by his mother Marjorie, and his grandfather *Fergus*, Comes."—See 'Earls of Buchan.'

along with his brothers', the Earls of Mentieth and Buchan, as guarantees of a treaty with England in 1244. His name is also to be found, along with his father's, in various charters of Alexander II.

Circa 1249. Richard Cumyn died. We do not find who he married, but he had an only son, "*John*"—not Red John No. I., as some suppose (for Richard's name is not in the pedigree)—but "*John Cumyn*," who married "*Matilda, Countess of Angus*," and became in her right "*Earl of Angus*."

John Cumyn died in France in 1241-42 whilst on a mission there, leaving an infant son, Bertrald, who died the following year.

1241. "*Obciit Johannes Cumin, Comes de Anegus, in Francia.*"—'*Chronica de Mailros.*'

The Countess Matilda married, secondly, Gilbert de Umphraville, Lord of Redesdale, &c., who also became in her right "*Earl of Angus*." Their only son, "*Gilbert de Umphraville, eighth Earl of Angus*," who died in 1307-8, married the third daughter of Alexander Cumin, Earl of Buchan.—Wyntoun, vol. ii. p. 55.

Probably on account of these bereavements, Richard Cumyn never appears, like his brothers, to have taken an active part in the politics of his country.

WALTER CUMYN, Earl of Mentieth, Guardian and Regent, second son of William Cumyn, Great Justiciar, by his first marriage, before he became Earl of Buchan.

1220. Walter Cumyn, full brother of Richard, appears as a witness, along with his father, at the marriage of Alexander II. and the Princess Johanna of England at York.

Ante 1230. He acquired the vast territory of Badenoch from Alexander II., it being then in the crown, through the forfeiture of Gillespoe of the branch of the royal 1228-9. M'William line, subdued, as we have seen, by his father, the Great Justiciar.

1230. That Walter Cumyn was Lord of Badenoch has been overlooked, even by Lord Hailes, although clearly proved by a composition made between him and the Bishop of Moray.—See '*Chart. of Moray*,' p. 50, 51.

"16. Compositio cum Waltero Cumyn, qui dat quas dam terras in Badenoch, Episcopo renunciante decimis cani Regis. 1224-33.

"85. Com. cum Waltero, Comte de Mentieth de terra, et secundis decimis de Kyndardyn [in Badenoch]. 1234."

Feb. 2, 1231. Walter Cumyn married the eldest daughter and heir of "*Maurice, Earl of Mentieth*," and in her right became Earl of Mentieth.

After the death of his father in 1233 he soon rose to be the most influential man in Scotland.

Immediately after the death of Alexander II. he insisted upon the coronation of the infant prince. 1249.

He defended the young king against Henry III., and at one time, accompanied by his half-brother, Alexander, Earl of Buchan, his nephews, and thirty-two belted knights of his name, all men of estate, together with his relatives, the Earls of Athol and Marr, &c. &c., he took possession of the young king's person (he being then at Kinross), and carried him to Stirling, where they turned out the ministry and took the management of affairs upon themselves.

Died Walter Cumyn, Earl of Mentieth. His death was sudden, and said to have been occasioned by a fall from his horse, although by some it was asserted that he was poisoned by his wife. He left no issue. 1258.

The widowed Countess of Mentieth, slighting the addresses of many Scottish nobles, soon after married an unknown Englishman, "*Sir John Russel*," and entailed upon her family a litigation of a quarter of a century.

Walter Steward, brother of Alexander the Grand Steward, who had married her younger sister, claimed the earldom in right of his wife. The elder sister, insulted and disgraced, retired from Scotland and complained to the Pope of having been so injuriously treated, herself and her husband imprisoned, and her inheritance taken from her.

Pope Urban IV. sent one "Pontius," his nuncio, to inquire into the case—but Alexander III. objected to the interference of the Pope, and no judgment was pronounced (although Walter Steward occupied the earldom and was called upon to appear at York)—and summoned most of the bishops, abbots, and nobles of Scotland to give evidence in this singular case.—From Fordun and other historians. 1262.

An attempt was made to revive the controversy when "William Cumyn," eldest son of John Cumyn (the Red No. I.) had married the daughter of the elder countess, but no more was done in 1273 than in 1262, for Alexander III. remained firm, and kept his own against the Pope. At length, in the proper court—viz., a Parliament held at Scone—it was decreed that half the lands should be erected into a barony in favour of William Cumyn and his wife; Walter Steward and his family assuming the name of Mentieth, and retaining the earldom. 1273. 1285.

According to Wyntoun—

“ Alisaundre the thyrd, oure king,
 Gart mak at Scone greit gaddering,
 The 16th daie eftir Pasche,
 When thair the Statis gaddered wes,
 ‘ William Cumyn ’ then of lauthe [right]
 (The Lordis broder of Badyenauche)
 ‘ The Erl of Mentieth, ’ thair began
 Before the king to plead than,—
 The king than, of his counsaill
 Made deliverance fynaill—

“ That erldom to be delt in twa’
 Partis, and the t’ane of tha’
 With Themis* assignit be
 Till Walter Stewart—the laif to be
 Made as gude, with all proffit.
 Schir William Cumyn to have quyet
 To hold, in free barony
 Besyde the erldom—all quyetly.”

—ANDREW WYNTOUN'S *Chronicle*; MS. Advocates'
 Library, A.D. 1285.

Had Walter Cumyn left a daughter, she must have been his rightful heiress in Badenoch, as well as her mother's in the Mentieth earldom. Therefore the lady, William Cumyn married, must have been the Countess's daughter by Sir
 1273. John Russel; and this agrees with the time of the marriage and settlement of the dispute, which was probably a compromise on the mother's death; besides, they would otherwise have been within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity.

William Cumyn died without issue, and so ended the connection of the Cumyns with the Earldom of Mentieth.

SIR JOHN CUMYN (Red John No. 1).

Sir John Cumyn, third son of the Great Justiciar by his first marriage, was, after the death of his father, styled of “ Kirkintulloch; ” but he had also large possessions in Galloway and Liddesdale, Dalswynton, and Duncol in Nithsdale, through which he gave the monks of Melrose free passage.—‘*Chronica de Mailros.*’

Tytler says that, before 1249, “ he nearly caused a war between Alexander II. and Henry III., by erecting two castles, one in Galloway, another at Hermitage in Liddesdale; ” and again, “ Dalswynton Castle was the chief residence of the Cumyns in Galloway, A.D. 1312.”—‘*Tytler's History,*’ vol. i. p. 289.

1258. Buchanan says, vol. i. p. 314: “ A new office was created for John Cumyn ”

* Serfs.

(he was made Justiciar of Galloway) ; " for the Cumyns had great power in Galloway, Mary the sister of Devergoile, having married John Cumyn ;" and again, book viii., 1290, Buchanan gives as a reason for calling in the assistance of Edward I. of England to determine the succession to the vacant throne of Alexander III.—"the Scots could not decide this at home, for, by reason of the power of both parties, the land was divided into factions ;" for Baliol, by his mother, held Galloway, and had, besides, the alliance of the Cumyn family, which was the most powerful, next to the kings ; for Mary the sister of Devergoile (or Dornagilla, as he always called her) *had* married "*John Cumyn*."

Douglas, in his 'Baronage of Scotland,' says, "John Cumyn married "*Marion*," daughter of "*Alan*, Lord of Galloway."

Sir John Cumyn took an active part in the affairs of Scotland during the minority of Alexander III.

By the influence of Henry III. of England, he and his brothers were removed 1252-3. from the councils of the infant king, but soon afterwards they overpowered their enemies ; and in 1255, regaining possession of the king and the queen, they governed Scotland by the weight of their talents and the influence of their family.

Sir Walter Cumyn, Earl of Mentieth, died without succession. Sir Richard, 1258. the eldest brother, had died circa 1249, his son John Cumyn, Earl of Angus (by marriage), and his infant son "Bertrald," having predeceased him ; so that, on the death of his brother *Walter*, Earl of Mentieth, Red John Cumyn became the undoubted head and chief of his family.

Henry III. made oath to Sir John Cumyn, guardian, and other Scottish 1260. magnates, not to detain the queen, his daughter, and her child in England.

John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and John Cumyn, led a body of troops to assist 1264. Henry III. (the King of Scotland's father-in-law) in his wars with his rebellious barons. This John Cumyn was one of the commanders at the siege of Northampton, and was taken prisoner with the others at Lewes (he was probably the guardian's son, Black John).

Sir John Cumyn, by the mediation of the Kings of England and Scotland, 52d Henry III. came to an agreement with the citizens of York about the murder of some of his servants, by which they were obliged to pay him a fine of £300, and to maintain "two priests *for ever*," to pray for the souls of the deceased on "*Ouse Brigg*."

Sir John Cumyn engaged to protect his eldest son "*William*," who had married 1273. the daughter of the elder Countess of Mentieth (his uncle's widow) by her second husband, Sir John Russel, and had long been engaged in a fruitless struggle for the earldom.

Sir John Cumyn built Blair Castle, and was Lord of Strathbolgie.

In 1273-74 he died, leaving four sons and four daughters—

1st, William, who married the daughter of the elder Countess of Mentieth, d. s. p. 1291.

2d, John, the Black Cumyn, who married "Marjorie," sister of John Baliol, competitor in 1292. Died in 1299, leaving the Red Cumyn No. 2 and a daughter, Dornagilla.

3d, Sir Alexander, taken prisoner at Dunbar in 1296, married Eva.

4th, Sir Robert, also taken prisoner at Dunbar, progenitor of the house of Altyre. He married "Egidia," one of the daughters and co-heirs of William Cumyn of Lochaber. Sir Robert was killed with his nephew, Sir John, at Dumfries, in 1306.

DORNAGILLA CUMYN,

Who married "Archibald Douglas," Lord of Galloway, it is said, in *her* right, and Regent of Scotland in 1333, when he was killed at Hallidon. She was mother of William, first Earl of Douglas, and of "Alianore," Countess of Carrick, whose husband, Alexander, eighth Earl of Carrick, second son of Edward Bruce, was also killed at Hallidon, leaving an only daughter, "*Alianore*."

So far we now distinctly understand, after much confusion, by papers recently brought to light by Lord Torphichen, who is the lineal descendant of the first "*Alianore*" by her second marriage with his ancestor, "Sir James de Sandilands," and thus heir-of-line of the Douglasses, after the failure of Earl William's line; but Dornagilla's history is still obscure. She is said to have been the only daughter of "John Cumyn, by Mary, sister of Devergoile or Dornagilla." In 1258, Buchanan tells us that a new office was created in Galloway for John Cumyn (he was made Justiciar of Galloway); for the Cumyns had great power in Galloway, "Mary the sister of Devergoile having married John Cumyn." Perhaps for *sister* we should read *daughter*.

The Cumyns never claimed to be of the blood royal *through the Baliols*; yet the Douglasses made an attempt to claim the crown in 1370, through this marriage, after the extinction of the Baliols, on the death of David II., and obtained, as a compromise, the marriage of his daughter to the heir-apparent, Prince David, and of the king's daughter, Euffame, to his son "*James*," killed at Otterburn. Hume of Godscroft says: "This Archibald Douglas, having married John Cummin's daughter, the inheritrix of the lands of Galloway, was

Dec. 16, employed in the wars against Edward Baliol, whom he defeated at Annan.

¹³³². Whereupon, for this service, and also by another title, which he claimed, to be

nearest to the house of Galloway by his grandmother, the Earl of Carrick's sister, Baliol being forfeited, he obtains the lands of Galloway, which continued in his posterity till the forfeiture of the Earls of Douglas."

Four daughters of SIR JOHN CUMYN of Badenoch (Red No. 1).

- 1st, Married Richard Seward.
- 2d, „ Godfrey de Mowbray.
- 3d, „ Alexander of Argyll.
- 4th, „ Walter de Moravia.

Wyntoun, in his Chronicle, tells us—

“ The Red Cumyn had daughters four.

- 1. Richard Seward, until his lyff
The eldest of thae, tuk till his wyff.
- 2. The second systre tuk Godfrey,
To surname that cal'd was Mowbray.
These Mowbrays hed fyve sons—
1st, William ; 2d, John—in all Scotland was not than
As this John, so faire a man ;
3d, Roger ; syne, 4th, Phillip the knight,
Prized in his time bold and wight ;
5th, Godfrey, eftir Bannockburn, as I
Heard say, intil England, he tuk tyte
Of the frere prechowries, the habyte.
- 3. The thyrd dochter of Red Cumyne
Alexander of Argyll syne
Tuk and weddit till his wyff.
- 4. The fierd dochter, owre the lave
To wyff the Lord tuk of Murrave.”

Her son was—

“ Andrew de Murrave, that eftir that
Was at the brigg of Stirling slain,”

Fighting with Wallace, A.D. 1297.

JOHN, THE BLACK CUMYN, Lord of Badenoch, Regent and Competitor.

John, styled the Black Cumyn, second son of Red John No. 1, became Lord 1258. of Badenoch on the death of his uncle Sir Walter, Earl of Mentieth. His father, and his elder brother William, never were lords of Badenoch, which appears to have been *his* by special gift of his uncle Walter, whilst it was intended that “ William,” the elder brother, should become Earl of Mentieth.

- Circa Red John No. 1 died.
 1273-4. It was therefore his son, "John, the Black Cumyn," who was present at the
 1281. convention of Roxburgh, when the marriage of "Margaret," only daughter of
 Alexander III., to Eric, King of Norway, was settled.
 1286. He was chosen one of the six regents of the kingdom on Alexander's death,
 and was one of the "Magnates Scotiæ" who engaged to maintain the title of
 his granddaughter, "The Maiden of Norway."

The six regents appointed to govern Scotland in her name were—

Fraser, Bishop of St Andrews ;
 Duncan, Earl of Fife ; and
 Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan,
 for the north side of the Forth.
 Wishheart, Bishop of Glasgow ;
 John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch ; and
 James, High Steward,
 for the south.

1289. After the death of the Earl of Buchan, and the murder of the Earl of Fife, jealousy and ill-will broke out into open violence in the council, and terminated in the Bishop of St Andrews and John Cumyn assuming the supreme authority, to the exclusion of the Bishop of Glasgow and the High Steward. It was at this time that a document, entitled 'The Appeal of the Earl of Marr and the Freemen of Moray,' was presented to Edward I., together with two other appeals, all in one instrument, as transcribed by Sir Francis Palgrave.

- On the death of Walter Cumyn, Earl of Mentieth, in 1258, John (the Black) Cumyn, second son of his brother John, the Red No. 1, became Lord of Badenoch ; and thus it appears (according to Wyntoun) that he was a greater man than his elder brother "William," Seyner de "Kirkintilt," on the death of his father, and still so styled at Brigham in 1290. Except this struggle for the earldom we hear little of this William in history, and, as we have seen, Wyntoun only designates him as—

"The Lordis broder of Badyenauche," although the eldest. We have seen that, after a long contest, half the earldom was assigned to him and his wife, whilst the other half remained with her mother's younger sister, and her husband, Walter Stewart.

William Cumyn died 3d June 1291.

- 28th Ed- Edmund de Hastings was summoned to Parliament as Lord Hastings of
 ward I.,
 1299. Inch-Mahomo, in Mentieth, Scotland, from his marriage with "*Isabel*," widow of

an "earl of Mentieth," who appears to have been a prisoner in the hands of Sir John de Hastings. Dying in 1313, the barony became extinct.

7th
Edward
III.

Walter Stewart, fourth son of Stewart of Dundonald, who held the earldom taking the name and arms of Mentieth, with the buckles of Bonckle, was hereafter styled—

"Walterus Senescallis, Comes de Mentheth." He was called "Bailloch the freckled" (converted by the English into Bullock). For several generations the earldom remained with his descendants, until *Margaret*, Countess of Mentieth, married "*Robert Stewart*" (second son of King Robert II.), afterwards Duke of Albany; and in 1425 it was forfeited by their son Murdoch.

John Cumyn appeared at Brigham to treat of the marriage of the young queen with Prince Edward of England. He afterwards went to England to negotiate the marriage. 1290.

At Norham, the same year, upon her demise, he swore fealty to Edward I.

His elder brother "*William*" died, and John Cumyn became chief of his name. 1291.

He became one of the competitors for the vacant throne, and gave in a pedigree, proving his descent from Donaldbain, brother of King Malcolm Cænmore. 1292.

	1292.	John Cumyn, brother and heir to
Obt.	1291.	William Cumyn, son and heir to
Obt.	1273.	John Cumyn, son and heir to
Obt.	1233.	William Cumyn, son and heir to
	1189.	Hexilda, daughter and heir to
		Beatrix or Bethoc, daughter and heir to
Obt. circa	1087.	Donaldbain, King of Scotland.

Having, however, married "*Marjorie*," sister of John Baliol, he withdrew his claim in favour of his brother-in-law, and lent to the Baliols all his powerful interest and support.

Sir John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, and competitor, was still alive; but after the degradation of Baliol, he retired from public life, and died at his castle of Lochindorb, in Moray, before the end of that year. 1299.

Thomas Crauford, in his '*Officers of State*,' calls him "Sir John Cumyn of Cumbernauld, and *Lord of Galloway*," in right of his wife, after the fall of John Baliol. By *Marjorie Baliol* he left John Cumyn, the Red No. 2, and Dornagilla, the wife of Sir Archibald Douglas, regent in 1333.—See Appendix.

JOHN CUMYN, Lord of Badenoch (Red No. 2) and Galloway, &c. &c.

John Cumyn, called, like his grandfather, the *Red* Cumyn, was the nephew of John Baliol.

1294. During his father's lifetime he was one of the leaders of the Scottish army which entered Cumberland.

April 28, 1296. He was taken prisoner by the English at Dunbar, along with his uncles, Sir Alexander and Sir Robert, and many other nobles, knights, and gentlemen.

Patrick, Earl of Dunbar and the Marches, having sworn fealty to Edward I. in 1291, ever after adhered to the English. He accompanied Edward to Gascony in 1294, leaving his castle in charge of his Countess Bridget, daughter of Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan. This lady being in the interest of the Scots, admitted the leaders of the army, with a strong body of nobles, knights, and their followers, into the fortress; but, after holding in check for some time the army of De Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, they were obliged to surrender. John, Earl of Buchan, brother of the countess, with an army of 40,000 foot and 1500 cavalry, were at hand, and expected to relieve them, but were totally defeated at Oswalden, near the forest of Selkirk.

It was then that Edward came in person (taking Dunbar on his way) to meet John Baliol at Brechin, and cause him to resign. This was made the more easy by all the leaders of his party being caught, as in a trap, at Dunbar, from which place they were sent, in chains it is said, to various castles in England and Wales, and their estates confiscated for a certain number of years.

John Cumyn's wife was King Edward's cousin.

"Johanna, sister, and subsequently co-heir, of Aymer de Vallence, Earl of Pembroke;" and to her Edward ordered to be assigned out of her husband's estates in Scotland, 300 merks for her maintenance; and, at the same time, to Eva, wife of Sir Alexander Cumyn of Badenoch, his uncle, 30 merks.—'Rotuli Scotiæ' vol. i. p. 27.

The names of the leaders taken at Dunbar were—John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, Constable of Scotland; Alexander Cumyn of Buchan, his brother (who had two fair daughters, *Alice* and *Marjorie*, afterwards co-heirs of Buchan); Sir Alexander and Sir Robert, brothers of Sir John, the Black Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch; Sir John Cumyn (the Red No. 2), younger of Badenoch, who then became bound to deliver up his son as a hostage; John Cumyn of Kilbride; John, Earl of Athol; John de Mentieth, brother of the Earl of Mentieth (a Stewart); Richard Seward, late Governor of Dunbar; David de Brechin; William Bisset;

Richard Lovel ; Godefroy and William de Ros ; David the son, and David the brother, of Patrick de Graham ; John de Glenurchart ; Hugh de Airth ; John and Randolph de Graunt.

Of these, Robert de Cumyn (ancestor of Altyre), and John de Strathbolgie, July 30. were liberated from the Castle of Northampton.—‘*Rotuli Scotiæ*,’ vol. i. p. 45. ^{1297.}

John de Glenurchart and Laurence de Strathbolgie, from Windsor ; John de Graunt, from Gloucester ; Alexander de Cumyn and Robert de Graunt, from Bristol, &c. &c.

They were to find sureties to be ready on a certain day to accompany Edward to France, each with a certain number of men-at-arms, horse and foot ; and on the 22d of August he actually crossed the Channel.

Hostages also were demanded. The Earl of Athol, who was a surety, had to deliver up his eldest son ; and John, the Red Cumyn’s son, and his uncle, Sir Robert’s sons, are also mentioned as hostages, and being sent to remain in England until the king’s return from France. After which, the lands of these nobles, with the crops upon them, were restored.

John Cumyn afterwards obtained from Edward the release of his lands of Badenoch by writ.

All this time his father was still alive.

But no sooner had Edward crossed the seas, taking with him the chief leaders ^{1297.} of the Scottish party, and holding their sons as hostages, and leaving Earl Warrenne, Governor of Scotland, with an English treasurer and justiciary, than Wallace arose to clear Scotland from the foreigners, and punish their insolence.

This he accomplished by gaining the battle of Stirling, killing Cressingham Sept. 11, the Treasurer, and driving De Warrenne and his army (or its small remains) as far as Berwick, which he took, De Warrenne escaping to England. Soon after, the names of several nobles are mentioned as having joined Wallace, amongst them that of Sir John Cumyn of Badenoch, younger.

Edward returned from France, and summoned the Scottish barons to a March Parliament at York, under pain of being considered rebels. They, however, ^{14,} _{1298.} disobeyed the summons.

In June Edward came himself to Scotland—troops, whom he had sent by sea to land in Fife, having been routed.

The famous battle of Falkirk was fought, where the infantry, led by Wallace, July 22. Sir John the Graham, and Sir John Stewart of Bonkyll, had wellnigh won the day, when the cavalry, about 1000 in number, who were in the rear, commanded by Sir John Cumyn, yr. of Badenoch, turned and fled ! whether from panic, or jealousy of Wallace, who can say ! It could scarcely have been a preconcerted

plan of treachery with Edward, as, when Wallace retired from the onerous office he had adorned, as "Governor of Scotland," Sir John Cumyn of Badenoch and John de Soulis, his nephew, were chosen *regents*—Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, being soon after joined with them in the regency.

At this time Baliol was still a prisoner in England ; but at the instance of the Pope he was liberated, and allowed to retire to his castle in Picardy in July 1299, giving up for himself and his sons all claims for the crown.

1299. Until the departure of Baliol from Britain, the regents had governed in his name ; soon after, however, John Cumyn took the style of "Guardian," being the nephew of Baliol, and looked up to as the head of the regency. The end of that year his father died. The other two guardians were Simon Fraser and Robert Bruce.

Feb. 24, 1302-3. Along with Simon Fraser, John Cumyn defeated three divisions of the English army in one day, near Roslin.

1303-4. He assembled an army for the preservation of Stirling Castle, but was obliged to retire, Edward having found a ford above the bridge, by which he crossed, with all his cavalry, from the north.

Feb. 9. Cumyn met the Earls of Pembroke and Ulster, with Sir Harry Percy, at Strathorde, in Fife, where a negotiation took place, the Scottish leaders stipulating for their lives, liberties, and estates, leaving to Edward the power of inflicting upon them fines, as he should see fit.

Cumyn was fined by Edward three years' rent of his estates, and ordered to leave the country, but this latter condition never was enforced. Pembroke was his wife's brother, Edward her cousin, and it was thought that the terms made for himself and his friends were better than for others. Wallace would *not* submit to them, and Simon Fraser adhered to him.

It must have been during the time of their association as co-regents and guardians of Scotland that the famous conversation recorded by Barbour (and usually misquoted), took place between Cumyn and Bruce. This led to the bond or ragment signed by both, which it is said Cumyn betrayed to Edward, and which Bruce revenged by his rival's death.

Baliol having by this time repeatedly renounced all pretensions to the throne for himself and his sons, Cumyn, as the son of his sister "Marjorie," had claims which were supported by large estates, a numerous vassalage, and alliances with the first nobles in the land. Bruce's pretensions were well known, and the agreement between them, had it been kept, might have secured peace and independence to Scotland ; but, discontented with holding the second place, Cumyn

betrayed the covenant, which ended, as is well known, in his own death at Feb. 10, Dumfries. Nothing can be more graphic or impartial than Blind Harry's ¹³⁰⁶ account:—

“Out of Stirling, southward, as they could ride,
Cumyn happen'd near hand the Bruce to ride,
Thus said he, ‘Sir, an ye can keep counsail,
I can show here, which may be your avail.’
The Bruce answer'd, ‘Whate'er ye show to me,
As for my part, shall well concealed be.’
Lord Cumyn said, ‘Sir, know ye not this thing,
That of this realm ye should be righteous king?’
Then said the Bruce, ‘Suppose I righteous be,
I see no time to tak' sic thing on me!
I am holden in mine enemies' hand,
Under great oath, when I came to Scotland,
Not part from him, for profit nor request,
Not for no strength, but if death me arrest
He heght * again to give the land to me,
Now find I well it is but subtilty.
For thus thou seest he deals my heritage,
To Sotheran some, and some to traitor's wage.’
Then Cumyn said, ‘Will ye to hear accord?
Of my lands haill, an ye like to be lord,
You shall them have, for your right to the crown;
Or, if you like, sir, by my Warrison,
I shall you help, with power at my might.’
The Bruce answered, ‘*I will not sell my right*;
But on this wise, what lordships thou wilt crave
For thy supply, I heght you shall it have.’

Comyn.—‘Come from yon king, sir, with some jeopardie—
Now Edward has all Galloway given to me,
My nephew Soules, that keepeth Berwick town,
At your command, his power shall be bown;
My nephew als, a man of meikle might,
The Lord of Lorn, has rown into the hight!
My third nephew, a lord of great renown,
Will rise with us, of Brechin the Barroun.’
Then said the Bruce, ‘Fell there so fair a chance,
That we might get again Wallace from France!
By wit or force, he could the king-rik win,
Alace! we have o'er long been held in twin.’
To that language Cumyn made no accord,
For old done deeds did in his mind remord.
The Bruce and he completed forth their bands,
Syne, that same night, they sealed with their hands.
This ragment left the Bruce with Cumyn there;
With King Edward in England, hame 'gan fare;

* Promised.

And there remained, till this ragment was known,
 Three years and more, ere Bruce pursued his own.
 Some men deem that Cumyn the ragment send ;
 Some men, again, the contrar does defend !
 None may say well, ' Cumyn was sake-losing,' *
 Because his wife was Edward's near cousing."

—See Appendix.

1305-6. Bruce having learnt that he was betrayed, escaped from London, and riding from thence to Lochmaben, reached his castle there on the seventh day. Soon after, he met Cumyn at Dumfries, at a court of justice which was being held by Roger de Kirkpatrick and William de Burgden, the newly-appointed justiciars of Galloway.

Bruce and Cumyn met alone in the church of the Franciscans. What passed between them never can be known with certainty, as there were no witnesses. It is said that Cumyn repelled the charge of treachery, and gave Bruce "*the lie*;" that a violent altercation ensued, on which Bruce drew his dagger and stabbed Cumyn. Rushing out of the church he was met by Roger de Kirkpatrick, the new *Scotch* justiciar, and Alexander de Lindesay. "I doubt," he exclaimed, "I have slain the Cumyn!" "You doubt," exclaimed Kirkpatrick; "I'se mak sicker;" and rushing into the church, he killed Cumyn, who lay bleeding on the steps of the altar.

His uncle, Sir Robert Cumyn, hearing the tumult, rushed into the church in hopes of rescuing his nephew, but only shared his fate.

Edward I. was sojourning at Winchester when this news reached him. He immediately appointed his cousin, Aymer de Valence, the brother-in-law of the murdered Cumyn, to be "Guardian of Scotland;" and directed him, together with Lord Robert Clifford and Henry Percy, to march at the head of a body of troops to check the progress of the insurrection, whilst he himself hurried to London to make preparations for the campaign, which he intended to superintend in person.

John Cumyn (the Red No. 2), Lord of Badenoch, Galloway, &c. &c., killed at Dumfries, February 10, 1305-6, left, by "Joane" his wife, daughter of William de Valence,

Two sons, John and William ; and
 Two daughters, Joane and Elizabeth.

John Cumyn was with his father at Dumfries in February 1305, when it is recorded "that he fled back into England."

* By sake-losing we understand the bard to mean "premeditating perfidy;" but that his wife being King Edward's cousin, the secret agreement transpired through her.

His estates in Scotland were confiscated.

Galloway was granted by King Robert to his brother Edward; Lenzie and Cumbernauld to Robert Fleming before 1314, when he died, and afterwards to his son, Sir Malcolm Fleming—"quæ fuit quendam Johannis Comyn, milites."

Grants were also made of Bethocrule in Teviotdale, of Machan in Clydesdale, Kirkintilloch in Dumbarton, and of Auchtertyre and Gaskenes in Perthshire, forfeited by him.

In England, John Cumyn, jun., had a grant of the manor of Marsfield, and two other manors, from Edward II., and was heir, in right of his mother, to one-third of the great estates of her brother, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. Whether he lived to succeed to them is not certain; some say he was taken prisoner at Bannockburn, and that he returned to England and died in 1325-26.

That he married Margaret, and had a son, "Aymer," is proved by a charter recorded in the 'Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium,' vol. i. p. 209. It is without date, but of the time of Edward II., and before the death of "Aymer," grandson of John, the Red Cumyn, in 1316. It states that, in consideration of the good deeds of John Cumyn of happy memory, the son of John Cumyn, lately deceased, the King (Edward II.) had given and granted certain manors in Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire to him for his sustenance, and for the sustenance of "Aymer," the son of the said John, and of his wife Margaret—"que fuit uxor prefati Johannes."

Aymer or Adomar Cumyn died vit. pat.; when, by an inquisition held that same year, his aunts—Joane, wife of the Earl of Athol, ætat. 30, and Elizabeth, ætat. 26, afterwards wife of Richard, Lord Talbot—were declared his heirs in England.—Sir H. Nicolas's 'Historical Peerage,' p. 123.

William, the second son of the Red Cumyn No. 2, was killed at Bannockburn.

King Edward I., as overlord of Scotland, gave to William, son of John Cumyn, the keeping of the forests of Traquair and Selechirche, to be held during the overlord's pleasure, in the same way as Simon Fraser, lately deceased, had held it.—Ayliff's 'Calendar,' p. 107.

This seigneurie was granted in free barony by King Robert to his companion in arms, "the good Sir James of Douglas." The sasine given by placing on his finger an emerald ring, from which it has been termed "the Douglas Emerald Charter."

Thus ended the male line of the Red Cumyn No. 2, Lord of Badenoch. The descendants of his uncles, Sir Alexander and Sir Robert, then became heirs-male of the house of Badenoch (see Altyre); but in England his daughters had

been declared his heirs, as well as co-heirs of their mother's portion of the great estates of her brother, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke.

1st, Joane, married David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athol, who got with her large estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Lincoln, and Northumberland, the inheritance of her mother, Joane de Valence.

This Earl of Athol had been a hostage in England from 1297, when his father was released after the battle of Dunbar, and was probably married to John Cumyn's heiress at Edward's court, both of them being related to that king ;
 1307. but the Earl of Athol was also the nephew of Bruce, who made him High Con-
 1311. stable of Scotland, but becoming a traitor, he lost his Scotch estates, and died in England A.D. 1326-27, when his son David succeeded.

DAVID DE STRATHBOLGIE, Earl of Athol, son of Joane, eldest daughter
of John (the Red Cumyn).

1327. On the death of his father, the ward and marriage of David, the young Earl of Athol, and Lord of Strathbolgie, atat. 19, were given by Edward to Henry de Beaumont, whose daughter Katharine he married. His mother was Alice Cumyn, co-heiress of the Earls of Buchan.

4th Edward III. David had livery of the estates which had been the portion of the inheritance of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, pertaining to his uncle, John Cumyn, "in consideration of the great services done by his ancestors to the king's progenitors, and in contemplation of those he might himself perform, although not of full age." Tirsite, in Northumberland, is particularly mentioned.

1328. It was provided by the treaty of Northampton that no Englishman should possess estates in Scotland unless they resided within that kingdom, and did fealty there. Those who thus *lost* their Scotch estates were called "the Desinheretés." In 1332 they joined Edward Baliol, and fought and won the great battle of Dupplin; after which battle David de Strathbolgie recovered his
 1334. paternal estates, and got from Edward Baliol the whole estates of the Stewards of Scotland, as well as the great possessions of the Cumyns in right of his mother.—Tyrrel's 'History of England,' vol. iii. p. 351.

That same year the regent, Sir Andrew Moray, invading his estates, he joined the party of the Conqueror, whereupon Edward gave orders to the Sheriff of Kent to seize all his lands in England.

1335. Edward III. invading Scotland, concluded a treaty of peace with Robert the Steward and the Earl of Athol, and they received their lands and offices

back again. Athol then prepared to besiege the Castle of Kildrummie with 3000 men. It was held by "Christian the Bruce," Dowager Countess of Marr, sister of King Robert Bruce—Sir Andrew Moray was her third husband—and it was one of "four castles and a peel" only, that held out against Edward.* The Earl of March, Sir William Douglas, and Sir Andrew Moray, surprised and 1335. killed Athol in the forest of Kilbain, where it is said a grey cairn still marks his grave. The scene of the battle is well described by Wyntoun—

"There by an aik died Earl Dawy,
And sindry of his company."

But no aiks are there now to be seen. It is a wide dreary heath, which lies beyond the Pass of Cambusmay on the Dee. Thus perished David of Strathbolgie of royal descent, and possessing estates beyond the rank of a subject, but wanting ability or steadiness of purpose to profit by his position.

Katharine, his countess, daughter of Henry de Beaumont, styled Earl of Buchan in right of Alice Cumyn his wife, niece and co-heiress of John, Earl of Buchan, was blockaded in the Castle of Lochindorb from November 1335 to August 1336, when the siege was raised by Edward III. in person.

Her son David, eighth Earl of Athol (his ward was given to John, Lord of Sum-
the Isles), was three years old at the time of his father's death. He was after-
wards in the wars of France, under the Black Prince. He married Elizabeth, moned to Par-
daughter of "Lord Ferrars de Groby." Obeiit 1369, and left two daughters, liament from
whose ward and marriage being given to Earl Percy, he married them to two Jan. 25,
of his sons. 1366, to
April 24,

Sir Thomas Percy married Elizabeth, elder daughter of David of Strathbolgie, 1369.
Earl of Athol (who married, 2dly, Sir Henry Scrope), and had issue, Henry
Percy, who left two daughters:—1. Elizabeth, who married, 1st, Thomas, Lord
de Burgh; 2dly, Sir William Lucy. 2. Margaret, married, 1st, Henry, Lord
Grey; 2dly, Richard, Earl of Oxford.

Sir Ralph Percy married Philippa, the other daughter and co-heir of David
de Strathbolgie, but died s. p.

On the death of David de Strathbolgie in 1369, that barony fell into abeyance
between his daughters, as it still continues with their representatives.

Elizabeth Cumyn, second daughter of John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, and
of Joane de Valence his wife, in 1316, ætat. 26, was declared co-heir, with her
sister Joane, of the estates in England.

Elizabeth Cumyn afterwards married Sir Richard Talbot, a friend of Edward
Baliol, with whom he invaded Scotland, and was at the battle of Dupplin. 1332.

* The others were Dumbarton, Loch Leven, and Urquhart, and the peel in Loch Drone.

Immediately after, he took forcible possession of his wife's portion of the Cumyn estates in Scotland.

Leland says, "Richard Talbot was beyond the mountagnes, in the land of the inheritance of his wife." And again, later, "Richard Talbot, in Lothian, to pass into England, than wis tane."

In Jacob's 'Peerage' we find—

"Elizabeth Cumyn, one of the sisters and co-heirs of John Cumyn, was forcibly seized at Kennington, in Surrey, by Hugh le Despenser, his son, and others, and detained above a year, during which time she was, by menaces of death, constrained to pass her manor of Painswicke, in the county of Gloucester, to the said earl, and the Castle of Goderich to Hugh le Despenser, yr., to them and their heirs."

The Castle of Goderich came to William de Valence in right of his wife, "Joane de Montcheny," descended from the Marischalls; and from Aymer de Valence, his son, it came to his sister Joane, married to John Cumyn, and afterwards, it appears, to her second daughter, *Elizabeth*.

June 5, Her husband was summoned to Parliament as "Baron Talbot of Goderich
1331, Castle," the chief place of his abode.
until

Oct. 22, Prevented by Edward III. from invading Scotland by land, in 1331 he invaded
1355. it by sea at the head of 300 armed men, and achieved a victory over the Scots at Gladdesmuir, but was subsequently made prisoner, and had to pay 2000 marks for his redemption.

11th He was made Governor of Berwick-on-Tweed and Justiciary of that king's
Edward possessions in Scotland, 1356. He died, and was succeeded by his eldest son.
III.

Gilbert Talbot, third baron, summoned to Parliament from 14th August 1362 to 8th August 1386. He served under the Black Prince, and in 1st Richard II., at sea, with Michael de la Pole. He married, 1st, Petronelle, daughter of James, Earl of Ormonde; 2dly, Joane, daughter of Ralph, Earl of Stafford.

He died in 1367, and was succeeded by his son Sir Richard, who, having married Aukeret, sister, and eventually sole heiress of John, Baron Strange of Blackmore, he was, during his father's lifetime, summoned to Parliament as Lord Talbot of Blackmore; but after 1367, as Baron Talbot of Goderich Castle.

15th He succeeded, through the family of Hasting, Earls of Pembroke, to the large
Richard estates of that family, in right of his great-grandmother, Joane de Valence.
II.

Richard, Lord Talbot, died A.D. 1396, and was succeeded by his eldest son Gilbert, who married, 1st, Joan, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Gloucester; 2dly, Beatrix, illegitimate daughter of John, first King of Portugal, and widow of Thomas, Earl of Arundell, by whom he left a daughter, Aukeret, at whose decease the honours and estates reverted to her uncle.

Sir John Talbot, sixth baron, one of the most illustrious characters in British history ; in 1412, Chief Justice, and in 1414, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He served in the French wars with the Duke of Bedford, temp. Henry VI., where his name carried all before it, until taken prisoner in 1429 by the Maid of Orleans. He remained a prisoner in France for four years.

In 1446 he was created Earl of Shrewsbury, and again appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, when he was made a peer of that kingdom as "*Earl of Waterford and Wexford*," of which, however, there being no formal creation, the Greys de Ruthven, as the nearest heirs of the Earls of Pembroke, assumed, with the title of Hastings, that of Wexford ; but, seemingly forgetting the meaning thereof, the new Marquesses of Hastings use Weyeford as a Christian name !

From Elizabeth Cumyn the Talbots quarter the three gerbs d'or on an azure field of the Cumyns.

CUMYNS, EARLS OF BUCHAN.

WE must now return to William Cumyn, Grand Justiciar, son of Richard and Hextilda, and trace the descendants of his second marriage with "*Marjorie*," only child and heiress of "Fergus, the antient Earl of Buchan," who died A.D. 1209; and, according to the usage of Scotland in those days, her husband, "*William Cumyn*," became "Earl of Buchan," A.D. 1210.

1212. William, Earl of Buchan, succeeded Malcolm, Earl of Fife, as Custos Moraviæ; and soon after he captured Godfrey M'William, descended from Duncan, eldest son of Malcolm Cænmore, who claimed to be mormaer of that province, if not King of Scotland.

1228. Gillespoe, another member of the M'William family (the chief of Badenoch), and his sons, fell into his hands; and, as the reward of his success, he received from the king the lordship of Badenoch for *Walter*, the second son of his first marriage.—See Earldom of Mentieth.

Marjorie, Countess of Buchan, made a grant to the Church of the canons regular of St Andrews in the following terms:—"Marjeria, Comitissa de Buchan, &c., Noveritis nos, et heredes nostros de Bochan caritatus intentu, teneri ad solutionem Dio, et ecclesiæ Sancti Andrea apostoli et canonicis ibid.," &c. &c.—'Chartulary of St Andrews.' Robert, Prior of Lindores is one of the witnesses.

Two other original charters of this lady are in the Advocates' Library, folio 116, No. 65, certified by the librarian, in which she is styled "*Marjeria Cumin, Comitissa de Buchan*."—Additional Sutherland Case.

Besides founding the Abbey of Deer, William Cumin, Earl of Buchan, with the consent and approbation of his Countess Marjorie, made a grant of land to the Church of St Andrews, and confirmed to the Kennoway in Fife (sometimes called Kilrenny and Kennochyn) lands which had been granted to them by the Countess Ada, mother of King Malcolm and of William the Lion.

Willelmus Cumin, comes, et Marger, spousa sua Comitissa de Buchan, made a grant of the Church of Buthelmy to the abbacy of Aberbrothock. Willelmus de Bosco is a witness, therefore it could not have been made before 1211, as he is styled "*Domine Regis Cancellarius*," nor after 1221, when it was confirmed by King Alexander II.—Anderson's 'Dissertations, Chartulary Aberbrocthic,' vol. i. fol. 81.

Obeiit Willelmus Cumin, Comes de Buquhan, ætat. 70. Abbacie de Der fundator.—‘Chronica de Mailros.’ 1233.

The Abbey of Deer,* lying between Sapling Brae and Aikie Brae, on the banks of the Uggie, was founded by William Cumin, Earl of Buchan, who, dying in 1233, was buried there. The monks were at first Cistercians, but afterwards Bernardins. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. March
1, 1218.

In 1780 the foundations could still be traced in form of a cross.

The customs of the fair of Aikie Brae, called “Mercatus Querceti,” belonged to the abbey.—‘Collections of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff.’

Little is known of the ancient earls or mormaers of Buchan, except that in the olden time they held all the country which “lyeth between the rivers Don and Deveron,” extending to about 36 miles along the sea-coast. That part between Ythan and Don is now called “Formartine.”

“Carta Rogeri, Comitis de Bouchan, de Grano et Caseo de Feodarg, &c. &c., in perpetuum elimosinam sicut Gratenach avus meus illis predictum elemosinum dedit.”—To the Keledus de Munimusc (Chaldees of Monimusk). Ante
1179.

There is a charter of “Fergusij, Comitis de Bochan de Federeth.” He was the father of Marjorie. Ante
1210.

Marjorie, Countess of Buchan, survived her husband, for a controversy arose with the abbacy of Aberbrothock, and she confirms a grant of a merk of silver, made by her father, “Fergus, Comes de Buchan,” to the said abbey. 1236.

Her son Alexander appears as “Comes de Buchan,” witness to a charter by Alexander II., ann. reg. 26. 1240.

There is also a confirmation charter of his own to the abbacy of Aberbrothock, as formerly granted to them by his mother, “Marjorie,” and his grandfather, “Fergus,” Earl of Buchan, dated also 1240.

By “Marjorie,” Countess of Buchan, his second wife, William Cumin left several sons and four daughters.

First, Alexander, who succeeded to the earldom on his mother’s death.

Second, Fergus, son of William Cumin, Earl of Buchan, appears, A.D. 1273, “testibus,” in a charter of *Alexander*, Earl of Buchan, founding an hospital at Turreff, as “Domino Fergusio Cumin, fratre nostro.” This charter is dated “apud Kelli” (now Haddo House), and the king, Alexander III., is named amongst the witnesses present.

William Cumin of Kilbride appears constantly as a witness in these charters, and is by some supposed to have been another son of the Earl of Buchan, but

* *Deer* or *Deer*, in Irish (*Oakwood*), although some pious monk would have us believe that from Drostan’s tears on parting with Columella the name was derived. “Said Columella [St Columba], let Deer [*i.e.* Tear] be its name henceforth!”

is never called so; and it appears that *David* Cumin was his father, Isabel de Valloines his mother, and that they held Kilbride from circa 1210, therefore David was probably the brother, and William the nephew, of "William, Earl of Buchan."—See Cumin of Kilbride.

"Jurdano Cumin," also testibus to a charter of Alexander Cumin, Earl of Buchan, to the Abbey of Deir, circa 1300, is by some supposed to have been his brother, but is never so called.—See Cumin of Inverallochy.

The daughters of William Cumin by his Countess Marjorie, married—

1. Elizabeth—William, Earl of Marr, sometimes by mistake called a Cumin, as he was always attached to their party, and was one of the leaders taken at Dunbar in 1296. He was "William *Marr*, Earl of *Marr*." Elizabeth, Countess of Marr, died A.D. 1297.

2. Jean—Sir Gilbert de Haya, a regent in 1255-58.

3. Marjorie—Sir John de Keth, Great Mareschall. Died ante 1270.

4. Isabel—Francis, Lord Cheyne, of Inverugie and Essilmont.

Alexander did not succeed to the title of earl on the death of his father. His mother might have married again, in which case her husband would have been earl during her lifetime, as we have seen in the case of the earldom of Athol. The Countess Marjorie died between 1236 and 1240. Soon after that date, "Alexander, Comes de Buchan," appears as witness to a charter granted by Alexander II., ann. reg. 26, and also signs a confirmation charter of his own to the abbacy of Aberbrothock of a charter of "Margareta, Comitissa de Buchan, mater mea, Fergus, Comes de Buchan, avus meus."

Alexander, Earl of Buchan, acted a conspicuous part in the reigns of Alexander II. and III.

1251. He was appointed Great Justiciary of Scotland.

1255. He was removed from power, with the rest of his family, through the intervention of Henry III., and the agency of Alan Durward, whose wife was a natural daughter of the late king (Alexander II). Allied with them was Patrick, seventh Earl of Dunbar and March, who seized upon the Castle of Edinburgh, and took the king and the queen out of the hands of the Cumyns.

1257. The Earl of Buchan and his party were restored to power.

1258. He entered into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Llewellyn, Prince of Wales.

Alexander Cumin, Earl of Buchan, married "Elizabeth," second daughter of "Roger de Quincey," Earl of Winchester (in 1234), and High Constable of Scotland in right of his wife (Helena), eldest daughter (by his first wife) of Alan, Lord of Galloway. Her grandmother, "Ela de Moreville," being heiress

of the De Morevilles, in whom the office of High Constable was hereditary. On the death of William de Moreville, Ela's only son, Roger de Quincey, became High Constable, which office he held until his death in 1264 without male heirs, upon which it came to the husbands of Helena's daughters.

First, Margaret married William de Ferrars, sixth Earl of Derby, who died A.D. 1266. Her second son appears to have held it for a time. Camden says,—"Roger de Quincey was High Constable of Scotland on account of his marriage with Helena, daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, as was also William Ferrars of Gidley (Earl of Derby); but these Englishmen very soon lost their inheritance in Scotland, as also the dignity of High Constable, which the Cumins, Earls of Buchan, had—descended likewise from a daughter of Roger de Quincey."

Alexander, Earl of Buchan, on the death of his wife's father, obtained a full 1264. share of the estates, and, it is added, by the goodwill of Margaret, Countess of Derby, his wife's eldest sister, he became, in 1270, High Constable of Scotland, which office Margaret had succeeded to on her father's death. Her husband held it for some years, but on his death she resigned it into the hands of the King of the Scots, who objected to her son, the Earl of Derby, holding it, as being an Englishman, and conferred it on Alexander Cumin, Earl of Buchan, who held the two offices of Great Justiciary and High Constable for nearly twenty years before his death.

The Earl of Buchan was appointed one of the six guardians of Scotland on 1286. the death of King Alexander III. He died, leaving to his son "*John*" his 1289. pre-eminence, his offices, and his struggles, but not his success.

By Elizabeth de Quincey, his wife, sometimes called "*Ysabelle*,"* he left three sons and five daughters—

1. John, his heir.
2. Alexander, father of Alice and Marjorie.
3. William, Rector of St Mary's, and Provost of the Canonry of Kilremont, St Andrews.

The daughters married—

1. Bridget—Patrick Dunbar, eighth Earl of Dunbar and March, and held the Castle of Dunbar against Edward I. in 1296.
2. Egidia—Malise, Earl of Stratherne.
3. Agnes—Gilbert de Umphraville, eighth Earl of Angus.
4. Elizabeth—Sir William de Brechin.
5. Helena—Sir Nicholas de Soules.

* Carta Alexandri Comyn, Comitis de Buchane, super hospitali apud nuum Burgum de Buchan pro salute anima nostra, et *Ysabelle* spousa nostra.—Aberdeenshire Collections.

- Edward I., ann. reg. 11, 1273. John Cumin, son and heir of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, was infeoffed in the manor of Whightwicke Comseë."
1289. On his father's death he became Earl of Buchan, ætat. 30—when, doing his homage, he had livery of his lands.
1290. John Cumin sat in the Parliament of Brigham as Earl of Buchan.
- Edward I. (20). He obtained leave to dig in those lands in the Isle of Man called "the Calf," for lead, to cover eight towers in his Castles of Crigelton and Galloway in Scotland; also a king's charter for a weekly market at Whightwicke, and for a yearly fair.
1291. As holder of that barony, he was called upon to attend at Norham, six weeks after Easter, with the army to be assembled there, under orders from Edward I.—Parliamentary Writs of England.
- He was appointed one of the nominees of Baliol, to whom he adhered until his fall.
1296. John Cumin, Earl of Buchan, got from John Baliol a grant of Annandale, and took a momentary possession of Lochmaben—an injury not likely to be forgotten by Robert Bruce.
1299. Anno gracie nonagesimo nono. "Domine Johanne Cumyne, Comite de Buchan, tunc Justiciario Scocie."—Registrum de Aberbrothock.
- 22d Edward I. John, Earl of Buchan, had a summons to attend the king at Portsmouth for his expedition into France. Furthermore, he served Edward in his Scottish wars, and made himself entirely subservient to English interests.
- Dec. 25, 1307. He raised troops in Buchan to oppose King Robert Bruce, who came to meet him at Inverury, but he was defeated by Edward Bruce, the king's brother. The king himself being sick rested in the fort, until again attacked by some 1000 men of the Earl of Buchan's stationed at Old Meldrum.
- May 22, 1308. The king rose from his sick-bed, and calling for his arms and his horse, he led his soldiers in person against the Earl of Buchan, and entirely routed and dispersed his army, pursuing them to Fyvie, after which defeat the earl retired into England, where he died, A.D. 1312-13.
- John Cumin married Isabel, daughter of Duncan Macduff, tenth Earl of Fife. Lord of Glendauchy is said to have been his title during his father's lifetime.—Aberdeenshire Collections.
1290. A cell in Newburgh was endowed by the Earl of Buchan and the Countess *Ysabelle*, his wife. Between 1290 and 1306, John Cumin, Earl of Buchan, gave the church of Kineder to the Abbey of St Mary of Deer, which grant was afterwards confirmed by King Robert Bruce.
- The Countess Isabel was the heroic dame who placed the crown upon the head of Bruce at Scone on the 29th of March 1306.

Cappgrave says—

“ She stol fra’ her lord all his gret horse,
And with sweech men as she trosted,
Cam’ to that abbay;
And there she sette the crowne upon Robardis head.”

By English historians Isabel is called all that is impious for exercising the right of her family to crown the king. Her brother Duncan, eleventh earl, born circa 1285, succeeded his father in 1288, and had been kept by Edward at his court, and attached to his interests. In the course of that very year Edward demanded and received the consent of the Pope for the marriage of Duncan, Earl of Fife, with his granddaughter, “Mary de Monthermor,” daughter of Hugh de Monthermor, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, and Joan, daughter of Edward—which marriage accordingly took effect.

Isabel’s husband, John Cumin, was also with Edward, whilst the Countess and her children remained in Scotland. Robert Bruce at one time, it is said, took refuge in her castle; for her father, the regent, Earl of Fife, murdered in 1288, had been his father’s friend and his own, and a true-hearted patriot; so that, when “the young earl was captured by Wallace at Perth,” he set him free for his father’s sake.” But Isabel was not so lucky: falling that same year, 1306, into the hands of Edward, she was, by his orders, confined in one of the “kages” or turrets of Berwick Castle, where she remained for seven years; until, upon the death of her lord in April 1313 (by whose desire, it appears, she was imprisoned), Edward II. issued orders that “Isabel, who was the wife of John Cumin, *late* Earl of Buchan, and was taken prisoner by his late father, Edward I., should be delivered to Henry de Beaumont, to be kept by him in such custody as *are* enjoined by our orders to him.”

As it appears to have been at the instance of her husband that the Countess of Buchan was imprisoned as long as he lived, so it is probable that he disinherited his daughters, who appear to have been brought up in Scotland, and married there to the allies of Bruce. It is said he had a son whom he took with him to England, and tried all in his power to make him subservient to Edward, but without avail, and that he died *vit. pat.*, or soon after.

John Cumin, Earl of Buchan, had two brothers, Alexander and *William*, styled in the old charter, “*filius junior* ;” and to this “William” he assigned his estates on his death.

On the 28th of April William was, by his desire, infeoffed in his estates in 1313. England, and got livery of them from the king; but he, conscious that he had no just title to them, rendered them up again to King Edward, in right of the “two nieces” of the said John—viz., “Alice, the wife of Henry de Beaumont,”

and "Marjorie, her sister," who, doing their homage, had livery of the same. These ladies were the daughters of Alexander, the intermediate brother, of whom we know nothing after 7th June 1294, at which time "Alisandre de Boghan gave his oath to serve King Edward in his wars, along with his brother John, Earl of Buchan."

We also find, in the genealogy of the Cheynes, given in the Aberdeenshire Collections, as extracted from two MS. quarto vols. said to have been in the hands of George Leslie of Eden, which gave the history of that family from the days of Alexander III., the following: "Francis, Lord Cheyne, of Inverugie and Essilmount, had by his wife '*Isabel*,' daughter of John Cumin, Earl of Buchan, besides his heir '*Francis Cheyne*,' Sir Reginald Cheyne of Straloch, and Henry, Bishop of Aberdeen. The descent is traced from Sir Reginald, through seven generations, to John Cheyne, who had six daughters, of whom '*Isabel*,' the eldest, married Sir Patrick Leslie of Eden, Provost of Aberdeen."

1282. Henry Cheyne, Bishop of Aberdeen, third son of Francis, Lord Cheyne, by *Isabel* Cumin, daughter of *the* Earl of Buchan, Privy Councillor of Alexander III., pulled down the old cathedral, and began to build a new one.
1289. He was one of the bishops who went to arrange the marriage of the young
1292. Queen Margaret and Prince Edward of England. One of the arbiters named by Baliol.
1308. He signs a declaration in favour of Robert Bruce, and declares all the other oaths to have been extorted and unjust. Yet he was banished by Robert to England, having favoured his uncle, (?) the Earl of Buchan, and other Cumyns, in their opposition to Bruce.
1314. He was restored, the king having caused the new cathedral to be finished during his absence out of the revenues of the bishopric. He died A.D. 1328. —Registrum Chartarum.

This bishop could scarcely have been the grandson of John Cumin, Earl of Buchan. By this it would seem that Isabel was a daughter of Alexander, second Earl of Buchan, and sister of John.

- Wood, in his Peerage, calls Alexander Cumin fourth Earl of Buchan of that name; and if he survived his brother John, he may have been so called; but he certainly never was "Earl of Buchan" by investiture. It is recorded, on his
1294. leaving England with Edward I., that he had "two fair daughters," of whom hereafter.

An old English chronicle notes that, in 1329, "the last Earl of Buchan died in England." This may have been the son of John, detained a prisoner there.

William Cumin, "filius junior," was the Chaldee Provost of Kilremont. Towards the end of the century he was elected by his party Bishop of St Andrews; and their appeal to the Pope was supported by Edward of England. Frequent contests between the Culdees of Kilremont and the prior and canons of St Andrews can be traced in their registers. The Culdees, or married clergy, seem always to have been connected with the Cumyns and their adherents, and to have profited by the preponderance of that party during the stormy minority of Alexander III., for more than one Papal bull was issued in favour of the married clergy of Scotland at that time; but now they participated in the downfall of their patrons, and were finally put under the jurisdiction of St Andrews.—Fordun, i. c. 6, p. 44; Palgrave's Documents, &c.

In 1306, Edward I. wrote to the Pope, proposing William Cumin and Godfrey de Mowbray as Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow; but this was not acceded to.

That the Scottish estates and offices of the Earl of Buchan were seized by Robert the Bruce is evident by the grants of the various lands of Kirkintulloch, Culven, Sannaykis in Dumfries, Elphinstone, and Tranent, Mylyis, &c. &c., all forfeited by the Earl of Buchan. The king, however, bestowed on Margaret Cumin, "the earl's *daughter*," according to Robertson's Index, "the half of the haill of the earl's lands in Scotland" on her marriage with John de Ros."

MARGARET CUMYN and JOHN DE ROSS.

In a roll of missing charters of Robert I. is one to "Johannis Ross," sone of the Earl of Ross, in tocher with "Margaret Cumyng," *dochter* to the Earl of Buchan—"The half of the Earl of Buchan's haill lands in Scotland;" which lands, in default of heirs of their bodies, were settled upon the second son of Hugh, Earl of Ross, with whose descendants (the Lords Saltoun, &c.) they still remain.

Who this "Margaret Cumyng" was is a disputed point with genealogists, most of whom made her the sister of *Alice*, one of the "fair daughters of Alexander de Buchan;" but then her name was "*Marjorie*," which is synonymous with "Mary," and not with "*Margaret*," which this lady is always expressly designated. Again, she is called the "*dochter* of the Earl of Buchan," whilst Alice and Marjorie are called "*nieces*," and sometimes "*cousins and co-heirs* of the earl," in Dugdale, &c. They never are called *daughters* of any Earl of Buchan. That *John*, Earl of Buchan, had daughters, is recorded in the pedigrees of several families.

Thus, William Urquhart of Cromarty, who succeeded in 1314, married, first, Lillias, daughter to Hew, Earl of Ross; secondly, Violet Cumin, daughter of John Cumin, Earl of Buchan, at which marriage Hew,* Earl of Ross, was so incensed, that he begged of King Robert Bruce the gift of his forfeiture, "because the Cumyns had been disloyal to the king;" but William Urquhart, remaining faithful to Bruce, held the Castle of Cromarty against the forces of Edward for seven and a half years, until all the lands and woods were destroyed, and he had nothing he could call his own but the Castle and Moat Hill of Cromarty, so that he was designated "*Gulielmus de Monte Alto*. Afterwards King David II. confirmed upon William all his former privileges, royalties, and immunities, to which the Earl of Ross consented—"Adam," the son of his daughter Lillias, succeeding.

But, again, we would inquire who was this Margaret Cumyn who got from King Robert Bruce the half of the hail lands of the Earl of Buchan *in Scotland*, whilst *Alice* the Beaumont, and her sister *Marjorie*, were declared his heirs *in England*, and (on their uncle William's resignation), doing their homage to Edward II., had livery of their estates in *that* kingdom. It is not likely that Robert Bruce would give such large possessions into the keeping of Henry de Beaumont's sister-in-law; but if John, Earl of Buchan, left any descendants by Isabel of Fife, who "sette the crown upon Robardis head" at Scone, and was in consequence so long a prisoner, it is *very* likely that he should do all in his power to provide for *them*. Margaret may have been the daughter of Isabel, disinherited by her father, as well as Violet; or she may have been a granddaughter—for John, Earl of Buchan, had a son and heir by Isabel, who was residing at his manor of "Whightwicke Comsec," in England, when Isabel took the daring resolve of exercising the family prerogative, in consequence of the absence of her brother and son. This son the earl never could engage in the interests of England; but he was probably detained there as a sort of hostage, and died in 1329. Margaret and Violet may have been his daughters.

This may also account for another Margaret, Countess of Buchan, who appears in a grant to the Abbey of Deer, circa A.D. 1310, by William de Lindsay. The words are given in the Spalding edition of the 'Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff'—

"Pro salute mei, et ante cessorum meorum, et pro salute Margarithæ, *Comitissæ de Buquhan*, quandam sponse mei et Alicie de Lindsay prioris sponse mei, dedisse."

From the entries on record of the arrangements of the Earl of Ross with his

* This Hew, Earl of Ross, was the nephew of King Robert Bruce. His mother, "*Mauld*," was the king's sister. Hew died in 1333.

sons in 1333, it appears that Margaret de Ross was then alive and a widow, and her death soon expected; for the earl, "Hugh," grants to his second son, Hugh, the lands that were then (10th May 1333) in the hands of Margaret Ross (his uncle's widow), *by reason of her terce*, when *it* (her death) should happen, excepting certain lands in Aberdeenshire, reserved for "William," his eldest son and heir.—See 'Origines Par.'

On St Magdalen's Day that same year Earl Hugh was killed at Halidon Hill; and his son William, being in Norway at the time, did not return to assume the earldom until 1336, during which time it appears that Henry de Beaumont seized the lands in Buchan, and received *in England* the title of earl—being summoned to Parliament for the *first* time, 22d January 1334, as "Earl of Bochan."

It is a remarkable coincidence that Margaret de Ross appears to have died about that time, 1333-34, leaving no heirs. Had she been Alice de Beaumont's younger sister, this would not have opened the succession to the earldom; but if Margaret was the daughter or granddaughter of John Cumyn, the elder brother of Alice's father, it would do so.

ALICE CUMYN and HENRY DE BEAUMONT.

Alice Cumyn, eldest daughter of Alexander de Buchan (who, on the 7th of June 1294, gave his oath to serve Edward I. in his wars with France, along with his brother, John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan) married, circa 1306, Henry de Beaumont, styled, A.D. 1307, "*consanguineus regis*."—6th Edward II. He got with her the manor of Whitwicke, in Leicestershire, and divers other lands and possessions in England, of which he then had livery.

Before his marriage, circa the first and second years of King Edward II., Henry de Beaumont had large grants in England from that king, as well as a grant of the Isle of Man, to hold for his life, by the services which the lords thereof had usually performed to the *kings of Scotland*. He was also constituted Governor of Roxburgh Castle; and deputed, with Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Robert de Clifford, to keep the marches.

He was summoned to Parliament as a baron—"Lord Beaumont"—on the 4th March 1309. Accompanying two cardinals to enthrone his brother, "Lewis de Beaumont," in the bishopric of Durham, they were attacked near Darlington by a band of robbers, despoiled of everything of value, and themselves conveyed to the castles of Mitford and Durham, there to remain until ransomed.

He received further grants from the Crown; but upon being called upon to

16th Ed- give his advice in council regarding a truce with the Scots, he declined con-
ward II. temptuously, which so irritated the king that he was ordered to quit the council ;
and he retired, saying, "He had rather begone than stay,"—on which he was
committed to prison, but soon released on the bail of Henry de Percie and
Ralph de Neville. Two years after he was nominated guardian to David, son
and heir of David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athol (killed at Kilblain), with the
gift of his marriage.

After this time he entirely deserted his royal master, and, siding with the
queen-consort Isabella, was the very person to deliver up the unfortunate mon-
arch to his enemies, upon his abortive attempt to fly beyond the sea. The king
thereupon was immured in Berkeley Castle, where he was murdered in 1327.

For this act of treachery Lord Beaumont received a grant of the manor of
Loughborough, part of the possession of Hugh le Despenser, the attainted Earl
of Winchester. On the 22d of January 1334 (7th Edward III.), Henry de
Beaumont was summoned to Parliament as "Earl de Boghan."

By the treaty of Northampton it had been stipulated that the Scotch estates
should be restored ; but this not having been performed, he became one of the
deshérités or *querelleurs* who accompanied Edward Baliol into Scotland in
1332, and who shared in August of that year in the battle of Dupplin, and took
for a time forcible possession of the earldom of Buchan, and of other estates
which had belonged to his wife's family.

1334. Henry de Beaumont, the Earl of Athol* (his son-in-law), and Richard
Talbot,† quarrelled with Edward Baliol. This discord ended in the ruin of
Baliol's fortunes, and the expulsion of the *querelleurs* themselves. The cause
of their quarrel with Baliol was, that he had given to Alexander de Mowbray
certain lands that they considered to belong to the daughters of his brother.

Leland says : "Henry Beaumont, by inheritance of his wife, 'Earl of Buchan,'
went to Dundarg, a castle he had just fortified in Buchan.

"Richard Talbot was beyond the mountagnes, yn the land of the inheritance
of his wife, second daughter of John Cumyn of Badenoch.

"Of all the inheritors of Englishmen in Scotland were none now left of any
great reputation."

Upon a rock of red freestone, 64 feet above the beach of the most northern
part of Aberdeenshire, are some remains of *Dundarg*, once the principal strong-
hold of Henry de Beaumont in Buchan, but by no means one of the principal

* "Of Athol than, past Earl Dawy
To Lochandorb, with his company."

† "Richard Talbot, in Lothian,
To pass in England than wes tane."

seats of the Cumyns, which it seems doubtful that he ever possessed, although he may have more than once overrun the country and taken up his quarters at Dundarg, first when sent by Edward III. with his army to Scotland, with the title of High Constable, whence Wallace obliged him take flight—

“ Lord Beaumont tuk the sey
At Buchanness.”

Afterwards, circa 1332, in Edward Baliol's day—

“ The Beaumont went intil Buchan ;
And there, Dundarg of lime and stane
He made stoutly, and therein lay.”

But he was in England again in 1334, when his daughter Katharine, Countess of Athol, was blockaded in Lochindorb; and it was that year he was first summoned to Parliament as “ *Earl of Boghan* ” (7th Edward III., January 22).

In the course of that year also, or the preceding one, “ Margaret Cumyn,” to whom King Robert Bruce had given “ half of the haill lands of the earldom of Buchan on her marriage with John de Ross,” died. If this Margaret had been the younger sister of Alice, her death could have had no effect in opening the title to Alice's husband; but if, as I suppose, she was the daughter or granddaughter of John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, he might then assume the title, and have it confirmed by Edward in England.

Henry de Beaumont died, leaving a son “ John,” ætat. 22, “ Lord Beaumont,” 1340. but never styled Earl of Buchan; and five daughters, of whom Elizabeth married “ Nicholas de Audley,” son and heir of James, Lord Audley; Katharine married David, Earl of Athol; and Isabel (the fifth) married Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster, and by her daughter, Blanche Plantagenet, married to John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III., was grandmother of King Henry IV.

It is said that Henry de Beaumont, or de Bellomonte, descended in a direct paternal line from Lewis VIII., King of France. The youngest son of that monarch was called King of Jerusalem and Sicily; and the issue of his third son took the name of De Beaumont or Bellomonte, his wife “ Agnes ” being Viscountess of Beaumont and Mayne.

Henry and Lewis de Beaumont (Bishop of Durham) were probably the sons of William, Lord Beaumont, of whom there is a portrait in ancient stained glass in the east window of St Peter's Church at Barton-upon-Humber, in the county of Lincoln.

William, Lord Beaumont, possessed considerable landed property at Winterton, nine miles from Barton, about the year 1296.—From a print published February 20, 1806, by William Fowler, Winterton, co. Lincoln.

Sir George Beaumont of Cole-Orton, in Leicestershire, is now the representative of the family in the male line, being lineally descended from Thomas de Beaumont, second son of the fourth lord ;

Whilst Henry Stapleton, Lord Beaumont, is the representative of the elder branch in the female line.

The De Beaumonts carried the three garbs or of the Cumyns on a shield of pretence, as did the Bohuns, Earls of Chester, and the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury.

DAME MARJORIE (MARY) CUMYN, full sister to ALICE the BEAUMONT.

This lady's history has been, and still is, one of the enigma unsolved by genealogists.

That she is not the same person as Margaret Cumyn, "dochter to the Earl of Buchan," to whom King Robert gave half of the earl's haill lands *in Scotland*, I am inclined to believe for many reasons. In the first place, Margaret and Marjorie are different names, with distinct derivations. In the next place, Margaret, married to John de Ross, had no succession, her lands going, after her decease, circa 1333, to the second son of her husband's brother, the Earl of Ross, whereas it appears that "Dame Marjorie" was the granddame of the Earl of Dunbar and March (see his letter below). Thirdly, Margaret is styled dochter to the Earl of Buchan, whilst Alice is always styled the niece, and by Dugdale, "one of the cousins and co-heirs of John, Earl of Buchan" (F. ii. p. 50). Now there is no doubt that Alice and Marjorie were the daughters of Alexander de Buchan, and therefore the nieces of John, Earl of Buchan ; and if he left a son John, who died in England in 1329, then they were *his* "cousins and co-heirs" in that country, where his sister or sisters were most likely disinherited when their mother was imprisoned in the "kage" of the Castle of Berwick, and would be much more likely to be reinstated in the possessions of their family by Robert Bruce, than the sister-in-law of Henry de Beaumont, his deadliest enemy.

All that we know of this lady is, that the Earl of Dunbar and March, or "Count de la Marche d'Ecosse," as he signs himself in February 1400, claims her as his granddame (great-grandmother) in a letter addressed to Henry IV. of England :—

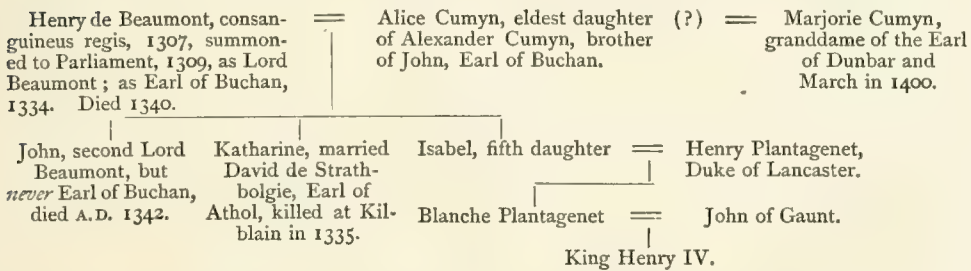
"EXCELLENT, MYCHTY, AND NOBLE PRINCE,—Like your realte', to wit, that I am gretely wrangeit be the Duke of Rothsay, the quhilk spousit my douchter,

and now, against his oblisyns to me, made be his lettre and his seal, and against the law of Halikirk, spouses ain other wife, as is said, &c. &c. &c.

"And, excellent prince, syn that I claim to be of kyn till yhou, and it per-adventure not known on yhour pairt, I show it to your lordship by this my lettre, that gin Dame Alice the Bewmont was your granddame, her full systre, *Dame Marjorie Cumyne*, was my granddame on t'other side, sa that I am bot of the *feirde* [fourth] degree of kyn till yhou, quhilk in auld tyme was callit neir, &c. &c. &c.

"Written at my Castell of Dunbar, the 18th daie of Feverer, anno 1400.

(Signed) "LE COUNT DE LA MARCHE D'ECOSSES." *



We find (Fordun, vol. ii. p. 430) the Henry IV. of England does accept the 1400. cousinship of the earl. A deputation of monks from Holyrood (Sanctæ Crusis) having waited upon him at Leith to beg him not to harm their monastery, he replied that he would not be so barbarous as to molest *any* sacred ecclesiæ, above all, the monastery of the Holyrood,† where his father, the Duke of Lancaster, excluded from England, had found his only asylum, "Ego inquit sum semi Scotus, de sanguine *Cominiensium* generatus," or, as the MS. Cuprensis has it, "Sanguine Cominiensi ex parte matris genaratus."

Also, "Rex Henricus genuflectendo ante thronum :—

"In the name of the Fadir, the Son, and the Haly Gaste, I, Henry of Lancastre, chalangis this realme and the croune, with all the membrys and apportenance, as I, that am descendit be the richt line of the *blude Cummyne* fra' the gude King Henry the Thyrd, and throch that richt that Goddys grace has

* Pinkerton's History; Douglas's Peerage, &c.

† There met, for concluding a three years' truce between the two countries, John of Lancaster, uncle to King Richard II., and some other lords on the English side; and for the Scots, the Earls of Douglas and March, when they were informed of the insurrection of Jack Strand. When all was ended, the Earl of Douglas generously offered the Duke of Lancaster 500 horse to accompany him home, or to remain if he saw fit. At the town of Berwick the gates were shut against him; and he was conveyed back to Halirood House by the Earl of Douglas, and Archibald, Lord of Galloway, and there remained till matters were composed in England.

send me, with help of my frendys, to recover it, the quhillk realme was in poynt to be tint and undone be fault of guvernance and for undoing of the gude lawys."—'Registrum Moraviensi,' p. 384; see also the Black-Book of Scone.

Cadets of the Cumyns, Earls of Buchan, no doubt still exist in Aberdeenshire, but on the confiscation and death of their chief it was dangerous to claim to be of his kin. "Thus," says an old MS., "in the days of Robert II." (the great enemy of the Cumyn name), "Cumyn of Auchmacoy, although a harmless old man, was, by that king, obliged to change his name to save his small estate from confiscation, and chose that of 'Buchan.'"

It is said that they descended from a son of an Earl of Buchan, bearing the arms, with a mullet for a difference. They are named in the chartulary of Aberdeen in 1446.

Major-General Thomas Buchan, who adhered to James VII. and VIII., and fought valiantly for them, was of this family. He died in 1720, and was buried in *Logie Buchan*. He was Colonel of the Earl of Marr's regiment of foot in 1682, and Major-General after the battle of Killiecrankie, where he fought beside Dundee. Was it to him the stanzas were addressed?—

"O Logie o' Buchan ! O Logie the laird !
They hae tane awa' Jamie that dely'd in our yaird."

On Deeside, in the parish of Peterculter, as late as the year 1726, was the residence of Sir Alexander Cummin of Culter, unquestionably a small remains of the house of Buchan.

Under King Alexander II. Alan Wauchope got these lands, which afterwards passed, with a daughter of Sir Adam Wauchope, to Cummin of Inverallochy.

The plain arms of Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, were to be seen in the great hall of Inverallochy; and the same arms on the house of Culter, supported by two ostriches—crest, a garb or; motto, "Courage."

April 12, 1475. There is a confirmation charter by King James III., quoting the original charter by "Alexander Cumyn"—"Quondam Comitibus Buchania factum et concessam quondam Jurdano Cumyn et heridibus suis, de tota terra de Inverallochy"—dated A.D. 1277, which is preserved in the Registrum Mag. Sig., &c. &c.—See Cumyn of Altyre.

In this charter there is no mention of "*Jurdano*" being the son of William, or brother of Alexander, Earls of Buchan, as some pretend.

On an old stone found many years ago amongst the ruins, and quickly buried

again by the then proprietors, lest it might interfere with their rights, was the following inscription :—

“ I, Jurdan Cumyn, indwaller here,
Gat this house and lands
For biggen the Abbey of Dere.”

“ Jurdano Cumyn,” testibus, Willelmi de Fedreth, testibus to the charter to the Abbey of Deir, circa 1300.

William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, was *fundator* de Der, but it was finished by Alexander, his son.

In the charter-room of Castle Fraser, to which Inverallochy is now conjoined, there are charters of William Cuminge de Culter, Ennerallochy, &c., A.D. 1483, in which his sons, “ Alexander,” “ William,” “ James,” &c., are mentioned. Also a confirmation charter of John de Isla (1486), “ Dominus Insularum,” æ baro barone de Kynedward, to William the son of William Cuming of Culter, of various lands.

Carta Willelmi Cummy, als Merchmond Heraldi, super maritagio suorum 1507. heredum.—Earl of Haddington’s Collections, vol. i. p. 401, MS.

Alexander Cumyn, the fourteenth of this family, was created a Nova Scotia 1670. baronet. It is said that he lived in great splendour in the days of Queen Mary, and in the procession at her marriage his horse, and those of his attendants, were shod with silver, and the nails driven so loosely, that they fell off for the benefit of the crowd. The third baronet died about the end of the century, when the baronetcy became extinct. He was born A.D. 1737.

Several families also claim to be descended from the Earls of Buchan in the female line.

Thus the Setons descend from, 1st, “ Margaret Cumin,” apparently a daughter of William Cumin, Great Justiciar, by his first wife. Wherefore, on the roof of the hall of Wynton, we find the three garbs d’or of the Cumyn, emblazoned by the Lords Seton, Earls of Winton.*

“ Bartime Setoun, quha succedit to Alexander Setoun, his father, marriet, 1st, ‘ Margaret,’ dochter of William Cumin, Grit Justice, and wes in the time of King William, and diet in the time of King Alexander, son to the said King William. To this Bartime, Patrick Earl of Marche gave the lands of Ruchlaw, quhilk was confirmit be King William foirsaid.”—See Genealogy of the House of Seton, Bann. Club Collections.

2d, Agnes Cumyn, daughter of the Great Justiciary, married “ Philip de

* Their grandson was “ Christoll Seton,” the much-loved friend of Bruce, and the second husband of his sister, the Lady Christian, Countess of Marr.

Fedarg," son of Sir Philip de Fedarg, who was knighted in the reign of Alexander II. In 1236 they had disputed boundaries with the abbots of Arbroath, settled in August of that year.

Circa 1294. Sir Philip and his son relinquished the designation of "*Fedarg*," and took that of Melgdrum.

1262-3. "Sir Philip de Melgdrum," and Agnes his wife, disputed the presentation of the Church of Bulkeley with the Abbey of Arbroath. Agnes is therein called "sister of Alexander, Earl of Buchan."—Aberdeenshire Collections.

Their grandson's second son, William de Melgdrum, was one of the ambassadors who negotiated the liberty of King David Bruce in 1348, and was ancestor of the Melgdrums of Fyvie. The present family represents the Melgdrums, the Setons, and the Urquharts.

House of ROWALLANE.

Sir Walter Cumyn of Rowallane, in the time of King Alexander III., left a daughter and heiress, "Isabel," who married Sir Gilchrist Mure of Polkellie, who got with her Cumminside, Draden, Hardwoods, &c. &c., after the battle of Largs.

"Sir Gilbert More, knighted by King Alexander III. for his valiant services at the battle of Largs, obtenit ye heretrix of Rowallane, and beiring his armes, 'ye bluidy heid,' he biggit ye auld tower of Rowallane, put his armes yair, and, quhilt is yet patent, he gave, in tocher with his dachter '*Anicia*,' to Boill of Kilburne, the lands of Pournscane; and also gave his servandis and pairtakers in the said battel the lands of Ardoch and Finnick. He biggit the chapel of Kilmarnock, and haid the naming of the priest thairoff.

"He deceissit in the yeir of God 1277, neer the 80th yeir of his age."—House of Rowallane.

Sir George Dunbar of Mochrum married "*Alicia*," daughter of Sir Gilchrist More by Isabel, his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Walter Cumyn.—'Baronage,' p. 113.

Sir Adam More, their son, quartered the Cumyn arms—three Cumin sheaves or, marshalled two above one, bearing from his ancestors, argent, a fesse azure.

Sir Archibald succeeded another Sir Gilchrist as son and heir. He married a daughter of Sir John Montgomerie of Eagleshame, ancestor of Lord Eglintown.

Elizabeth More married Sir Godfrey Ross.

March 30, 1296. William succeeded as son and heir, his father Archibald being killed at Berwick, when that town was taken by assault, under John Baliol. William mar-

ried a daughter of Lindsay of Craigie, and had an only daughter, "*Marjorie*," who married her cousin, Sir Adam Mure of Abercorn.

The son and heir of Marjorie and Sir Adam More, also "Sir Adam," succeeded to Rowallane.

Their daughter "Elizabeth" was the first wife of Robert Stewart, grandson of King Robert Bruce, and afterwards himself King Robert II., and was thereby mother of the Stewart line of kings. 1347.

Rowallan Castle stands on the banks of the Carmel water, about three miles north of Kilmarnock, surrounded by aged trees—a perfect specimen of an ancient feudal residence, progressively enlarged and suited to different times. The original fortlet occupied the summit of an isolated *crag* in the course of the rivulet, which here forms a sort of lake round its foot.

Crauford states it to have been called "The Crag of Rowallane," and thence, in early days, some of the proprietors were designated "De Crag," or "Craggy"—a designation often met with amongst the witnesses to Aberdeenshire charters (wherefore I suppose Sir Walter to have been a descendant of the Buchan line).

The southern front was erected by John Mure of Rowallane and his lady, Marian Cunningham, as is seen by a small tablet on the top of a wall—"Jon Mur, M. Cvgm, spvsis, 1562;" on the right of which is placed the family arms, having the three garbs for Cumin depicted on the field—one in chief, and two in the flank points. The crest is a Moor's head, probably taken from some feat performed during the Crusades. On the top of a long flight of steps is, cut in stone, the royal arms of Scotland, with supporters and regal accompaniments surmounting the family shield as above. It was probably the birthplace of Elizabeth Mure, and there the Great Steward met her when hiding from his enemies in Edward Baliol's day.

We now return to the uncles of Sir John Cumyn, Red No. 2, *the heirs-male* of the house of Badenoch after the death of Sir John's son "*John*" in England in 1326; *his* son "*Aymer*" having predeceased him in 1316, "when his aunts, the daughters of Red John, were declared his heirs by an inquisition held that same year." They were "Joane," the wife of "John, Earl of Athol," ætat. 30, and "Elizabeth," afterwards the wife of "Richard, Lord Talbot," ætat. 26, whose descendants bear consequently in their arms the three garbs d'or of the Cumyns.

Another lady, "*Dornagilla*" by name, differently placed by different historians and genealogists, appears to me to have been the only daughter of Black John Cumyn by Marjorie Baliol, and the only *sister* of Red John No. 2.

Dornagilla was the wife of Archibald Douglas, "*Lord of Galloway*," it is said,

in her right, and Regent of Scotland in 1332, when he defeated Edward Baliol at Annan, but was himself slain at Hallidon Hill the following year. Their sons were, 1, William, first Earl of Douglas; 2, Archibald, Lord of Galloway in 1364; and their daughter Eleanor or Alianore, married to Alexander, eighth Earl of Carrick, second son of Edward Bruce, who fell with his father-in-law at Hallidon. Thomas, his next brother, becoming ninth Earl of Carrick and Lord of Galloway, until his death in 1361, when (or in 1364) Archibald Douglas had a grant of Galloway from David II.; Eleanor de Brus, at the same time (the daughter of Alexander, eighth Earl of Carrick), and her husband William de Cunningham, having a grant of the earldom of Carrick. The lines of Buchan and Athol also ended in co-heiresses, married to Englishmen—so that, as we have said, the *male line of the Cumyns* existed only in the descendants of the uncles of the Red Cumyn No. 2; whilst the Douglasses, being the descendants of his sister, and being themselves the most powerful house then extant in Scotland, and in favour with the ruling powers, attempted, on the death of David II., to compete for the crown, more, it would seem, by *might* than *right*, and were only bought off by various royal alliances.—See the House of Douglas in Appendix.

SIR ALEXANDER CUMYN.

The third son of Sir John Cumyn, Red No. 1, was Sir Alexander Cumyn, taken prisoner at Dunbar, with all the heads of his party, by Edward, 12th April 1296; at which time Edward allotted thirty merks to be paid out of the estates of the said Alexander Cumyn of Badenoch, "*uncle of John the Red Cumyn*," for the maintenance of "Eva," his wife.—'Rotuli Scotiæ,' vol. i. p. 27.

His sons are also mentioned as being sent as hostages to England. Alexander, or his eldest son, also Alexander, according to Prynne, vol. iii. p. 651, swore fealty to Edward, in Elgin, in July 1296. They were bound to attend Edward to his wars in France, and remained attached to his interests.

Oct. 26, By a writt, dated Abergaveny, in Wales, Edward directed Alexander Cumyn,
1291. *Keeper of the Forest of Tarnua*,* in Moray, to deliver to Alan, Bishop of Caithness, Chancellor, forty oaks suitable for building purposes, for his Cathedral of Caithness—the donation being made for masses for the souls of King Alexander and his consort "Margaret," Edward's sister. By a writt, dated at Berwick 10th July 1292, Edward directs ten stags from the forest of Alnete, on the Spey, to be given to the Earl of Buchan, and *three* from each of the forests of Collyn and Buthen (the Boyne), in Banffshire, to Alexander Cumyn (probably the old knight of Dunphail and his sons of 1341-46, killed by John Randolph).

* Tarnawa', now Damaway.

We find Sir Walter Cumyn, then a prisoner in the hands of the Scots, was, March with *eight* other prisoners of note, exchanged for "*the Lady Mary*," sister of ^{20, 1310.} King Robert Bruce. This Sir Walter appears in Fordun as "Dom. Walter Cumyn, apparently the chief man of his name," and was most likely the eldest son of the first Sir Alexander.

Sir Walter Cumyn and Thomas Cumyn, his brother, fell at Kilblain—that is, Sept. Sir Walter was killed, and Thomas taken prisoner and beheaded. Two persons ^{1335.} of the name of Walter Cumyn followed the fortunes of Edward Baliol. One was killed at Annan, Sept. 1332; the other at Kilblain, Sept. 1335.—Fordun, lxiii. c. 25, 26. They were of the party of the Désenhérétés.

SIR ROBERT CUMYN.

Sir Robert Cumyn *and his sons* are also mentioned as being taken prisoners April 12, at Dunbar; and before King Edward went to France, it is said, "several nobles ^{1296.} who had been in prison since the battle of Dunbar were released on finding sureties—viz., *Robert de Cumyn* and John de Strathbolgie, from Northampton Castle; John de Glenurquhart, from Berkhamstead; Laurence de Strathbolgie, from Windsor; John de Graunt, from Bristol Castle."—'*Rotuli Scotiæ*,' vol. i. p. 45.

John, the Red Cumyn, was surety for John and Robert Grant; and the Earl of Athol for his kinsmen John and Laurence of Strathbolgie, cadets of the house of Athol.

The Earl of Athol had to deliver up his son as a hostage, as the condition of his own liberation, and of his being accepted as a surety. Similar sureties were exacted from John, the Red Cumyn, and from *Sir Robert Cumyn, whose sons*, like the young lord and heir of the house of Athol, were to remain in the custody of the King of England until his return from France.—Prynne, vol. iii. p. 651.

Sir Alexander and Sir Robert Cumyn must have been old men at the time of the battle of Dunbar, 1296; and Sir Alexander probably died soon after, and before his son appeared at Elgin, in the July of the same year, to swear fealty to Edward. Their eldest brother "*William*," who married the daughter of the Countess of Menteith, died in 1291 s. p. *John*, the Competitor, Lord of Badenoch, died in 1299; and his son, "John, the Red Cumyn No. 2," had sons who fought at Bannockburn, where one of them fell; and the other had a son "Aymer," the last heir-male of his line, who died in 1316 vit. pat., when his aunts, the daughters of Red John No. 2, were declared his heirs *in England*.

Sir Robert Cumyn, fourth and last surviving son of Red John Cumyn No. 1, fell, with his nephew Sir John Cumyn, the Red No. 2, at Dumfries, on the 10th February 1305-6.

This has been overlooked by genealogists, although distinctly stated by Lord Hailes, in his 'Annals,' and more recently in Tytler's 'History of Scotland,' and vouched for by a bull from the Pope.

"Sir *Robert Cumyn* generously attempted to defend his nephew against Roger de Kirkpatrick, Justiciar of Galloway, and Alexander de Lindesay, who rushed into the church after Bruce had left it, but only shared his fate. He is sometimes called *Richard*, but this is a mistake."

A letter from Mon. de Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, brother-in-law to Red John Cumyn, gives conclusive evidence of his *name* and fate: "Nous n'avons nulle manière de culpe de la morte de Monsire John Cumyn, ni de Monsire *Robert Cumyn*, suon oncle," &c. &c.—Donné à la Fontaine d'Ecosse le 9ième jour de Juyn, ann. reg. *Edward*, 34.

From ancient muniments in MS. London, quoted by Lord Hailes in his 'Annals,' vol. ii. p. 12.

Also a bull from the Pope.—Rymer's 'Fœd.,' vol. iii. p. 810.

CUMYNS OF ALTYRE.

I. Sir Robert Cumyn, fourth son of Red John Cumyn No. 1, married Geiles or Egidia, one of the three co-heiresses of William Cumyn of Lochaber, and left two sons—1, Sir John; 2, Robert, whose name has often been confounded with his father's; but as the son lived until the latter end of Robert the Bruce's reign, and the father was killed at Dumfries in 1306, the mistake is palpable.

II. Sir John Cumyn, eldest son of Sir Robert, d. s. p. in 1310, and was succeeded by his brother.

II. Robert Cumyn, second son of Sir Robert. He went early abroad, and entered into the Polish service, where he was greatly regarded, and rose to considerable rank in the army. Upon the death of his brother he returned to Scotland, and in right of his mother Egidia got the third part of the lands of Lochaber, including, it is said, the Castle of Urquhart in Inverness-shire, the Castle of Lochindorb in Moray, and another in Lochaneilan, near Rothiemarchus. He married Beatrix, daughter of Ross of Rarrichies, ancestor of the Rosses of Balnagowan, by whom he had three sons, Angus, Gilbert, and Donald, who made a considerable figure in the family feuds of those days; and a daughter, Marian, who married Chisholm of Comer. Angus, besides his lands of Lochaber, got from his mother those of Glencharneck and Achmore. Gilbert

married a daughter of M'Donald of Clanronald, Lord of the Isles,* and having, as some say, no son, was succeeded by his nephew *David*, who became ancestor of the Cumyns of Achterlew and Lochaber.

III. Angus, married Marian, daughter of Macintosh of that ilk and Torchastle,† Captain of Clanchattan, by whom he had three sons and two daughters—I, Thomas, his heir; 2, Lachlan, killed in a skirmish at Inverlochy; 3, Angus, who died in foreign service, both without issue: Beatrix and Marian.

IV. Sir Thomas, who succeeded his father, was a man of great power and property. He obtained from the Bishop of Moray, circa 1350, a lease of the lands of Rothiemarchus, formerly a part of the possessions of his family, but which had been held for nearly a century by the "*Shaws*," in lease from the bishop, to whom it had been granted in 1226 by King Alexander II. for a forest, and mortified to the Cathedral of Elgin for lights and candles—the Bishop (Andrew) of Moray surrendering, in exchange, his rights in the forest of Langhorn, near Elgin.

About 1350, Shaw says in his 'History of Moray,' "Young Cumyn of Strathdallas, having a lease of the lands of Rothiemarchus, and being unwilling to yield to the Shaws, it came to be decided by the sword, and James Shaw, chief of his clan, was killed. They had both married daughters of the Macgregor, yet they were always opposed. Shaw's son, as soon as he was of age, attacked and killed Cumyn at a place called 'Lagna Cuminach' to this day.

"This Shaw, surnamed 'Corshielach,' or the Bucktoothed, was the man who commanded the xxx men of the Clanchattan at Perth in 1396, opposing xxx of the Clan Cay, whom some assert to have been Cumyns. He bought the freehold of Rothiemarchus and Balnеспic. One of his descendants, Allan Shaw, having barbarously murdered his stepfather, 'Dollas of Cantray,' circa 1595, his mother fled with the title-deeds to the Laird of Grant, who then purchased the estate."

Shea or Shaw, according to Nisbet, descended from a younger son of Duncan M'Duff, Thane of Fife, who came north circa 1254, and had lands granted to him near Inverness. The Lord Lyon's records bear that "Farquharson of Invercauld descended from Shaw of Rothiemarchus, and therefore they carry the lion of M'Duff as paternal arms, and a canton dexter charged with an arm."

All the lands adjoining the Spey, from Inverlochy to Fochabers, belonged to the Cumyns in the reigns of Alexanders II. and III. What they still possessed

* From Gilbert's line descended the Lords of Glencharney, ending in Bigla Cumyn, who carried the land to the Grants in 1442, when her son Sir Duncan Grant succeeded.

† Torchastle was in Strathdallas.

it is hard to say ; but tradition still tells of the bloody wars between the Shaws and Cumyns for the Duchus of Rothiemarchus, and there is no doubt the Cumyn clan held large possessions in Badenoch and Strathspey long after the Lord of Badenoch, their chief, had forfeited his feudal rights. Thomas Cumyn was killed by the Shaws, as we have seen, in 1365 ; and the following year David II. gave the forest of Lochindorb, and the keeping of its castle, into the hands of *Symon Reid*, Constable of Edinburgh Castle (progenitor of Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss and Bishop of Orkney in 1540). It was not until 1370-71, when Robert the Steward became king, that the lordship of Badenoch, "then in the crown by the forfeiture of Sir John Cumyn, was given by that king to his own son, Alexander Stewart, to be held by him in the same manner as Sir John Cumyn and his predecessors formerly held it."

Sir Thomas Cumyn married, first, Helen, daughter of Hugh, seventh baron of *Aberbuthnot*, by whom he had three sons—1, Richard, his heir ; 2, Farquhar ; 3, Robert. Secondly, Sir Thomas Cumyn married Catharine, daughter of the Laird of Macgregor, by whom he had a son, "Alexander."

Nov. 11, 1365. John de Urquhard signs an obligation to the Dean of Ross, warranting to him the lands of Pollans, &c. &c. : "Quæ perprius pertinuerunt ad quendam Thoman Cumyn ;" and in 1465 there is an obligation by Sir William Urchard, knyght, Sheriff of Crombathy, &c., to Sir Thomas of Dynvale, Sub-dean of Ross, &c., "that all and sindre the lands of the Pollanis, fortreis, and otheris, pertaining to umquhile Thomas Cumyn, lord of the same, sall never in ony time to cum be obtenit by na process of law, &c., fra the said Sir Thomas."—Dynvale on Martinmas day (1465). This certifies the death of Sir Thomas in 1365, and also that he held lordships in Ross.* It is said that he had an especial exemption from the forfeitures "in the black acts" at Perth in 1320.

When King Robert Bruce erected the province of Moray into an earldom for his nephew Thomas Randolph (in 1314), called by Pitscottie "Chief of clan Allan," the boundaries were very extensive—"from Fochabers on the Spey, to Glengarry and Glenelg, to the boundaries of Argyll and the earldom of Ross." The charter of erection is extant ; but with his two sons the male line of Thomas Randolph came to an end.

1st, Thomas, was killed at Dupplin in 1332, twenty-three days after his father.

2d, John, taken prisoner by chance in the marches by one William Pressen in 1335, was removed from one English prison to another, until 1341, when he was,

* Dingwall. These lands probably came into the family with Beatrix de Ross, as also the frequent family name of the Rosses, "*Farquhard*."

by the mediation of the King of France, exchanged for the Earl of Salisbury. He did not, however, long enjoy his earldom, being killed at the battle of Durham in 1346; and these few years seem to have been anything but a time of peace and repose.

Tarnawa', or Darnaway, was not then, as now, the chief castle or residence of the earl. The Castles of Elgin and Forres were more commodious dwellings. Tarnawa' was a hunting-seat of the kings, surrounded by a royal forest, from which grants of deer and oak-trees are sometimes recorded to have been made by the kings to favoured individuals; and the office of forester was accorded by charter, along, it appears, with the lands of Dovellij (or valley of the Duvie) and the fortalice of Dunphail. If, as tradition affirms, a Randolph built a great hall at Darnaway, it must have been this *John* Randolph who did so, and that may account for the change in the charter granted to Thomæ le Graunt in 1371, wherein "the park" is excluded, which was not the case in King David's charter to Sir Richard Cumyn in 1357. It also accounts for the discords and wars with the Cumyns, then in possession of Dunphail; for it was in the time of John Randolph that the Castle of Dunphail was besieged and taken, Alaister Bain smoked out of his cave in Slaginnin, and his father, "the old knight," and his five younger sons, beheaded on their own threshold, and their heads sent to the various towns of the earldom, whilst their bodies were buried where the old yew tree now flourishes beneath the castle-hill.

This event was the sequel, Sir Thomas Lauder tells us, to the desperate skirmish of the lost standard at Randolph's Bridge, where Alaister Bain (Alexander the Fair) was also the hero of the day. Cumyn of Raites was on his way, with numerous followers, to assist his cousin of Inverlochy in a feud, when a messenger arrived in haste to inform him that Randolph was preparing to attack him, and urging his immediate return. "With the help of God," said Raites, "I will fight *this* battle and *that* too." The battle, however, was lost, and the chief of Inverlochy slain. Raites snatched up a spear, broke it, and smearing it with the blood of his relative, sent it through the clan, surmounted by his battle-axe, summoning them to war. The place of meeting was *Cairnbar*, the hill between Lethen and Coulmony. They commenced their march, hoping to surprise Randolph at Darnaway; but he was aware of their movements, and issuing from a ravine near Whitemire, attacked and routed them. Raites was killed, and buried on the spot where he fell, which still bears the name of "Cairn Cumminich," Randolph exclaiming, "I have buried the plague of Moray!"

Alaister Bain, eldest son of Cumyn of Dunphail, now collected and headed the fugitives, and retreated in tolerable order to Clune. Here for a short time he held his ground; but seeing himself likely to be surrounded, he made a dash

for the Rait-Cuack,* and throwing forward his standard, exclaimed, "Let the bravest keep it!" He cut his way through the thickest of his enemies, and was lost in the opposite woods.

It was after that engagement that the fortalice of Dunphail was besieged by Randolph, and defended by the "old knight" and his five younger sons, Alaister Bain remaining concealed in the neighbourhood by day, whilst by night he managed to throw in sacks of meal and provisions to his friends in the castle. But at last they brought bloodhounds from Darnaway, and discovered his retreat—a cave amongst the rocks in a wooded ravine, where the fox and the wild-cat still rear their young—and to the mouth of this cave they brought leaves and branches and straw, and set fire to them, and forced him to come up for air, exclaiming, as he appeared at the mouth of the cave, "Let me die like a Cumyn." "Die like a fox, as thou art," was the stern reply; and after killing him with their dirks, they cut off his head, and, putting it into a sack, threw it across the moat to the father, with the taunt, "Here is beef to your bannocks." And when the old man saw the fair hair of his brave son bedabbled in blood, he replied, "And I will knaw the last bone of it ere I yield." The castle, however, was taken at last, and the old knight and his five sons beheaded on their own threshold. In the year 1712 their bones, "sine skulls," were dug up when some additions were being made to the garden of Dunphail, then in the possession of the Dunbars, which disclosed their resting-place in the spot which all along had gone by the name of the "Tomh" of the headless Cumyns. The bones were carefully gathered in sacks in the presence of Mr Rose of Elnach and the Rev. Mr Shaw, minister of Edinkeillie, and buried in the churchyard there, close by the wall of the church.

Who these Cumyns of Inverlochy, Raites, and Dunphail were, we have not learnt, but evidently they were relatives, and also connected with Sir Richard, who was not at all one of the headless kind, nor yet given to unprofitable strife. He appears to have been a man of peace, as well as "of parts," making treaties and alliances, public and private, to heal the differences which the wars and feuds had made, and to leave his family well provided for, and connected by marriage with their most powerful neighbours, so as to make "luff and amité" amongst them, as the old contracts express it.

Circa 1365.
Jan. 6, 1368.

V. Sir Richard Cumyn succeeded to his father Thomas; for him King David II. had a great regard. He was sent on an embassy to England, and got a safe-conduct from Edward III.—Rymer's 'Fœd.,' vol. vi., wherein he is spoken of as a "man of parts."

Sir Richard had two brothers, Robert and Ferquhard, and a half-brother,

* The *strait* or *narrow* pass.

"Alexander," whose mother was a Macgregor, perhaps the fiery "Laird of Raites," who is said to have been a man of slender abilities, but being the wealthiest and most powerful of his name in the district, was looked up to by the Cumyns of Moray as their leader. The laird of Dunphail, a man of considerable talents and great resolution, was advanced in years, and had a numerous family of grown-up sons; of their lives we know little, but we are pretty well certified of their deaths. From the place they held of keepers of the forestry of Tarnua, with the fortalice of Dunphail, we incline to believe them to have been descendants of *Alexander*, who held that position in 1291, two of whose sons, "Walter and Thomas," fell at Kilblain amongst the *désenhèreté*.

"Of Inverlochy all we know is, that it was the chief castle of the Cumyns of Lochaber, and that Sir Robert Cumyn, first of the Altyre line, married Egidia, one of the three daughters and co-heiresses of William Cumyn of Lochaber. It is probable the other two sisters likewise married clansmen; but who this powerful William Cumyn may have been we cannot tell.

"At the mouth of the river Lochy, in Lochaber, on its left bank, stand the ruins of Inverlochy Castle, consisting of four round towers thirty feet high, surrounded by a moat eight paces wide and ten paces from the walls. The four towers are connected by walls twenty feet high. The largest of these towers, the western, is known as the Cumyns' tower, and has walls ten feet thick. The date of the building is unknown."—*Origines Parles. Scotiæ.*

On the old road between the Fall of Foyers and Fort Augustus (over which Pennant travelled) is a mountain called "*Sic-Chuiminie*," or Cumyn's Seat. The old Gaelic name of Fort Augustus is "*Kil-Chuiminie*," or the burial-place of the Cumyns.

Agnes Randolph, Countess of March, better known as the heroic "*Black Agnes*," who defended the Castle of Dunbar against Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, assumed, upon her brother's death, the title of Countess of Moray, and her husband styled himself, in her right, "Earl of Moray and March." No one, perhaps, had a better title. David II. was a prisoner in England from the time of that fatal battle of Durham, in which her brother fell, but there was no confirmation charter of the earldom to her family until the year 1372, when her second son, "*John de Dunbar*," was created Earl of Moray, having married the daughter of King Robert II., first of the Stewart line. For this marriage a Papal dispensation was obtained.

John Randolph, the last earl, brother of Agnes, having married "*Euphemia* July 11, de Ross," who, on his death, married, secondly, King Robert II., by Papal dis-^{1370.} pensation, dated 1355; so that the queen was at once his uncle's widow and the mother of his bride.

The new charter, dated in 1372, gave to "dilecto filio nostro Johanne de Dunbar, et Marjoriæ spousa sua, filia nostræ carissimæ," to them, and the longest liver of them, and to their heirs, the whole earldom of Moray, except the lordship and lands of Lochaber, Badenoch, and the Castle of Urquhart, which were erected into a lordship for the king's son, Alexander Stewart, best known as the "Wolf of Badenoch." Dom. Johannes de Dunbar, Comes de Moraviæ, was killed at Tournay in 1394. He left two sons—1, Thomas, his heir; and, 2, Alexander of Frendraught (whose son afterwards succeeded to the earldom) and a daughter, Mabella, married to Robert, sixth Earl of Sutherland.

1394. Thomas de Dunbar became second Earl of Moray of the Dunbar name. He
Feb. 14, was taken prisoner at Homildon, and must have died before 28th May 1408,
1402. when his son Thomas, third earl, signs the marriage-contract of his sister Euffame with Sir Alexander Cumyn of Altyre as "Thomas, Earl of Murreff."

1389. We find "Thomas, filius Comitis Moraviensis devenit custos et defensor terrarum omniumque possessionum Episcopæ contra malefactores, viros kethranicos (caterans) et alios."—Reg. Moraviensis, 170, p. 11.

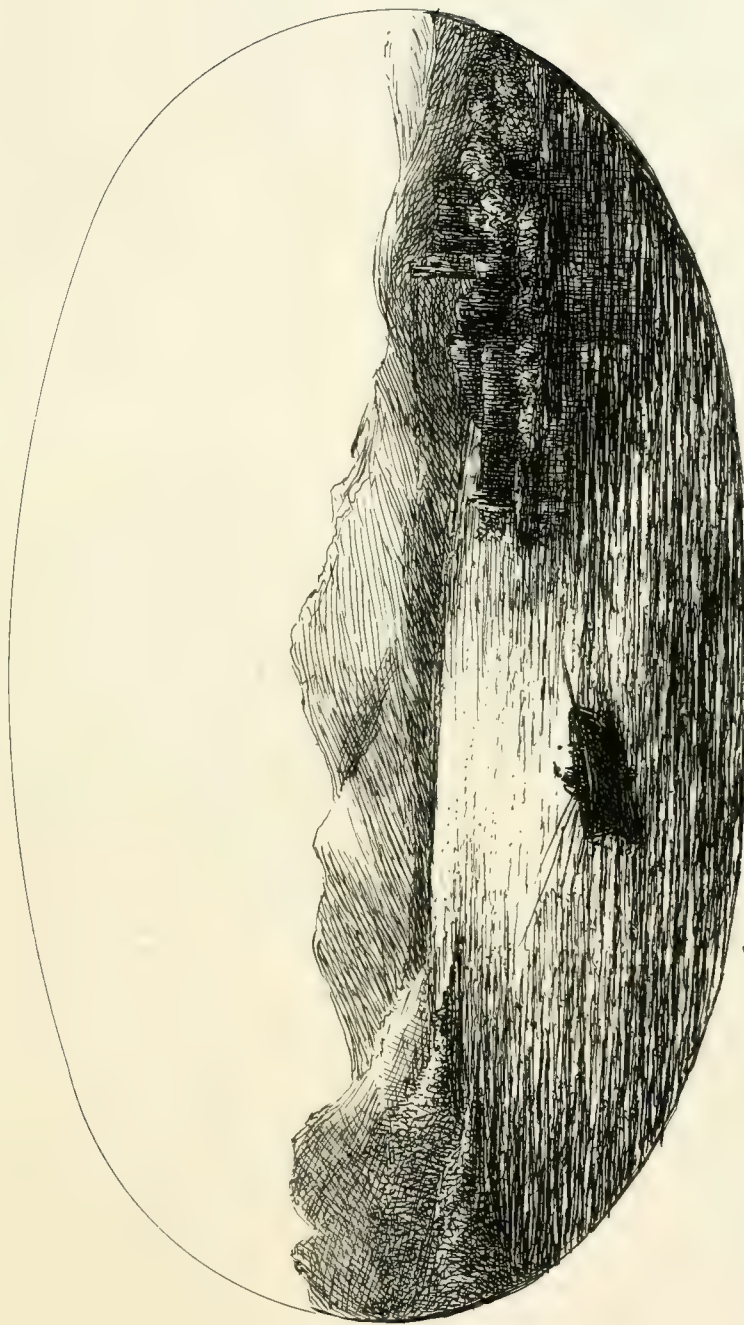
Such was the state of the earldom of Moray when Sir Richard Cumyn founded the House of Altyre; and as Lochindorb lies half-way between Badenoch and the laigh lands of Moray, we may consider it *en passant*, not without surprise that it should have been visited by two kings of England, or been deemed worthy in any way of a name in history.

Yet we find that, on the 25th September 1303, Edward I. left Kinloss Abbey, three miles from Forres, for Lochindorb ("Loghindorm," in the Itinerary), the strongest castle in the possession of the Cumyns. Trivet says, "Villa et castra capiens prevenit ad terras Johannes Comyn de Badenoch." And Fordun says, "In propria persona ad Lochindorb prevenit, et ibidem aliquamdiu moran faciens, parte boreales ad pacem cepit."

And Wyntoun, vol. ii. p. 118—

"And owre the mounte then alsa' fast,
Till Lochindorbe then straucht he past;
There sojourned awhile he bade,
Quhill he the north all wonnyn hade."

Lochindorb is about twenty-one miles from Kinloss Abbey by the "via regia," which led from the plains of Moray to the Spey, mentioned in a charter of Alexander II. as the "via regia of Findhorn and Drummynd," and is supposed to have been originally a Roman road. The castle is situated upon an island of about an acre in extent, in the midst of a deep lake two miles long and half a mile broad. The walls enclosing the whole island to the water's edge,



Loch-an-Dorck in Bree Murray.

except on the side on which the chapel stood (the foundations of which may still be traced), are still in existence to the height of about twenty feet. The four circular towers which flanked these walls are much dilapidated.

Within the area was the keep—a large quadrangular building with a round tower at one end.

The principal gateway had a pointed arch and a portcullis. In the interior the foundations of buildings may be traced, but the great hall was probably of wood, and often renewed; nor can it be with any certainty ascertained what portions of the walls existed at the time of Edward I.'s visit, or what may have been its state in the year 1335, when his grandson Edward III. came there with his army to raise the siege, which had for eight months imprisoned Katherine de Beaumont, Countess of Athol, and her young son, within its walls. We know that John, the Black Cumyn, Regent and Competitor, died there in 1299 (1300), having quite retired from public life after the abdication of his brother-in-law John Baliol; and before that, in July 1296, during Edward's first visit to Elgin and the north, we are informed by the Itinerary that, taking up his quarters in the ancient Castle or Manor-house of Rothes on the 29th of July, he sent out parties in all directions to scour the country: "Sir John de Cantelupe, Sir Hugh le Despenser, and Sir John Hastings, were sent to serche the country of *Badnasshe*" (Badenoch—the English spelling of our Scotch names never was even phonetic); "whilst the Bishop of Durham and his train were sent over the mountagnes by another way to reconnoitre the domain of the Earl of Athol" (John de Strathbolgie, afterwards hung by Edward on a scaffold ever so high, in honour of his being that king's cousin). Sir John de Cantelupe and his party proceeded to the Castle of Ruthven, the principal residence of the Cumyns in Badenoch; its keep, its hall, wardrobe-room, and chapel, are alluded to in a document in the 'Registrum Morivienses' in 1390.

According to Shaw, in his 'History of Moray,' who saw the remains of this stronghold in the early part of the last century (before it was converted into a Hanoverian barrack), the outer walls were nine feet thick, and had an arched gateway that led into a court, with two towers at its angles on the north side. It stands on a green knoll partly artificial, and still has, in its modernised ruins, an imposing appearance from the Highland Railway. The reconnoitering party visited by the way the Castles of *Lochindorb*, *Loch-an-eilan*, also on an island in a lake of that name in *Rothiemarchus*. And the residence of "Augustin," Lord of Inverallan, supposed to be a fortalice on the site of Castle Grant, where the Cumyn tower still exists. In those days there was no Earl of Moray. John, the Red Cumyn No. 2, was Lord of Badenoch and Regent of Scotland. In concert with Sir Simon Fraser he had defeated three divisions of the English

army in one day, near Roslin (see p. 115), which was probably the cause of Edward's raid. The Scots, unable to oppose him in force, retired, and allowed him to sweep through the country unopposed.

Feb. 9, Edward having wintered at Dunfermline, received there the submission of Sir
1304. John Cumyn and all his followers, with the exception of Sir Simon Fraser and Wallace. It appears that Cumyn retained all his possessions under Edward of England, until Robert Bruce formed the earldom of Moray and bestowed it on Thomas Randolph, his sister's son.

But in 1332, when the Désenhèrétés, as they were called, came to Scotland with Edward Baliol to reclaim their estates, David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athol, recovered his paternal earldom forfeited by his father on his becoming a traitor to King Robert the Bruce, who had made him High Constable of Scotland in 1311; and in 1334 he got from Edward Baliol the whole estates of the *Stewards* of Scotland for a time, as well as the great possessions of the Cumyns in right of his mother "Joane," one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Red John No. 2, after his son John's death in 1326.

In August 1335 we find his Countess Katherine, daughter of Henry Beaumont, blockaded in the Castle of Lochindorb, where her husband "Earl Davy" had left her, whilst he went with 3000 men to attack Kildrummie, the residence of Christian the Bruce, Countess of Mar; but in the forest of Kilblain he was met by Sir Andrew Moray, third husband of the countess, and killed, with most of his followers—amongst them, Walter and Thomas Cumyn, two sons probably of *Alexander*, uncle of Red John of Badenoch, whose descendants appear always to have been on Edward's side since the battle of Dunbar in 1296; whilst those of Sir *Robert* Cumyn, from whom Sir Richard descended, held by *David Bruce*.

In 1370-71, King Robert II. gave to his son Alexander the greater part of Badenoch, with the castle, forest, and lands of Lochindorb, in the same manner as the deceased John Cumyn and his predecessors held them.

1455. For nearly a century Lochindorb remained in deserved oblivion until, in 1455, Archibald de Douglas, "pretensus comes Moraviæ," brought himself into trouble by trying to resuscitate it. "Pro munitione et fortificatione castrorum de Lochindorb et Tarnua," was the special charge for which his lands were forfeited.

After his death in 1455, King James II. came in person to establish order in the north. He caused the Castle of Lochindorb to be destroyed, the Thane of Cawdor receiving the commission, and the cost being given in at £24 sterling. In that state it still remains; but it appears that in the next century *trees* still existed where none are now to be seen *above ground*, though, when mountain-burns cut for themselves a new channel, large oaks are sometimes disclosed

deeply imbedded in moss and sand. So late as June 25, 1569, the Regent Moray writes to Hugh Ross of Kilravock, begging him to apprehend wood-stealers :—"We understand that oure wodis, girs, and the pasturing of our forrest of Knock, on the north side of our Loch of Lochdorbe, and mekle Ethnoche, quhilkis lyes myer nixt adjacent to your land of Faryness, ar dalye cuttyt, westit, and destroyit, by common cuttoris of our wod, and pasturing the haill gwdis of the country in our proper pasture and girs. And our said wod and pasture of Aithnock ar so far distant from our wodis and forestar of our wods and forrestis," &c. &c.

The widowed Countess of Moray, "Annas Keith," also writes to him after her husband's death to the same effect from Dunotter, xix day of August—no year.—Letters extant in the Kilravock charter-chest.

There is still an older legend of Lochindorb, almost of ante-historic date, of which, however, a monumental record still exists on the banks of the Findhorn. Lochindorb, it is said, was then held by a Danish king (that is, cean or chief), who held as prisoner there a Scottish prince. The Dane had a fair daughter who loved and pitied the captive, and arranged to fly with him westward towards his own people. As they reached the banks of the Findhorn, near Dulsie, they perceived that it was in high flood, whilst the father and his followers were close upon them. In vain he called to them to wait. They dashed into the river and were drowned !

A little mound, with Runic characters and emblems still visible on a stone on the north side, bears the name of "the grave of the Danish princess." It is in a meadow beside the Findhorn, in the grounds of Ferness.

No doubt, before William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, expelled Gillespoe and the Royal M^cWilliam line from Badenoch, Lochindorb was one of their strongholds ; and could it be well looked into, perhaps we might find some foundations of the lake-dwellings of the aborigines under its waters.

And now having told all we can of the locale of Moray and Badenoch, we may return to the lords of the soil.

CUMYNS OF GLENKERNECK, OR GLENCARNEN, OR GLENCHARNEY.

Bigla, or Matilda Cumyn, daughter and heiress of Sir Gilbert Cumyn of Glencherneck, appears to have been the last of her name and line. Bigla married *Sir John Grant*, Sheriff-Principal of Inverness, whose date is proved by an inscription on the barrel of a musket amongst the arms at Castle Grant, "Dominus Johannes Grant, miles, Vicecomes de Inverness," anno 1434, with

the Grant arms—three crowns,—this being about two hundred years later than Douglas and other authorities suppose ; but it is also proved by charters under the Great Seal to their son, “ Sir Duncan Grant,” who is the first of the Grant name designated “ Dominus de eodem et de *Frcuchie* in 1442.” There is also a retour of “ Sir Duncan Grant,” knight, as heir to his “ *guidsire* ” (grandfather), Sir Gilbert of Glencherneck, 6th February 1468, and a precept of sasine on said retour by King James III. in his favour, as heir to his *guidsire*, *Sir Gilbert Cumyn*, in the lands of Congash and others, dated 3d March 1469.

“ Freuchie,” or the Heathery, together with all the lands of Inverallan, formed part of the possessions of the Cumyns in Badenoch. “ Augustinus, *Dominus de Inveralain*,” is mentioned in *Registrum Moravienses* from 1253-98 ; and he held his castle there when Edward I. sent his commissioners in 1303 to “ serche Badnassche ”—see p. 99. Who this Augustinus may have been we cannot say, but when Robert Bruce’s nephew Randolph was created Earl of Moray, he was called “ Chief of Clanallan,” and “ Kinchardine and Glencarnen ” were specially named as part of the earldom—that is, the *superiority* of those districts ; but their *duchus* or possession remained with the Cumyns, as we have seen, till Bigla’s day, when Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, promised them to Sir Alexander Cumyn of Altyre, with his sister Euffame, “ *if he should be able to obtain them*,” which he was not. This was in 1408, we believe, before Bigla’s marriage with Sir John Grant, to whom she brought the greater part, if not *all* his possessions on the Spey.

The first charter to the Grants in Moray was from John Pratt (A.D. 1268) of Coulmony and Daltulich, on the Findhorn.

Sir Gilbert de Glenkerney No. 1 is said by Nisbet to descend from “ Gilchrist,” second son of the Earl of Strathearn, who, in 1187, had a grant from William the Lion of the lands of “ Kinnebethen and Glencarnen,” a large district, now probably designated as *Strathspey*, at that period included in Badenoch.

“ Gilbert, filio Gilberti,” his son, married Marjorie, daughter of William Pratt, Sheriff of Nairn in the reign of Alexander II., and got with her the lands of Daltulich in Ardcloch.

1232. Episcopus concedit “ Gilberto, filio Gilberti,” quendam Comites de Stratherne “ terram de Kincarneyn in feode firman.”—*Registrum Moraviensis*.

1253. Gilbert, “ tertius Dominus de Glenkerney, knight,” with consent of Matilda his wife, and of Gilbert their eldest son, gives a charter of Gerbothy on the Fiddich, and by another charter gives to Duncan* of Ferindraught, with his

* Sir Duncan was Sheriff of Banffshire early in the succeeding century. Ferindraught Castle was in the parish of Forgue, held by Frasers, Dunbars, and Crichtons, down to the seventeenth century.

daughter Marian or Marjorie, the daviot of Conyner or Conynges, in Abernethy.—Testibus, “Archibald and Henry,” Bishops of Moray *from* 1253-98.

Gilbert, tertius Dominus de Glenkerney, miles, made his submission to Edward I. at Elgin, after having already done so at Perth on the 27th of June. His estates were on the Findhorn and Spey, and included Gerbothy, Ballindalloch, Fochabers, and Duthel; and his principal castle in early days was at Dunmullie; perhaps in *Aucherneck* and Car-bridge we may trace parts of the name.

We have seen that Gilbert, tertius, had a son Gilbert in 1253, so that the name probably descended for two or three more generations, until Bigla's father, called “*Gibbon Mohr*,” or the Great Gilbert, transferred his possessions in 1442 to his grandson, “*Sir Duncan Grant*,” who was retoured in the same in 1468, probably on the death of his mother. His father, “*Sir John Grant*,” Sheriff-Principal of Inverness, was possessor of Stratherrick and other lands in that county, once held by the Bissets.

There is a charter to Thomæ le Graunt from Robert II., Rex Scottorum, in consideration of the faithful services of his father, Johannes le Graunt, and in remembrance of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray; and of Thomas and John Randolph, his sons; and of Robert and David, grandfather and uncle of the king, &c. &c., of all the lands of Dolynduff and Dovally,* and the office of forester and heritable keeper of the forest of Tarnua, *beyond the park*, as formerly the said Thomas Grant, and afterwards Richard Cumyn, “*ex concessione prefati domini avunculi (David Bruce) et predecessoris nostri ad tempus tenuit, et quas terras et cetra omnia superdicta prefati Ricardus et Thomæ post aliquales discordias aliquam diu habitas interipsos super jure tam proprietatus quam possessiones eorundum per compositionem amicabilem finaliter concordate non vi aut metu dueti ne errore lapsi sed mera spontanea, concordii et unanime voluntate apud Perth in presentia nostra*,” &c. &c.

This Thomæ le Graunt was probably the brother of “*Agnes*,” the wife of Sir Richard Cumyn.

The first charter to Thomæ le Graunt here mentioned was in 1346, from John Randolph, who was killed at Durham that same year. As yet we have seen no charter giving them lands in Strathspey.

The charter from David II. to Sir Richard Cumyn appears to have been given at the time the king was ransomed in 1357-58, and “*Black Agnes*” had taken the title of Countess of Moray.

1370-71 was the first year of Robert II.'s reign. He was the implacable enemy of the Cumyns.

“Upon the west bank of the Spey,” says Shaw, in his ‘History of Moray,’ “where now the passage-boat of Gartenmore crosseth” (and where now there

* Valley of the Duvie.

July
1296.

1370-71.

is a railway station), "stood the house of Cumyn of Glencherneck, as yet called Bigla's house, because Bigla was the last of the Cumyns who enjoyed that land. The house stood on a green moat, fenced by a dry ditch, the vestiges of which are still to be seen. A current tradition beareth that at night a salmon net was cast into the pool below the wall of the house, and a small rope tied to the net and brought in at the window had a bell hung to it, which rung when a salmon came to shake the net."

In Shaw's day Bigla was still remembered as the great lady of Strathspey.

The similarity of names between this branch of the Cumyns and the first three or four generations of the Hamiltons is striking—"Gilbert, Fitz-Gilbert;" and both appear to have been connected with Strathern, and with the Cumyns of Kilbride.

Sir Richard * had a grant from David II., under the Great Seal, of the lands of Dovellij, now Dunphail, with the office of Ranger of the Forest of Tarnawa, an office once held by Robert Bruce himself, and by Sir Alexander Cumyn in 1291:—

"David Dei gracia . . . Rex . . . Scottorum, omnibus probis hominibus tocuis terre sue clericis et laicis Salutem, Sciates nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse, dilecto et fideli nostro Ricardo Comyne, omnes terras de develly vna cum officio forestarii foreste nostre de ternway cum pertinenciis in comitatu Moraue infra vicecomitatum de . . . Inuernys. . . Tenendas et habendas eidem Ricardo et heredibus suis, de nobis et heredibus nostris in feodo et hereditate per omnes. . . Rectas metas et diuisas suas, cum omnibus et singulis libertatibus etc., ad dictas terras et officium forestarii foreste nostre predictę spectantibus etc. in futurum Faciendo inde seruicium debitum et consuetum, In cuius . . . Rei etc., Testibus etc. Apud Dundee . . . Sexto die . . . Januarij Anno . . . Regni nostri Tricesimo Nono."—Registrum Magni Sigilli. Regum Scotorum—in Archivis Publicis Asservatum. MCCCVI.=MCCCCXXIV. Published in 1814.

Sept. 15, 1369. On his return from his embassy to Edward III., Sir Richard Cumyn had another grant from King David II. of the "ten merk lands of the two Carnousies," in the sheriffdom of Banff:—

"Carta de duabus Carnousijs. David, dei gracia Rex Scotorum, omnibus, &c., dilecto et fideli nostro Ricardo Cumyn pro fidele servicio suo nobis impenso et impendendo illum annuam. Tenendum et habendum dicto Ricardo Cumyn et heredibus suis, de nobis, et heredibus nostris, in feodo et hereditate libere et

* Sir Richard purchased two-thirds of the parish of Edinkeillie.

In 1346 Thomas le Graunt had had a charter of Dovellij, and the forestry of Tarnawa, beyond the park, from John Randolph, who was killed at Durham that same year, and his sister, "Black Agnes, the heroic Countess of March," took up the title of Countess of Moray; but this was only confirmed to her son "*John Dunbar*" in 1372, when he was created Earl of Moray by Robert II., on his marriage with that king's daughter. See page 446.

quiete reddendo inde annuat^m, &c. &c., unum par cyrothe carum Albarum, vel duos denarios argenti apud dictus terras de Carnouijs : ad testus Pentecostes, &c. &c.—Apud Edinburghe, xvth die Sept., A.D. 1369.

Sir Richard Cumyn, knight, had a grant from Dame Margaret, Countess of April 6, Mar and Angus, of the whole lands of Malnesse, Balbrybie, Dalesbie, and ¹³⁸⁹ Orddaleby, in her barony of Kirrymuir :—

“Omnibus hanc cartum visuris vel auditoris, Margarita, Comitissa de Mar et Angus salutem in domino semper eternum seiates nos in nostra libera vidiutate, et deliberata voluntate dedisse, concecisse et hanc presente carta nostra, confirmasse. Dilecto consanguineo nostro Domino Ricardo Cumyn, milite, totas terras, &c. &c., per suo bono auxilio et servitio nobis impenso,” &c. &c.

This lady was Margaret Stewart, daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Angus, and sister and heiress of Thomas, third earl of the Stewart line. This is proved by the date of the indenture, and also by the signatures, as witnesses, of her half-brothers,—her mother having married, secondly, Sir John Sinclair of Herdmanston (having been herself a St Clair of Roslin).

Soon after this date the Countess Margaret resigned into the hands of King Robert II. the earldom of Angus, which she held in her own right ; and the king granted it, along with the lordships of Abernethy, county of Perth, and Bonkyll, in Berwick, to George Douglas, her only son, and his heirs-male, whom failing, to Margaret's sister Elizabeth, married to Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick, and their heirs.

The connection with Sir Richard Cumyn ? “Dilecto consanguineo nostro.”

Richard Cumyn, miles, “is witness to the Duke of Albany's charter, dated at Falkland 12th May 1407, confirming the gift of the barony of Obeyn, in Aberdeenshire, made by William de Keith and Margaret Fraser, his spouse, to and in favour of John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Albany's son.

After Sir Richard's death, King David's royal grant fell into the hands of the Frasers, as appears by a charter of Robert III., in these terms :—

“Robertus, &c., confirmasse, &c., annuum redditum decem mercarum Stirlingorum, &c., quæ fuit Ricardo Cumyn, milites, hæreditarie ex donatione, Davidis Bruce, Rex Scotorum,” &c. This charter is dated A.D. 1395.

Sir Richard married Agnes, daughter of Sir John, and sister of Sir Robert Grant of that ilk, by whom he had two sons—

1, Ferquhard, his heir ; and, 2, Duncan of Lochtervandich, progenitor of the Cumyns of Auchray, Pittulie, &c. &c. His death must have taken place between 12th May 1407 and 28th May 1408.

VI. Ferquhard Cumyn was the first of the family designated of *Altre*.*

* In Registrum Moravienses “the Church of Altre” is mentioned in 1289.

1384. As eldest son and heir of Sir Richard Cumyn (probably on his marriage), he got a charter from Robert II. of the forestry of Drummynd and Tulloch, and of several davochs of land thereunto belonging. His father Sir Richard was still alive in 1407, when he signed as witness to the charter at Falkland, but appears to have died before the 28th of May 1408, when the marriage-contract of his grandson with Euffame, daughter of the Earl of Moray, was signed.

Ferquhard Cumyn of Altre married Janet, daughter of John Cameron of Lochyell, chief of that clan, by whom he left three sons—1, Alexander, his heir; 2, Thomas; and, 3, John, mentioned in 1422 in a donation to the Abbey of Cambuskenneth.

In some old writings this John, third son of Ferquhard Cumyn, is called “progenitor of the Cummings of Inverallachie,” by his son Jordanus. If so, John must have married the heiress of that branch of Aberdeenshire Cumyns, and his son must have been named after its first founder, “Jurdan Cumyn,” whose charter, from Alexander Earl of Buchan, dates from 1277, of which also there is a confirmation charter by King James III. in Pub. Archiv., dated 12th April 1475, in which the first grant of 1277 is mentioned.

CUMYNS OF LOCHTERVANDICH, AUCHRAY, PITTULIE, AND RATTRAY.

Sir Richard Cumyn's second son Duncan was also well provided for. He got from his father the lands of Lochtervandich, the half dauch of Auchmore, in Glenrinnies, the dauchs of Riven, Tomoclaggen, and Glenconylan, in Strath-aven; the dauchs of Enoch and Pitglasses, in Auchindown.

Duncan married a daughter of William Mackintosh of that ilk (chief of his clan), and died in the beginning of the reign of Robert III., leaving a son named Ferquhard, who married a daughter of the Earl of Mar. He died A.D. 1406, and was buried at Mortlach, within the old church, as appears by his tombstone, still extant (Nov. 1865). The seventh in direct descent from the said Duncan was George Cumyn, born about the year 1600. He succeeded to the family estate, and was also a merchant trader in the burgh of Elgin, and for thirty years provost thereof. He married Marjorie, daughter of William Leslie of Kinninvie, by whom he had, 1, William his heir [2, George, minister of Essle, near Speymouth, from 1678-1723, who married a daughter of Archibald Geddes of Essle, by whom he had two sons, both clergymen in the Church of England]. His eldest daughter married King of Newmill, Provost of Elgin. His second daughter married John Hay, Dean of Moray.

Marjorie Leslie died in September 1656, and George Cumyn married,

secondly, Lucretia Gordon. Her monument exists in St Mary's aisle, Elgin Cathedral: "Here lies the body of Lucretia Gordon, spouse of George Cumyn, some time Provost of Elgin," who died in September 1668. The arms are those of the Gordons of Kinnedar.

George Cumyn died in 1689, as appears on his monument, and that of his first wife: "Heir lyes George Cumyn of Lochtervandich, who died the 20th of September 1689, and his spous, Margaret Leslie, who died in September, the yeir of God 1656."

He was succeeded by his eldest son William, born in 1634, who sold his paternal lands of Lochtervandich to Alexander Duff of Braco, and purchased the lands of Auchray and Pittulie, in Buchan, in the reign of Charles II. He mortified the leper lands and the hospital croft of Elgin, with a house in Elgin for the use of four decayed burgesses of the burgh, which still exists, and is a very flourishing charity.

William Cumyn of Auchray was three times married,—first, to Isobel Gordon, daughter of John Gordon, Provost of Banff, by whom he had one son, John Cumyn, who succeeded him in Auchray. By his second marriage he had no issue. His third wife was Christian, daughter of Sir Henry Guthrie of King Edward (Kinnedar), by whom he had a son "George," to whom he left the estate of Pittulie and the patronage of the Elgin charity. William Cumyn built the picturesque old house on the south side of the High Street of Elgin, occupied by himself, and after him by the Grants of Wester-Elchies and the Kings of Newmill; then by the Misses Shands as a boarding-school; and finally, by the Caledonian Branch Bank. In his latter days he lived much at Auchray, where he was visited by the famous Russian General, Sir Patrick Grant, in Peter the Great's time, who mentions in his diary being "nobly entertained" there by M. Cumine in the 30th of June 1686. He built, at his own expense, the parish church of Monquhitter, where, upon his death, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, a monument was erected to his memory, A.D. 1707.

The estate of Auchray continued with the descendants of John Cumine, his eldest son, until sold by the late Archibald Cumine of Auchray, about 1835.

The estate of Pittulie, near Fraserburgh, was also sold many years ago, that branch of the family being now represented by Cumine of Rattray, who still holds the patronage of the Elgin charity conjointly with the magistrates of Elgin.

This account is extracted from an MS. preserved in the family, which commences by saying: "The family of Lochtervandich is descended from the house of Altyre." That they spell their name in another way from their chief

is not astonishing, as sometimes in one deed or charter the same man's name is spelt in three different ways.

May 28,
1408.

VII. Sir Alexander Cumyn, eldest son and heir of Ferquhard, married Euffame, sister of Sir Thomas de Dunbar, Earl of Moray.

The marriage-contract or indenture of this date contains a curious specimen of a *bond* or *band*, as it was then called, of manrent, but which Sir Alexander was bound to fight on his side, in whatever strife might occur.

The original was found in the charter-chest of Gordon Castle. This indenture made at *Fynlettre*, the xxij day of the month of May, the yere of our Lord M.CCCC., and viij yere, betwix a noble lord and a mychty, Sir Thomas of Dunbarre, Erle of Murreff, on the ta' part, and Alexander Cumyne on the t'other part, beris witnes, that it is accordit in form and in effect, as eftir follows—that is for to say, that the forsaid erll sall giff his gude will to the mariage of his sister Euffame, and xx markisworth of land, within his landis of Glencharneck out-taken his chemys (manorhouse), and his demayne into reasonable place and cunnable (attainable) to the airis cumand betwene the saidis Alexander and Euffame. And the forsaide Alexander is oblist to be lele man, and trew, for all the days of his life to the forsaid erll, and als, it is accordit, that fra the ussay of his terme with Alexander Stewart, Erll of Marr—that is to say, v. yeris eftir the making of this indenture, that he sall entir than into the service of the said erll, agayne dedlyke, outtakand his allegiance to our lord the king anerly. And als it is accordit that qwill the Lord of the Ilys haffis tak' off the Erll of Murreff of Glencherney, that the forsaid Erll of Murreff sall mak to the forsaid Alexr. Cumyne, fra the ussay of his terme, that he haff of the Erll of Marr xx markisworth of land within the schiroeffdom of Elgyne or Fores; and als the forsaide Alexander is oblist to serve the Erll of Murreff, lelily and trewly, to the ussing of the Erll of Marrs terme, outtakend anerly the Erll of Marrs service, agayne al uther, as is befor saide; and the befor said erll is oblist to mak him reasonable reward eftir his service, as his ordanys unsuspect. In witness of thir thingis, *but fraude* or gile, lelily to be kepit, ourselves ar interchangably to put the day, the yere, the place, befor saide.

This indenture was found some years since in the Gordon Castle charter-chest; but it appears that whatever pretensions the Earl of Moray may have had to Glencherney, they never were made available, and “the xx merks worth of land in the sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres,” which Sir Alexander got as Euffame's portion, appears to have been “Sluie, Logie, Presley, and Craigmiln,” all of which still hold of the Earls of Moray. They have all passed from Altyre to younger branches of the Cumyn family, and Sluie was bought back by Darnaway.

There is a legend in Strathspey that the Earl of Moray, wishing to induce the strong-minded Bigla (Matilda) Cumyn, heiress of Glencharney, to exchange her lands in Badenoch for some lands of his, of which he promised her "all she could see;" Bigla rode, well attended, to meet the earl, one of her followers carrying the title-deeds; but not well assured of the earl's good faith, she warned him to fly with them should she display a *red* handkerchief, whilst a *white* one was to be the signal that she was satisfied. The earl met her in a thick wood, from which the prospect was bounded, and the red handkerchief quickly appeared, and caused the messenger to depart and to lodge his documents safely within the walls of Castle Grant (where, perhaps, they still exist). Bigla married "*Sir John Grant*," Sheriff of Inverness, and her son, "*Sir Duncan Grant*," succeeded Bigla's father, "*Sir Gilbert Cumyn of Glencherneck*," in 1468-69, in the lands of Congash, &c. &c. Bigla appears to have held "*Freuchie*," now Castle Grant, from an earlier period, and her son is styled of Freuchie in 1442. In her the line of Cumyn of Glencherneck appears to end.

Sir Thomas Cumyn, son and heir of Sir Alexander Cumyn of Altyre by Euffame, sister of Sir Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, appears to have married early, Margaret, second daughter of Sir Patrick Gordon of Methlic and Haddo, progenitor of the Earls of Aberdeen, by Marian, daughter of Sir James Ogilvie of Findlater.

By this Margaret Gordon Sir Thomas Cumyn had three sons—1, James, who died s. p., vit. pat.; 2, *Alexander, his heir*; 3, John, progenitor of the Cumyns of Ernside.

His daughter "Jean," called, for her great beauty, "*The Fair Maid of Moray*," became the fourth wife of Alexander, "*first Earl of Huntly*," by whom he had two daughters—1, Lady Janet, married Innes of Innes; 2, Lady Margaret, married Hugh Rose of Kilravock.

James, eldest son of Sir Thomas Cumyn of Altyre, married Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon of Midmar, son of the first Earl of Huntly, but died March 7, 1450. vit. pat.

John, the third son of Sir Thomas, founded the family of Cumyn of Ernside, with its new fortalice, and considerable property in the laighlands of Moray and fishings in the Spey, and for many generations they appear to have flourished and made distinguished alliances. Amongst others, we find in the Chartulary of Moray, "*Carta feodifirmæ ad Episcopo, cum consensu Capituli facta, Alessandro Cumyn, Domino juniori di Ernished, et Egidia Blacater ejus spousæ, terrarum de Meikle Phorpe, infra baronium de Raffort, vie de Elgyn et Forres. Testibus, Jacobo Douglass, Will^m. Clark, Johannis Leslie, Will^{mo}. Cummyng, Magister Alex^r. Cummyng, &c. &c.*"—Apud Elgyn, 20 Junii 1547.

This Egidia's mother was a sister of Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney ; another of whose sisters was the wife of Edward Bruce, Commendator of Kinloss.

Circa 1581. John the Grant of Freuchy (son of Sir Duncan), and John Cumin of Ernished, made a contract for a marriage between John Cumin's son and heir and a daughter of John the Grant's at Altyre. There was a Thomas Cumin of Ernished who married Elizabeth Douglas, daughter-lawful of Douglas of Pittendriech. The two last marriages of this family registered at Elgin were, William Cumin to Mrs Isobel Lindsay, daughter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, son to the Earl of Crauford ; and Patrick Cuming of Earnside to Janet Dunbar, sister to Sir William Dunbar of Hempriggs.*

1460. VIII. Sir Thomas Cumyn succeeded his father Alexander as Baron of Altyre. It appears that his grandfather Ferquhard had been much engaged in the wars between the Earl of Ross, Lords of the Isles, and the Earls of Mar, Douglas, &c., in James II.'s time ; and an old MS. says that, "when *Alexander*, father of this Thomas, succeeded, the Earl of Mar obtained from the king his ward and the nonentrie of his lands, and afterwards comprised them for several depredations committed by Ferquhard his father ; and that Alexander, being thus put from his lands, betook himself to the protection of the Earl of Moray, hoping to regain his fortune," and making with him the band and contract which we have seen in the last page ; by which also it is shown that, for five years to come, from 1408, he was still under an engagement to Alexander, Earl of Mar.

In 1411 the Earl of Mar commanded the royal army at Harlow, near Inverury, when Donald of the Isles invaded that county, on pretence of taking possession of the earldom of Ross in right of Margaret his wife. No doubt Sir Alexander Cumyn fought, and, it may be, fell there, for we do not hear of him again, nor of his receiving any lands or rewards for services with his brother-in-law, Thomas 1461. Earl of Murray, except Euffame's dower. Donald, still holding the title of Earl of Ross, again invaded Scotland with his caterans and gillieglasses from the western isles, took possession of the Castle of Inverness, and, advancing as far as Athol, surprised the earl and countess, and carried them prisoners to his castle of Claig in Islay ; but a tempest overtaking him, most of his followers were lost, and he himself killed at Inverness by an Irish harper. His surviving followers returned to Islay, and liberated the earl and countess, restoring the

* Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown purchased from the Cumins of Ernside the lands of Garbity, Inchberry, and Ely, with the valuable fishings on the Spey, excambied in 1812 for parts of Roseisle, with the Duke of Gordon. *Jane*, eldest daughter and heir of Thos. Cuming, banker in Edinburgh, the last male representative of the Cumings of Ernside, married in 1816 Lieut.-General John Leslie Melville, who died s. p. in 1824, having assumed the name of Leslie Cuming. Her sister "Jessie" having married Sir James Montgomerie Cunningham, her son, "Sir Thomas," is heir of line of the Cumings of Ernside.

plunder, and making large donations to St Bridget, their patron saint, from whose sanctuary they had rudely torn them.

John of Isle afterwards made a treaty with the king of England; but James III., determined to rid himself of such rebellious subjects, sent the Earl of Athol against them with a powerful army, taking leave of him with the *mot*, which has since been the Athol motto, "Furth fortune, and fill the fetters." And by 1476 "the Lord of the Isles" was restricted to his own insular dominions, and the earldom of Ross otherwise disposed of. *Sir* Thomas Cumyn, for he was knighted by James III., appears to have had his part, and a successful one, in these wars. In 1460 he redeemed the barony of Dollas from "William the Hay of Lochloy," and had a charter under the Great Seal from James III. confirming him in the same.

He had also a charter confirming him and his heirs in the forestry of Drum- Aug. 2, mynd (which Ferquhard had in 1384). He had a charter from "*John, Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles*" (that is, one month after his forfeiture), of the lands Aug. 19, of "Auchness" (also probably a *a restitution*); and he had confirmation charters 1476. of Bellenriech, Leonaught, Auchness, Little Thorpe, &c., within the barony of Dollas.

James de Urreville (a name now unknown in Moray) makes resignation of 1478. the forestry of Drummynd to "Sir Thomas Cumyn of Altyre." The de Urrevilles held at that time the barony of Sanquhar, the forestry of Tulloch, White-raw, Newton, Chappeltown, Aslish, and Drum of Pluscarden, annexed in one barony in favour of Robert de Urreville.—Charter in public records, 22d March 1510.

There had been a warrant from the crown in 1419 to build the castles and fortalices of Dollas and Ernside, but destruction rather than construction appears to have been at that time the order of the day. It remained, therefore, for Sir Thomas to carry this into effect, and small castles were built at both places. The architect, it is believed, was "Cochrane," the favourite of James III., by him created Earl of Mar after the murder of the king's brother "John," who held that title. Cochrane,* it is said, built Calder, Kilravock, Ernside, and Spynie, and no doubt was master of the works at Tarnua when James II. and III. took possession of it as a hunting-seat after the attainter and death of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, in 1455. Perhaps, too, he had a hand in the pulling down of Lochindorb, under orders from the Thane of Cawdor.

* Of Cochrane, Pitscottie remarks:—"In his beginning he was but a prentice to a mason, and in a few years he became very ingenious in that craft, and bigget many stone houses in the realm of Scotland; and because he was cunning in craft, not long after, the king made him master mason; and after this, Cochrane clamb so high, higher and higher, till he came to his fine," which was to be hanged over the bridge of Lauder by a "hair tether," and not by his own silk scarf, as he entreated, in August 1481.

There is a curious "indentour of friendship," made at Edinburgh, July 25, 1476, betwixt Thomas Cumyn of *Altir* and William the Hay of Lochloy, "which proportis, contenis, and beris witness in the selfe, that it is appointit and fully accordit betwix honorable men, Thomas Cumyn of Altir and William the Hay of Lochloy, becaus of certain debatis and controversiis that haif been betwix thaim and thair friendis in tymes bygane, and for frendship, favoris, and kindnes to be had betwix thaim and thair frendis in tyme to cum. That thare sud be ane bond of tendernes betwix thaim, thair airis, successouris, and frendis for evermar, in maner and forme as efter folowys." And then at great length it sets forth, "That they sal ride, gang, and labour thairselves, thair frendis and servandis, in ilk ither's defence, on pain of forfeiting ane hundred pundis of usuale money of Scotland," &c. &c.

From the attainder of Archibald Douglas, A.D. 1455, until 1501, when James IV. gave the earldom of Murray to his natural son James Stuart,* it had been in abeyance, the Gordons having the principal sway. James Stuart, dying in 1544 without heirs-male, "George," fourth Earl of Huntly, High Chancellor, 1548. was created by Queen Mary Earl of Moray, until 1561, when it was recalled by her Majesty, and bestowed on another James Stuart, Prior of St Andrews, natural son of James V., killed at Linlithgow in January 1570 by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh.

IX. Alexander Cumyn, second born but eldest surviving son and heir of Sir Thomas Cumyn of Altyre, married, during his father's lifetime, "Janet," daughter of Sir William Fraser of Cowie and Philorth, progenitor of the Lords Saltoun.—See Earldom of Ross.

It is probable that the charter from John, Lord of the Isles, of 19th August 1496, was in restitution of this lady's dower. By her he left two sons—1, Thomas; and, 2, Ferquhard.

1502. Alexander Cumyn was chosen arbiter of some differences betwixt Andrew, Bishop of Moray, and Hugh Rose of Kilravock, and was generally respected and looked up to as a man of talent and accomplishments.

Aug. 17, Alexander Cumyn married, secondly, Janet, daughter of George Brown, 1518. Baron of Coalston, and widow of William Urquhart of Burdsyards.—Charter in Public Archives.

Nov. 21, A charter (confirmed by another charter, 1st December 1542) from this 1541. Alexander to Janetæ Brown, relictæ quondam Williemi Urquhard de Burdsyards, nunc spousæ Alexandri Cuming de Altyr, in vitale redditu et hæredibus inter ipsos Alexandrum et Janetam legitime procreand: quibus deficien:

* The name only became "*Stuart*" in Queen Mary's day, from the absence of the letter "w" from the French alphabet.

hæredibus dicti Alexandri quibuscunque, de totis et integris terras dominicalibus de Dollas, &c. &c., to which Janet Brown's eldest son, *Robert*, became heir.

By this marriage there appears to have been also a son "Alexander," who, in Oct. 8, 1556, got a charter under the Great Seal: "Alexander Cuming de St Germain ¹⁵⁵⁶ du Pray, Filio quondam Alexandri Cuming de Altyr terrarum de Meikle Brumhillie," &c., in Elgin and Forres; also a third son, "*James*," who is called "Fader's" brother to Sir Thomas.

X. Sir Thomas Cumyn, eldest son of Alexander, had many charters under the Great Seal.

Sir Thomas Cumyn, fiar of Altyr, married Agnes Grant, sister of Sir John Dec, 6, Grant of Ballindalloch, by whom he left three sons—1, Robert; 2, Thomas; ¹⁵²⁹ 3, Patrick.

This Sir Thomas had a charter from Queen Mary: "Thomæ Cumming de May 16, Altyr terrarum baroniæ de Altyr, Dollace," &c., in which he is distinctly called ¹⁵⁵³ the *nepoti (or grandson) et hærede, quondam*, Alexandri Cumyn de Altyr, who appears to have survived his son *Thomas*, and been succeeded by his grandson Thomas; whilst in Shaw's 'History of Moray' these two are very much confused—marriages, dates of charters, &c., misstated. Amongst the Altyr papers there is a Papal dispensation for the marriage of Sir Thomas Cumyn of Altyr and Agnes Grant, dated December 6, 1529.

Robert Cumyn, eldest son of Sir Thomas, married a daughter of Forbes of Tolquhoun in Aberdeenshire, of whom all we know is, that a curious document is printed in the collections of Aberdeen and Banff, entitled "Licence granted to umquhill William Forbes of Tolquhoune for eating fleschis, remaining att hame from wapinschawis," &c. &c., from which we should infer he enjoyed delicate health.

Tolquhoun consists of an old castle called "the Preston's Tower," from its first possessors, and several other buildings which render it a court, with an inscription in front, "Al this warke, excep the auld tower, was begun be William Forbes 15 April 1584, and endit be him 20 Octr. 1589."

The auld tower was brought to the Forbeses by the marriage of Marjory Preston, daughter of Sir Henry Preston of Formartine, in the days of James I., with Sir John Forbes, son of Sir John Forbes of that ilk, of whom descended Culloden,* Ballogie, Waterton, Foveran, and others, but from whom the Cumyns of Altyr did *not* descend; for this Robert died in 1550 before his father and grandfather, Thomas, his second brother, then becoming the heir.

* Duncan Forbes, son of Tolquhoun, bought Culloden, circa 1626, from the Macintosh. Duncan, Lord President in 1745, was his great-grandson.

June 26, 1550. Alexander Cumyn, Baron of Altyr, obtained a decret of exemption for himself, his kinnismen, and friends, against Alexander Dunbar, Sheriff of Elgin and Forres, and his *pretendit* deputis of the said schireffdome, who had, "be himself, his frendis and servandis, divers and syndrie tymes, cruellie set upoun the saidis Alexr., his breder, freyndis, kynnismen, and servendis, and invadit hym and thaim for thair slauchtir; and for that caus, and divers utheris caussis, the said schiref and his deputis ar veray suspect to be jugis to the said Alexr., his frendis," &c. &c.

Sir Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, was hereditary sheriff of this county and so were his successors in the earldom, till, upon the demise of Earl James Dunbar, his son Alexander of Westfield (unjustly deprived of the earldom) was made hereditary Sheriff of Moray; and the office continued in his family till the year 1724, when Lodovick Dunbar of Westfield sold it to Charles, Earl of Murray, for £25,000. These Stuart earls continued to be principal sheriffs until 1747. Probably the disturbances mentioned in the Altyre claim for exemption occurred in consequence of struggles between the sheriff's party and the Gordons, with whom the Cumyns were nearly allied. George, Earl of Huntly, was now Earl of Moray also, from 1548 to 1561.

Sir Alexander Dunbar of Cumnock and Westfield, the hereditary sheriff, was great-grandson to the first Sir Alexander, and called "*the Bold Sheriff*." It was probably during the time of these troubles that the rhyme was made,—

"The Gordon, the gou'd, and the hoody craw,
Were the three warst ills that Moray ere saw."

Farquhard, third son of Alexander Cumyn, by Janet, daughter of Sir William Fraser of Cowie and Philorth, founded the family of Cumyn of Kellas; but his sons being disobliged by their cousin and chief refusing to allow them to bury their father in the family burying-place at Altyr, they renounced the name of Cumyn and assumed that of "Farquhardson" after their father, of whom are descended the Farquharsons of Houghton, Balthog, &c. &c., in Aberdeenshire.—See p. 409, Registrum Moraviensis, 399, 400.

Jan. 15, 1584. Preceptum de clare constat ab Episcopo datum ad infeoffandum Wilhelmum Cumyn, alias Farquharstone, propinquiorum eredem patris Wilhelmi Farquharstone in dictus terras de Ester et Wester Killesis et de Corponoche, apud Spynie, &c. &c.

They still bear the Cumyn arms.

Sir William Fraser of Cowie and Philorth died in 1441. His father, Sir Alexander Fraser, married the second daughter of William, Earl of Ross, by whom he got the barony of Philorth, Cairnbulg, &c. &c., "the half of the hail

lands of the Earl of Buchan," given with Margaret Cumyn, the earl's daughter, to John de Ros, by King Robert Bruce.

Sir Alexander Fraser's grandfather (also Sir Alexander) was made Lord Chancellor of Scotland in 1325, by King Robert, and married that king's sister "Mary," widow of Sir Neil Campbell, and had with her the thanedom of Cowie, &c.

John the Grant of Freuchy (son of Sir Duncan), and John Cumming of 1582. Ernished, made a contract at Altyre for a marriage between John Cumming's son and heir and a daughter of John Grant's.

XI. Thomas, second son of Sir Thomas Cumyn, succeeded his father and grandfather (Robert, his elder brother, having died vit. pat. s. p.)

Thomas Cumyn married Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon of Nov. 11, Strathdon, who was the third son of the third Earl of Huntly (Alexander 1558. Gordon). By her he had three sons—1, Alexander; 2, David; 3, *James*, who became the heir.

In Registrum Moraviensis, 411, we find "Carta feodifirmæ ab Episcopo cum consensu capituli concessa Thomæ Cumyng de Alter, et Margareta Gordon, ejus spousæ, terrarum de Logygowne, Ardovy, Dolesbrachty, Clunerny, cum piscaria in Acqua de Findorne, in vic. de Elgin et Forres. Apud Sconan et Elgin, Julii 1561."

Also 313, p. 392: "Carta feodifirmæ ab Episcopo facta Thomæ Cumyn de Alter infra baronium de Raffert, resignata in ipsius favorem ab Elizabeth Cumyn, filia *quandam* Thomæ Cuming, nunc spousa Hugone * Ros, in Logy-ardovy pro rimpletione contractu inter eosdem, 2 Mar. 1564. Apud Alter."

Alexander, eldest son and apparent heir of Thomas Cumyn of Altyr, got a Nov. 1, charter under the Great Seal of "Terrarum de Tulliduvie" (Relugas) "cum 1586. Molendino" upon his father's resignation. Alexander was captain of a troop of horse at the battle of Glenlivet, where he joined his cousin Huntly, and greatly Oct. 3, distinguished himself, Huntly's horse defeating the Earl of Argyle's army of 1594. the king's troops of 10,000 men. Alexander died s. p. before 1601.

David, his next brother, died before 1594.

Resignation by Thomas Cuming of Altyre in the hands of Alexander, Earl of 1608. Dunfermline, Chancellor of Scotland, his superior, of the town and lands of Tulliduvie, with the mill *and fishings*, for a new infestment in favour of James Cuming, fiar of Alter, and his wife Margaret Fraser, 27th February 1608.

Thomas Cumyn died in 1609, and his son James succeeded.

* *Rose of Kilravock*. It is said that Thomas Cumyn, elder of Altyre, married, secondly, Janet Duff, relict of George Bougman, Merchant Burgess of Edinburgh; contract dated 5th October 1603.

1609. XII. There are several charters of confirmation and *novo damus* by James, Earl of Moray, Alexander, Bishop of Murray, &c. &c., to James Cumyn, *now* of Alter, third son of the *late* Thomas Cumyn.

1611. Procuratory of resignation by John Dunbar of Westfield, Sheriff-principal of Elgin and Forres, of that part of the office of sheriffship to James Cumyn of Alter, to all lands and heritages pertaining, or that may pertain to him, &c., 15th *December* 1611.

1612. Instrument of seisin in favour of the said James Cumyn, with consent of Sir James Sandilands of Torphichen, of that *temple land* called *St John's Logie*, lying upon the water of Findhorn and shire of Elgin and Forres, 7th November 1612.

By all these charters it will be seen that James Cumyn married, secondly, during his father's lifetime, Margaret Fraser, daughter of Hugh, sixth Lord Lovat (first on the Rolls of Parliament, A.D. 1540), and sister of Symon, Lord Lovat. She brought to him a tocher of 37,000 merks, a considerable sum in those days, but not sufficient, it appears, to meet current expenses during his father's lifetime, so that many lands were wadsett.

James Cumyn died in the early part of the reign of Charles I., leaving by his second marriage a son and heir "*Robert*," and a daughter "*Jean*," married to John Hay, son and heir of David Hay of Lochloy, in 1627.

Margaret, relict of James Cumyn, Baron of Altyre, was infeoffed in the lands of Relugas, which she had for a jointure. In 1604-7 a fourth part of those lands had been alienated by James Cumyn of Alter in favour of James Cumyn, brother of William Cumyn of Presley, and Dorothy Dunbar, his wife, in liferent, but were restored in 1608, with mill and fishings.

Feb. 29, 1600. He married, first, Margaret Gordon, daughter of Sir Thomas Gordon of Clunie, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, afterwards Earl of Angus; upon which marriage he had a charter from his father, "hereditary possessor of Meikle and Little Broomquhillis, Craigtown, Logie, Ardauch, Drummyne, and Presley," of those lands to "James Cumyn and his spouse Margaret Gordon, in liferent, and to their eldest son heritably;" and at the same date and on the same terms there is another charter to them of the lands of Tilliduvie (Relugas), and two charters to the same, first, of the Kirklands of Alter, within the regality of Spynie, and of the lands of Logygowne, Ardovie, Dolesbrauchtie, &c.; and second, of the lands and barony of Alter and Dollas—"Reservando tamen mihi prefato Thome Cumyn de Alter et Margaret Gordon mee conjugii vitales redditus dictarum terrarum et baronie," *same date*; and on the 13th of June, same year, he resigns the whole lands and baronies into the hands of the king for a new infeftment to the said James

Cumyn, wherein he is always termed "Jacobo Cumyn, filio tertio genito Thomæ Cumyng de Alter."

James Cuming, fiar of Alter, has a charter by which, in virtue of a contract of 1602. marriage entered into betwixt him and Margaret Fraser, sister to Symon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, he grants to the said Margaret, in liferent, the lands of Tullieduvie, in the lordship of Urquhart, signed at Inverness and Alter, 16th and 30th November 1602.

James Cuming alienates to James Cuming, brother-german to William 1604. Cuming of Presley, the fourth part of the town and lands of Tullieduvie, and redeems from them, by payment of 500 merks, the town and lands of Strona-veich, also of the sunny half of the town and lands of Dollesbrauchtie.

James Cumyn, with consent of Margaret Fraser, his spouse, sold to William 1606. Douglas of Erlismill the town and lands of Lyne and Skeir, in the parish of Ardcloch and shire of Nairn, *Forres, 2d June 1606*—William Douglas obliging himself, on payment of 800 merks by the said James Cumyn and Margaret Fraser, or their heirs, "to hald the said lands as laughfullie redemit fra him," &c.

Jean Cuming, only daughter of James Cumyn and Margaret Fraser, married June 20, John Hay, son and heir of David Hay of Lochloy. The contract runs thus— 1627.

"Robert Cumyn of Altyr and Margaret Fraser, Lady of Altyre, his mother, and Jean Cumyn, sister-german of the said Robert, with consent, &c. &c., of a nobil and potent lord, "Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat; Hew, Master of Lovat, &c. &c., on the ain pairt; and David Hay of Lochloy for himself, with express advice, consent, and counsall, of Sir Alexander Hay of Forrester-seat, ain of the senators of our Sovereign Ladies Colledge of Justice—the said David Hay taking burden upon himself and for John Hay, his eldest lauchful son and apperant heir; and the said John for himself—that the said John sall, God willing, marrie, and tak to his lauchful wyff, the said Jean Cumyng," &c. &c. &c.—'History of the Roses of Kilravock,' p. 315.

They were infeoffed in various lands and houses in Nairnshire—amongst others, in Reatt-Castel,* *near Nairn*. John, the Hay of Lochloy, died in 1640, leaving his son "*John Hay*" a minor. Robert Cumyng of Altyre, and James Dunbar of Dunphail, were his executors. Hew Hay *was his brother-german*.

XIII. Robert, only son and heir of James Cuming of Altyre and Margaret 1628.

* There were two castles of the name of "*Raits*," indifferently spelt—one on the site of Belleville, in Badenoch; the other near Nairn, of which a Sir Gervais Cumyn was the possessor in 1296. He was styled "Sir Gervaise de Raite" of Raite Castle, in the county of Nairn. The family continued to hold their estates until 1404, when one of them having killed Andrew Thane of Calder, they left that part of the country and settled in the Means.

Fraser of Lovat, got a charter under the Great Seal, dated "the penult day of July 1628—Roberto Cuming de Altyr terrarum baroniæ de Altyr Dollas," &c., lying in the shires of Elgin, Forres, and Nairn. Robert Cuming married "*Isabel*," daughter of Sir Robert Innes of Balveny, and died circa 1655, leaving two sons, Robert, his heir, and John, to whom he gave the lands of Logie, Ardoch, &c., and who became progenitor of the Cumings of Logie.

He had also a daughter "Jean," who married James Cuming of Presley, and had from her father, Relugas as her portion, from whom descended the Cumings of Relugas, ending in Miss Cuming, who married Sir Thomas Dick Lauder.

XIV. Robert Cuming, the eldest son and successor of his father, got a charter under the Great Seal from King Charles II.—

Feb. 14, 1662. "Roberto Cumyng de Altyre, terrarum baroniæ de Altyr, Dollas, &c. &c., lying in the shires of Elgin, Forres, and Nairn, quæ per prius fuerunt quondam Roberti Cumyng de Altyr.

1664. He was summoned as chief of his clan, by the lords of the Privy Council, to find caution for his whole name and clan, as appears by the records of the Privy Council, and by a bond of relief by his friends and vassals, written and signed by them at Altyr the 23^d day of December 1672, "binding and obliging themselves for the better relief of the said Robert Cuming of Altyr, that the whole persons of their name descended from their families, wherever they may dwell, sall *comit* no murther, deforcement of messengers, raiffe, theft, recept of theft, depredations open and avowed, fyre-raising upon deadly feid, or any other deids contrair to the Acts of Parlement, under the penalty of 2000 merks, Scots money, besyds the redressing and repairing of all parties skaithed," &c. &c.

Robert Cuming of Altyre married, first, Jean, daughter of Sir Robert Burnet of Lees, and widow of Sir William Forbes of Monymusk, without succession; secondly, Lucy, eldest daughter of Sir Ludovick Gordon of Gordonstown, second baronet thereof, by whom he left an only son, Alexander, whose descendant of the fourth generation succeeded to the Gordonstown estates, including the barony of Dallas, alienated from Altyre in 1668. Lucy Gordon married, secondly, Alexander Dunbar of Kinloss, and had a son, "Ludovick," who became "Dunbar of Westfield." Robert Cuming died in 1675.

Contract, Feb. 15 and 16, 1686. XV. Alexander Cuming, a minor, succeeded his father. He married, by consent of his guardians (during his minority), Elizabeth, daughter of James Brodie of that ilk (by his wife, the Lady Mary Kerr, daughter of William, third Earl of Lothian). His guardians were the Marquess of Huntly and the Earl of Moray, who contributed much to the re-establishment of his estate, which had been involved during the troubles of the times. His grandfather Sir Ludo-

vick Gordon, as we have said, became possessed of Dollas, on what terms is not April 26, known, probably in payment of monies advanced to his son-in-law, who seemed¹⁶⁹⁷, still to retain possession until his death, which happened, it is said, at Tor-chastle, now in ruins, but which was then the family residence at Dollas. ^{had a seisin of Thorps, &c.}

Alexander *Cuming* (as the name now became commonly spelt) left, by Eliza-beth Brodie, his first wife, three sons—1, James; 2, Alexander; 3, George; and three daughters—1, Lillias; 2, Emilia; 3, Elizabeth. Elizabeth married Dr John Innes, a cadet of the Inneses of Innes.

Alexander Cuming married, secondly, the widow of Sir Alexander Innes of Coxtown. He died between 1745-50.

1. James, eldest son of Alexander Cumyn by Elizabeth Brodie, died in London, unmarried, having, before his father's death, made over his rights of succession to his youngest brother George, to the prejudice of his nephew Alexander, the son of his second brother.

2. Alexander, second son, went early into the army. He married Anne, only Contract, daughter of John Worsley, Esq. of Shrewsbury, widow of Dr Thomas Stewart^{April 7, 1715} of Kilmaichly. Of four children by this marriage, one son, Alexander, and one daughter, "Jean," survived.

He died at Wolkingham, from a window falling on his neck.

Sept. 8,

XVI. 3. George, the youngest son, lived at Altyre during his father's long¹⁷³⁰ life, and after his death managing the estate, and went by the name of "Laird George."

XVII. Alexander Cuming, only surviving son of Alexander and Anne Worsley, went early into the army, and after much service in foreign parts, being shipwrecked at Penzance, there met Miss Grace Pearce, niece and heiress¹⁷⁴⁸ of John Penrose of Penrose, an ancient family in the county of Cornwall, whom he married, and settling on her estates at Helston in that county, had by her six sons and three daughters—

1. Alexander Penrose.	2. John, d. s. p.	3. Edward, d. s. p.	4. George, d. s. p.	5. William, d. s. p.	6. James, d. s. p.
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1. Jane, married, 14th September 1790, the Rev. Jonathan Rashleigh, Rector of Silvertown, in Devon, and left a son, the Rev. George Rashleigh.

2. Mary, married William Veale of Trevayler, Co. Cornwall, and left one son and three daughters.

3. Emilia, married, in 1780, John Quicke, Esq. of Newton St Cyrus, near Exeter, and left six sons and three daughters.

The Cornish property was sold (and divided amongst the younger children

after their mother's death), with the consent of Alexander Penrose, the eldest son and heir.

1761. Captain Alexander Cuming died at Penrose, near Helstone, Co. Cornwall, and was buried in the parish church of Sithney, in a vault which was opened on the 14th January 1851. This vault had been arranged to contain six coffins, but only one was found in it, of oak and much decayed—the remains, those of a person upwards of six feet high. On inquiry, it was found that the parish register of Sithney Church contains the entry of the burial there of Captain Alexander Cumming in 1761; and a very aged woman in the parish stated to Dean Rogers in 1851 that she remembered the opening of the vault when she was a girl, that she was told Mr Cumming was buried there, and that he was a very tall man. His widow, Grace Pearce, was the daughter and heiress of Mr Pearce, who had married the daughter of Edward Penrose, and was heiress also of her uncle, the last heir-male of the ancient family of Penrose of Penrose.

In the churchyard of Newton St Cyrus, Co. Devon, is a tombstone with this inscription—

In the vault beneath
are interred the remains of
Mrs Grace Cumming,
who died the 4th of May 1817, aged 90.

Also of her daughter Mary,
Relict of William Veale, Esq., who died
October 24, 1825, aged 69.

Also of George Cumming, Esq., who died
May 1, 1834,
In the eighty-second year of his age.

None of the younger sons married. John, second son, was a fellow of New College, Oxford, and afterwards of St Mary's, Winton. Edward, third son, was a captain in the E. I. Co.'s service, and commanded the *Britannia*. George, fourth son, was a civil servant in the E. I. Co.'s service, and for many years M.P. for the Inverness district of burghs. Of him there is a beautiful portrait by Saunders at Altyre. William, fifth son, E. I. Co.'s service. James, sixth son, was also a fellow of New College. They were, through their mother, founders kin of William of Wickham.

Alexander Penrose Cumyn, eldest son of Alexander Cumyn and Grace Pearce, was born at Helston, in Cornwall, on the 19th of May 1749.

An unfinished memoir in his own handwriting gives a graphic account of some generations of the family :—

"It is now a considerable time since it occurred to me the propriety of writing Nov. 30, and leaving behind me, either for the information or entertainment of my 1801. children and posterity, or perhaps from a sort of laudable vanity, a short account of myself and family, the way I found them, and most probably the position nearly in which I shall leave them. I am induced to this step by many motives, none of them culpable, some of them meritorious. I find myself at this period turned of fifty-two, and, as compared with many others of my friends, in a wonderful good state of health, just entering on the beginning of a new century, having seen the last half of the last one pass away—a period replete with greater events than ever before assailed the world in so short a space of time. I have seen it, too, with observation, for I recollect in early infancy taking an interest in public matters. I have at last the happiness of seeing a general peace concluded, an event which some time ago appeared a thing impossible for me to live to witness. For this blessed event to my country, for my own good state of health and comfortable position in life, I feel the deepest gratitude to the Almighty Donor, and trust in Him that as the morning and noontide of my life has been smooth and pleasant, the evening of it also may close in peace and free from pain. Of our family in early times it is unnecessary to be prolix. Accounts of it are to be met with in many publications. The tradition of the country has always been that the family of Cumming of Altyre was descended from the Lords of Badenoch.

"Be that as it may, it is a fact established by charters and other documents that we were landed gentlemen, possessed of considerable estates for several hundred years, and no person can mention any other name that possessed Altyre before us. On that family antiquity I do not pride myself, and find it unnecessary, for the sake of these memoirs, to go further back than my great-great-grandfather, Robert Cumming of Altyre, who married 'Lucy Gordon,' eldest daughter of Sir Ludovick Gordon, second baronet of Gordonstown. This Sir Ludovick was son of Sir Robert, first baronet of Nova Scotia, who was second son of Alexander Gordon, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland by Lady Jane Gordon, daughter of George, first Earl of Huntly.

"Robert Cumming died about the year 1668,* leaving his son Alexander an infant. His father-in-law naturally became the tutor and curator of the young heir, and the tradition of both the families of Altyre and Gordonstown is, that he in his early life had circumvented him to sell a very considerable part of his estate to him—viz., the barony of Dollas—at a very low price.

"I have never been able to find out from the papers of either family what the purchase consideration was, but I have frequently heard Sir Robert Gordon, as

* In 1675.

well as his son Sir William and my granduncle, say that they all believed it to be very trifling. The estate then was of the same extent as at present, but I should suppose the rents small, though it is now without any money being laid out upon it (by the Gordons), except the new sort of dwelling-house at Reninver, betwixt £500 and £600 per annum" (now it is worth fully four times that sum, A.D. 1862). "The Castle of Dollas, now called 'Torchastle,' of which but a small piece of ruin now remains, was for many years the mansion of the family of Altyre, and in it my great-grandfather Alexander was born. On being divested of his family seat, or probably preparatory to it, or perhaps previous thereto, seeing his castle going to decay, he or his father set about building a house at Altyre, wherein the family resided till about the year 1789, when, my family being very numerous, and Altyre insufficient to hold us, I bought the present House of Forres (from the Tullochs of Tannachy), where we have still resided.

"Alexander of Altyre, whilst still a minor, married, with the consent of his guardians, about the year 1686, Elizabeth Brodie, daughter of Brodie of Brodie, and Lady Mary Kerr, daughter of William, third Earl of Lothian, by whom he had three sons and four daughters. The eldest son James never married, but taking a religious craze, from an acquaintance formed with the people called Camizars or French Protestants, a set of bigots who made their appearance in London at the beginning of the last century, he quitted his family in early life and never returned to them. How he lived they never could learn—sometimes he appeared in affluence and sometimes the reverse, but ever defied any of his connections from discovering with whom or how he lived. He died in London in the year 1754. Long before his death he signed a ratification or deed corroborating his father's intention of disinheriting the children of his second son Alexander, my grandfather, in favour of George, his youngest son, my granduncle. Alexander, the second son, entered early into the army, and into what is now the 13th Regiment of foot (in which I also afterwards served for six years). The promotion in those days was not as at present, and a subaltern grew grey contentedly in the service. I suppose my grandfather was a lieutenant for upwards of thirty years, and as such served at the battle of Almanza. He married, about the year 1715, 'Anne, only daughter of John Wortley, Esq. of Shrewsbury, and the widow of William Stewart of Kilmaickly, who brought her from Jamaica, where she had considerable property. As I understand, they did not live much together, but she outlived him. They had four children—a boy, born about 1718, and a girl, died young; the other two were my father and my aunt. All accounts agree, and I have been told by many who knew him intimately when I was young, that my grandfather was a

most engaging, amiable, worthy man, beloved and esteemed by all who knew him. His death—he died at Wothingham, September 8, 1730—was occasioned by a window falling on his neck or head in looking out of it at Windsor, which brought on a fever which carried him off in the prime of life. George, the younger brother, lived for several years at home with his father, with whom he was a great favourite. At last he got a commission in the marines, from which service he was removed to the dragoons, in which he remained for some years a lieutenant. At the battle of Falkirk his horse was killed under him. He was rode over by the cavalry retreating, and much bruised, and taken prisoner.

“On the termination of that war in 1769, and on his father's death, he sold out and retired, with £800 and a half-pay ensigncy. From having lived so much with his father he had acquired the entire ascendancy over him, and got the old gentleman to make and renew numberless deeds of settlement upon him to the prejudice of my father, his nephew. But with all this his scheme could not have taken effect had it not been for the ratification already mentioned from the elder brother James, which was found sufficient in law to set aside that part of the marriage-contract which regulated the succession to the estate.

“My grandfather being in narrow circumstances, and not finding home comfortable, it is natural to suppose that his son and daughter (my father and aunt) did not receive much attention in the early part of their lives. There were, in the old laird's house, his four daughters, three of whom died unmarried.

“The fourth, Lillas, was the wife of Dr Innes, a cadet of the Innes of that ilk. He died and left her settled in Forres. She was much devoted to the nonjuring Episcopal Church, and she survived my marriage. My father and aunt were bred up in their grandfather's house, and very little care bestowed on their education. Their uncle George seems to have beheld them with a jealous eye. My aunt's accomplishments were little more than could be acquired in the family. My father seems to have had much vivacity, great natural parts, undaunted courage, and a degree of sarcastic humour that did not tend to heal the natural or unnatural rivalry that early showed itself between him and his uncle George, and which terminated only with his death. As far as I can learn, the schools of Dyke and Forres furnished all his education; but, from the strength of his genius, the improvement he made was such that I remember, and see from his letters, that he wrote most beautifully, and in excellent style, was a tolerable accountant, and had more knowledge of Latin and French than many country gentlemen whom I have since met with. At about the age of fourteen or fifteen his spirit became too lordly for the establishment at Altyre; and, by way of getting free of him, and perhaps with the hopes of being no further troubled with him, he was sent on board a man-of-war.

" I observe he was a midshipman on board the Trafford man-of-war at Portsmouth in *July* 1739.

" He had spent some time in this position, when the ' Kent man-of-war,' to which he then belonged, was ordered to the West Indies. On the passage to Jamaica he received an insult from one of the lieutenants, whom he was under the necessity of calling out on reaching Port Royal. He was fortunate enough in this first essay to wound and disarm his antagonist, but knowing that, in the then discipline of the navy, a midshipman calling out a lieutenant for anything that could happen on board ship was a sin never to be forgiven, and taking it for granted that his life would be made miserable, he determined to renounce that profession; and learning that a Major Hamilton, an old friend of his father's, commanded Harrison's regiment, then preparing to embark for Carthagera, he went and offered himself as a volunteer or grenadier. After doing everything in his power to dissuade him from this resolution ineffectually, the major accepted him, and assured him that he would befriend him for his father's sake. He embarked, accordingly, on that ill-managed and fatal expedition, was present at the attempt to storm the Boccachica Fort, and, from several of his friends being killed around him, he came out of the field with a pair of colours. Before the return of the regiment to Jamaica he had the same fever which carried off thousands. I had these anecdotes from the late Sir R. A., who was a captain of marines in the expedition; and still more particularly from Dr Smollett, the historian, who was on board a man-of-war in the expedition. I met with him at Leghorn in the year 1771, and he received me with very great kindness, from the circumstances of former friendship with my father. On the regiment returning to Jamaica they remained there a considerable time. It was there that a singular piece of good fortune occurred to my father. He was dining with a party at the house of a planter, where a lady, on hearing his name, expressed her surprise, and asked if it could be possible that he was the son of her early friend Miss Worsley, who married a man of his name? On being assured that he was her son, she informed him that if he could prove his birth he would be entitled to something very handsome in right of his mother. This was done before the courts of the island (in Feb. 1741), on the evidence of Captain J. Grant, of his own regiment, of the family of Rothiemarchus, and of the carpenter of the Boyer man-of-war. In right of his mother, therefore, he was put in possession of several valuable properties, part of which he sold for £2000 or £3000, which, as he never had been used to money, staid very shortly with him. I remember, when a child, hearing him say that he was accustomed to entertain the whole regiment, and thought it never would have an end. He was in Spanish Town in Sept. 1742.

"On the regiment being ordered home, I should suppose about Nov. 1742, some rascally attorneys of the island offered him £1000 for what remained unsold. This he declined, from a conviction that it was not a third of its value. He left a power of attorney with some false friend to manage it, but from that hour to this, neither he nor his family have ever seen a shilling of it.

"About twenty years ago I was informed by letters from the island of my rights to claim. On investigation neither was doubted nor denied, but to eject some wealthy possessors in course of law was held to be a more expensive operation than the property was worth; we have, therefore, been obliged to put up with the loss. On returning from Jamaica my father's regiment was landed at Ostend, then held by the Austrians and besieged by the French. The siege could have been but a childish affair, for that weak place held out three years!

"From thence they were ordered on an idle ineffectual expedition to L'Orient, in Brittany, under General Sinclair, which ended in nothing.

"On the expedition returning to Portsmouth, the regiment was ordered in transports to Ireland, but on getting down to the mouth of the Channel they were dispersed by a gale of wind, and driven into the ports of Cornwall. There they were disembarked, and remained in cantonments some time. My father happened to be at Penryn, and it was there he got acquainted with my mother."

(Here the narrative breaks off.)

"In a letter of Sir Alexander's, addressed to his friend William King, Esq. of Newmilne, near Elgin, and dated Great Russell Street, December 11, 1772, he speaks of being lately returned from the Continent, since which he had spent most of his time with the Duke of Dorset at Knole and in Bath, 'who is one of the most agreeable good young men I ever met.'

"He says, 'the laird (that is his granduncle Laird George, then unjustly holding the estate) does not want me to sign the entail. He wants me to sign the release of £6000, which he, my father, and mother mutually settled on me when they were in Scotland, that he may entail that money as strictly as the rest.' This my mother will by no means agree to, as she thinks I ought, whenever it is in my power, to burthen the estate with that sum, for you know he has tied it up amazingly strict. This, I doubt not, will occasion a rupture, at least will prevent his making the settlement upon me he has so often talked of, but my mother would rather I had not the settlement than consent to the release, and has agreed I shall put all the blame upon her, as she knows by experience what it is not to have the command of a little money.

"I have had two long letters from him (said George) lately, telling me all he has done, and what he will do. 'If I will quit the army he'll settle very handsomely upon me; and if I'll marry and take the cultivation of my estate

upon myself, he'll give up everything, and betake himself to any annuity I think proper.' I told him I was ready to do both, that as soon as he made a good settiement upon me I would sell out, provided it was sufficient to enable me to appear as his nephew and heir. I now wait his answer."

XVIII. Alexander Penrose Cumming married, 9th September 1773, Helen Grant, fifth daughter of Sir Lodovick Grant of Grant, by the Lady Margaret Ogilvie, eldest daughter of the Earl of Findlater and Seafield.

1775. On the death of his father's uncle "Laird George" he got possession of the family estates, having lived for two years after his marriage in a house at Cot-hall, near the river Findhorn, the ruins of which no longer exist, but where he once intended to build a large house for his family, instead of Forres house.

1795. He succeeded to the Gordonstown estates, including Døllas, in right of Lucie *a/* Gordon, his great-grandmother, but not without a lengthened lawsuit with the Duchess of Portland, heir and representative of the Scots of Scotstarvet, also descended, in the female line, from the premier baronet of Nova Scotia, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown.

1804. Taking, in addition to his own, the name and arms of Gordon of Gordons-town, he was created a baronet by the name and title of Sir Alexander Penrose Cumming Gordon of Altyre and Gordonstown, baronet.

Feb. 11, 1806. Sir Alexander died. Dame Helen, his widow, who was born 26th May 1754, died 1st January 1832.

They had issue seven sons and nine daughters—

1. George, born 22d November 1774, died 1801, on his passage home from India.

2. Margaret Grace, born 29th October 1775, married, 8th October 1798, Major Samuel Madden of Kellsgrange, county Kilkenny, and Ardurach, county Cork, died 25th January 1843, leaving issue.

3. Helen, married Sir Archibald Dunbar of Northfield, baronet, died in 1819, leaving issue.

4. Louisa, married, 4th August 1802, John Forbes, Lord Medwyn, died 1845, leaving issue.

5. Alexander Penrose, born 4th December 1779, died 13th October 1780.

6. Jane Mariame, died October 1857.

7. Mary Elizabeth, died 13th June 1835.

8. Emilia, died 23d August 1852.

9. Sophia, died February 28, 1861.

10. Edwina, married Thomas Miller, eldest son of Sir William Miller, Lord Glenlee, died 18th March 1857.

11. *William Gordon*, born 20th July 1787, succeeded his father 11th February 1806, married, September 1815, *Eliza Maria*, eldest daughter of Colonel Campbell of Shawfield by the Lady Charlotte Campbell, second daughter of John, Duke of Argyll, who died 20th April 1842. Sir William Gordon Gordon Cumming, married, secondly, *Jane Eliza*, daughter of William Mackintosh of Geddes, and left issue by both.

12. *James*, born 20th September 1788, died 9th August 1792.

13. *Charles Lennox*, born 20th February 1790, married, 21st June 1820, *Mary Elizabeth Bruce* of Kinnaird, whose name he assumed. On the death of his father he had succeeded to the estates of Roseisle and *Dunphail*, the Dovellij of 1368.

14. *Charlotte*, born 9th April 1791, died June 1806.

15. *John*, born 23d December 1792, died 9th March 1794.

16. *Edward*, born 12th November 1793, died 30th November 1794.

GORDON CUMMINGS OF ALTYRE AND GORDONSTOWN.

Sir Alexander Cumming, on assuming the name of Gordon, placed it after his own; but his son "Sir William," finding that, in England, the last name was that generally used, and being unwilling, as the chief of his clan, that his own name should be obscured, changed the family appellation to "*Gordon Cumming*."

XIX. Sir William Gordon Gordon Cumming succeeded his father as second baronet, 11th February 1806.

He married "*Eliza Maria*," eldest daughter of Colonel Campbell of Shawfield by the Lady Charlotte Campbell, second daughter of John Duke of Argyle, by whom he had thirteen children—Sept. 1815.

1, *Alexander Penrose*, his heir; 2, *Anne Seymour Conway*; 3, *Roualeyn George*; 4, *Henry*; 5, *Adelaide Eliza*; 6, *John Randolph*; 7, *William Gordon*; 8, *Alice Henrietta*; 9, *Eleanora*; 10, *Constance*, died young; 11, *Walter Frederick*, died young; 12, *Constance Frederica*; 13, *Francis Hastings Toone*.

Of the sons—1, *Alexander Penrose* became the third baronet; 2, *Roualeyn George*, known as the African Lion-Hunter, entered first the Madras Cavalry, afterwards the Cape Mounted Rifles, died unmarried in March 1866; 3d, *Henry*, married, 14th February 1859, *Elizabeth Newton Stewart*, daughter of Major Lodovick Stewart of Drimmin,* late of her Majesty's 42d Regiment, and has two

* Drimmin Castle and Kilmaickly, now forming a part of the Ballindalloch estate, were long held by descendants of the Wolfe of Badenoch.

sons, Henry and Lodovick ; 4, John Randolph, died in Ceylon, unmarried, April 1865 ; 5, William Gordon, Lieut.-Colonel in H. M. E. I. Co.'s service, married, 18th June 1867, Alexa, daughter of James Brand, Esq; on her mother's side descended from the Tyrie's of Dunideer in Aberdeenshire ; 6, Walter Frederick, died of scarlet fever ; 7, Francis Hastings Toone, Lieutenant in 22d Regiment Bombay N. I., now in Mysore Commission, married, 9th April 1863, Emma, daughter of John Campbell, Esq. of Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, and has five children.

Of the daughters—1, Anne Seymour Conway, married, 1st August 1843, Oswin A. Baker Cresswell, eldest son of Addison Baker Cresswell, Esq., M.P. of Cresswell, Co. Northumberland, and died (his widow) 3d June 1858, leaving two sons, Oswin and Gilfrid, and three daughters, Elizabeth Seymour, Lillias, and Constance Wilhelmina ; 2, Adelaide Eliza, married, 4th June 1852, Captain William B. Cresswell of the 11th Hussars, second son of A. B. Cresswell, Esq. of Cresswell, who died of cholera at the Alma, September 1854 ; 3, Alice Henrietta, married, 17th November 1852, John Henry Jenkinson, Esq., second son of the late Bishop of St David's, and brother of Sir George Jenkinson ; died at Cresswell, 9th December 1859, from an accidental overdose of chloroform taken for toothache, leaving two sons and one daughter ; 4, Eleanora, married, 2d October 1855, the Hon. George Essex Grant, youngest son of the late Earl of Seafield, and has three sons and two daughters ; 5, Constance Frederica, unmarried.

Eliza Maria, Lady Gordon Cumming, died 20th April 1842.

Dec. 9, 1846. Sir William Gordon Gordon Cumming married, secondly, Jane Eliza, second daughter of William Mackintosh, Esq. of Geddes, by whom he had three children—1, Jane Eliza ; 2, Emilia ; 3, Frederick Charles, born 16th November 1850.

Sir William Gordon Gordon Cumming,* born July 20, 1787, died November 23, 1854, in his sixty-eighth year, and was succeeded by his eldest son Alexander Penrose.

His youngest daughter, "*Emilia*," married, 7th January 1867, Warden Ser-gisen, Captain in the 4th Hussars, now of Cuckfield Park, Sussex.

Charles Lennox, only surviving brother of Sir William G. Gordon Cumming, born at Altyre 20th February 1790, was educated at Winchester, and entered a gentleman commoner at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, succeeded, on the death of his father, 11th February 1806, to the estates of Roseisle and Dunphail, &c., became Major of the 10th or Inverness Militia, and a Dep.-Lieut. of the

* Sir William G. Gordon Cumming, as well as his father Sir Alexander and his brother George Cumming, represented the Elgin District of Burghs in several Parliaments.

counties of Elgin and Nairn. He sat for the Inverness District of Burghs in Parliament before the passing of the Reform Bill, which he opposed, and for two Parliaments after it, being the only Conservative burgh member for Scotland. On the 20th of March 1840 he was unanimously elected, on the resignation of the Hon. Colonel Francis Grant of Grant (late Earl of Seafield), Member for the united counties of Elgin and Nairn (or Morayshire), and was re-elected for six Parliaments. In February 1852, was appointed Joint-Secretary to the Board of Control on the formation of the Earl of Derby's first Ministry; resigned his seat on the dissolution of Parliament in November 1868.

Charles Lennox Cumming married, 21st of June 1820, Mary Elizabeth Bruce of Kinnaird, Stirlingshire, grand-daughter and representative of James Bruce, Esq., the celebrated Abyssinian traveller, whose name he assumed. An only daughter, *Elizabeth Mary*, married James Lord Bruce, 22d April 1841, who succeeded his father as eighth Earl of Elgin and twelfth Earl of Kincardine that same year. By her he had two daughters, "Elma," born at Kings House, Spanish Town, Jamaica, 19th June 1842, and "Mary," born and died at Craigton, Jamaica, 6th June 1843. *Elizabeth Mary*, Countess of Elgin and Kincardine, died at Craigton 7th June 1843.

Lady Elma Bruce married, 18th October 1864, the Hon. Thomas John Hovell Thurlow, and has a son, born 24th July 1867.—See Earls of Elgin and Bruces of Kinnaird.

XX. Sir Alexander Penrose Gordon Cumming, born 17th August 1816, educated at Eton, entered the 71st Regiment, exchanged into the 4th Light Dragoons, sold out in 1845, and became Major of the Inverness Militia, resigned in 1855, and became Lieut.-Colonel of the Morayshire Volunteers.

Sir Alexander married, 27th November 1845, Anne Pitcairn, only daughter of the Rev. Augustus Campbell, Rector of Liverpool.—See Appendix.

Sir Alexander Penrose died in Edinburgh 2d September 1866, leaving three sons and one daughter—

1. William Gordon, his heir, born 20th July 1848.
2. Alaister Penrose, born 31st July 1853.
3. Walter Frederick Campbell, born 16th July 1859.

1. Eliza Maria, born 16th June 1847, married, 5th August 1869, the Hon. Digby Wentworth Bayard Willoughby, eldest son of the Right Hon. Lord Middleton, late of the Fusilier Guards.

XXI. Sir William Gordon Gordon Cumming succeeded his father, Sir Alexander Penrose, in 1866, as fourth baronet.

We should regret that some beautiful lines, written by Sir J. Noel Paton, on

the death of Sir Alexander Penrose Gordon Cumming, should be lost, and therefore insert them here :—

“ Far from his mountain peaks and moorlands brown,
Far from the rushing thunder of the Spey,
Amid the din and turmoil of the town,
A Highland chieftain on his death-bed lay;
Dying in pride of manhood, ere to grey
One lock had turned, or from his eagle face
And stag-like form Time’s touch of slow decay
Had reft the strength and beauty of his race;
And as the feverish night drew sadly on,
‘ Music ! ’ they heard him breathe in low beseeching tone.

“ From where beside his couch she, weeping, leant,
Uprose the fair-haired daughter of his love,
And touched with tremulous hand the instrument,
Singing, with tremulous voice, that vainly strove
To still its faltering, songs that won’t to move
His heart to mirth in many a dear home-hour;
But not to-night thy strains, sweet sorrowing dove,
To fill the lingering of his heart have power !
And, hark ! he calls aloud with kindling eye,
‘ Ah ! might I hear a pibroch once before I die ! ’

“ Was it the gathering silence of the grave
Lent ghostly prescience to his yearning ear ?
Was it the pitying God who heard and gave
Swift answer to his heart’s wild cry ? For clear,
Though far, but swelling nearer and more near,
Sounded the mighty war-pipe of the Gael
Upon the night-wind ! In his eye a tear
Of sadness gleamed ; but flushed his visage pale
With the old martial rapture. On his bed
They raised him ; when it passed—the mountaineer was dead !

“ Yet ere it passed, ah ! doubt not he was borne
Away in spirit to the ancestral home
Beyond the Grampians, where, in life’s fresh morn,
He scaled the crag and stemmed the torrent’s foam ;
Where the lone corrie he was wont to roam
A light-foot hunter of the deer. But where,
Alas ! to-day beneath the cloudless dome
Of this blue autumn heaven, the clansmen bear
His ashes, with the coronach’s piercing knell,
To sleep amid the wilds he loved in life so well.

J. N. P.

“ *September 1866.* ”

EARLS OF SUTHERLAND

AND

GORDONS OF GORDONSTOWN

EARLS OF SUTHERLAND AND GORDONS OF GORDONSTOWN.

Hugo Freskin, a Fleming, came to Scotland during the reign of David I., and had a grant of Strathbrock in Linlithgowshire.

1130. He had grants of Duffus, Roseisle, Inchkeil, Kintrae, Machir, &c., and built or repaired the fortress of Duffus, of which the massive ruins still remain (once probably the residence of King Duffus).

Hugo Freskin left two sons—

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| <p>I. William Freskin was with William the Lion on his expeditions into Moray in 1168-90. He left two sons.</p> | <p>2. Hugh, witness to a charter of Robert, Bishop of St Andrews, before 1152.</p> |
| <p>I. Hugh Freskin, who acquired the territory of the Sutherlands, forfeited by the Earl of Caithness when he rebelled in 1194. Hugh made a grant to the Archdean of Moray between 1186 and 1204, when he died, leaving two sons.</p> | <p>2. William, with his father William and his brother Hugh, witnessed charters of King William. This William is the first styled "<i>De Moravia</i>," and from him the Morays of Bothwell and Abercainey claim descent.</p> |
| <p>I. "Earl William, Dominus de Sutherlandia," filius et hæres Hugonis Freskin, styled "Earl of Sutherland" in an indenture betwixt him and Gilbert, Bishop of Caithness, between 1222 and 1245. He died in 1248.</p> | <p>Walter de Moravia. His son, Freskin de Moravia, died before 1268, leaving two daughters—I, Mary, married Reginald de Cheyne; 2, Christian, married William de Federeth.</p> |

II. Earl William, son of William first earl, so called in the confirmation of said indenture, 10th October 1275, also proved by the renunciation of "Kenneth, son of the deceased William," in favour of Reginald de Moravia, A.D. 1330. William, second earl, died in 1325, having enjoyed the dignity for seventy-seven years, and was succeeded by his son.

III. Earl Kenneth, killed at Hallidon Hill in 1333. His son,

IV. William, fourth earl, married "Margaret," daughter of King Robert Bruce, proved by charter, 10th October 1347, when David II. erected Sutherland into a regality in favour of the earl and his wife, "*the king's sister*."

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|---|---|--------------------------|-------------|
| <p>I. Alexander, eldest son, died young. King David once named him as his successor, in preference to Robert Stewart.</p> | <p>2. John, a hostage in England, for his uncle, the king, died there of the plague.</p> | | |
| | <p>V. 3. William, fifth earl, had two sons.</p> | | |
| | <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">1. Robert, son and heir.</td> <td style="text-align: center;">2. Kenneth.</td> </tr> </table> | 1. Robert, son and heir. | 2. Kenneth. |
| 1. Robert, son and heir. | 2. Kenneth. | | |

VI. Robert, sixth earl.

VII. John, his son, died in 1460.

VIII. John, his son, died in 1508.

IX. John, only son, died s. p., 1512.

Elizabeth, his sister, Countess of Sutherland, served and returned heir to her brother, 3d Oct. 1514, died in 1535.

Alexander, Master of Sutherland, died in 1529, leaving a son John.

X. John, son of the Master, is the first earl marked in the Rolls of Parliament. He got a charter under the Great Seal of the earldom in 1543, forfeited in 1563, restored in 1567.

XI. Alexander

proved heir to his father John, July 8, 1573, and to his great-grandfather Adam in 1590. Died 1594, leaving four sons.

1. John, son and heir.

2. Alexander, died young.

3. Adam, died young.

4. Robert of Gordonstown.

XII. John, Earl of Sutherland in 1594, died in 1615.

XIII. John, Earl of Sutherland, retour 4th June 1616.

XIV. George, Earl of Sutherland, died 1703.

XV. John, Earl of Sutherland, died in 1733.

William, Lord Strathnaver, died vit. pat. 1720.

XVI. William, Earl of Sutherland, proved by service to his father in 1723, died 1750.

XVII. William, Earl of Sutherland, proved heir to his father in 1751, died in 1766, leaving an only child.

The Lady Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland.

Kenneth, his brother, ancestor of George Sutherland of Forse, who claimed the title as heir-male in 1766.

Married Adam Gordon, second son of "George, Earl of Huntly, High Chancellor of Scotland," by the Lady Annabella Stewart, daughter of James I. of Scotland. Adam Gordon was created Earl of Sutherland A.D. 1515, died 1537.

Married, 1513, the Lady Jean Gordon, third daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntly, who had been, in 1505, the wife of James, Earl of Bothwell, and married, thirdly, Alexander Ogilvie of Boyne.

1. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, Premier Baronet of Nova Scotia, charter dated 28th May 1625. Tutor-in-law of his nephew, John, thirteenth Earl of Sutherland. Died in 1656.

2. Sir Lodovick Gordon, his eldest surviving son, succeeded in 1656, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Farquhar of Munie, left three sons and three daughters—1, *Lucy*, married to *Robert Cumming of Altyre*. Sir Lodovick died in 1685.*

3. Sir Robert Gordon, eldest son, proved by retour 21st September 1688, died 1704.

4. Sir Robert succeeded his father, proved by retour 12th July 1705.

5. Sir Robert, eldest son of the late Sir Robert, claimed the earldom in 1766, as heir-male of *Adam*, but his claim was disallowed. He died unmarried in 1776.

6. Sir William Gordon succeeded his brother Sir Robert, and dying unmarried in 1795 ætat. 56, the estates devolved on *Alexander Penrose Cumming of Altyre*, great-grandson of *Lucy Gordon*.*

I. The first Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown was born in 1580. He was the second surviving son of Alexander, twelfth Earl of Sutherland, by the Lady Jean Gordon, third daughter of the fourth Earl of Huntly.

A man of excellent parts and high acquirements, he became a great favourite of James VI. In 1606 he was a gentleman of the bedchamber. In 1609 the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him.

He was likewise in great honour with Charles I., and was one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, 28th May 1625. He was created by royal patent the first Baronet of Nova Scotia, with remainder to his heirs-male whatsoever, excluding assignees.

1626. He was appointed Sheriff-Principal of Inverness-shire. 1630. Vice-Chamberlain. 1634. One of the Lords of the Privy Council, which office in 1641 was confirmed to him for life.

1643. He retired to his own country, wearied with the proceedings of those troublesome times, and spent the remainder of his days in the care of his estates, the guardianship of his young nephew, John, Earl of Sutherland, and in acts of benevolence. He also wrote several learned treatises. In March 1656 he died, aged seventy-seven years.

In 1613 he married "*Louise*," only child and heiress of John Gordon, Dean of Salisbury and Lord of Glenluce, by whom he had five sons and four daughters—1, John, died early; 2, *Lodovick, his heir*; 3, George, d. s. p.; 4, Robert, progenitor of the Gordons of Cluny; 5, Charles, d. s. p. 1, Elizabeth, died young; 2, Catherine, married Barclay of Urie; 3, Lucia, died young; 4, Jean, married Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul.

II. Sir Lodovick Gordon succeeded, on the death of his father, in March 1656. He also was a man of good abilities and education, and a steady loyalist, which, making him obnoxious to the Covenanters, he was obliged to retire for a time to Salisbury, the place of his nativity, but returned to Scotland after the murder of the king.

1647. He was appointed one of the Committee of Estates.

He got a charter from Charles II. of Dollas, Achray, &c.

March 1643. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Farquhar of Munie, by whom he had four sons and four daughters—1, *Sir Robert*, his heir; 2, Lewis, who married Jean, daughter of William Mackintosh of Borlam (who commanded the Highlanders at Preston in 1715), by whom he had two sons and two daughters—*male line of Lewis extinct*; 3, John; 4, Benjamin, died s. p. Of Sir Lodovick's daughters—1, Lucy, married, first, Robert Cumyn of Altyre, who died in 1675, leaving an only son, Alexander Cumyn—an infant. Lucy Gordon married, secondly, Alexander Dunbar of Kinloss, and had another son. On her descend-

ants Sir Lodovick entailed his estates, failing his own male heirs ; 2, Catherine, married Thomas Dunbar of Grange, and had issue ; 3, Elizabeth, married Robert Dunbar of Westfield, Sheriff of Moray ; 4, Anna, died unmarried.

III. Sir Robert Gordon succeeded on the death of his father Sir Lodovick.

He lived much in foreign lands, and was a great philosopher and chemist, 1685. and was looked upon in the country as a necromancer. He carried on a large correspondence with distinguished men — amongst others, with the celebrated philosopher Mr Boyle. Sir Robert was born in 1647, died 1701, ætat. 54.

His first wife was Margaret, eldest daughter of William, eleventh Lord Forbes, and widow of Alexander Lord Duffus, by whom he had an only child, "Jean," married to John Forbes of Culloden, without succession. His second wife was Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir William Dunbar of Hempriggs, by whom he had three sons and four daughters—1, Sir Robert, his heir ; 2, William, d. s. p. ; 3, Lewis, d. s. p. Of the daughters—1, Margaret ; 2, Elizabeth, died young ; 3, Lucy, married David Scott of Scotstarvet in Fife, and was grandmother of Henrietta, Duchess of Portland (heir-of-line of the Gordonstown family who contested the succession with Sir Alexander Cumming in 1794) ; 4, Catherine, died unmarried.

IV. Sir Robert Gordon succeeded his father Sir Robert in 1701. He was elected Knight of the Shire of Caithness when only nineteen. He afterwards joined the Earl of Marr, and was present at the battle of Dunblane, but soon after retired to the north, and put himself under the protection of his cousin the Earl of Sutherland, then the king's lieutenant in the north, where he remained till the Act of Indemnity was passed.

He married Agnes, only daughter of Sir William Maxwell of Calderwood, 1734. whose death took place on the 11th March 1808 ! By this lady he had four sons and one daughter—1, *Robert*, born circa 1736 ; 2, William, born 1739 ; 3, Lewis, d. s. p. ; 4, John, d. s. p. Christian. All died unmarried.

V. Sir Robert succeeded his father in 1772, and died s. p. 1776.

VI. Sir William Gordon succeeded his brother, and died in 1794, aged 56, in whom ended the male line of Sir Robert Gordon, first of Gordonstown, and Premier Baronet of Nova Scotia.*

The first Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown married "Louise," only child of John Gordon, Dean of Salisbury, who was son of Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, only brother of the Earl of Huntly, who was slain at Corrichie.

* The baronetcy was taken up by James Gordon of Letterfoury, descended from James Gordon, brother of "Adam, created Earl of Sutherland in 1515," proving that the whole male descendants of Earl Adam had failed.

Sir Robert's marriage-contract, dated February 1612, as well as the last will and testament of his father-in-law the Dean, beautifully written on parchment by his own hand "at the age of 74, beginning the 1st of September last year," are both preserved at Gordonstown. The Dean died on the 3d September 1619, aged 75.

From the "*Ecossais en France*" we learn that "Alexander Gordon Evêque de Galloway, resignat son Siége en faveur de son fils 'John Gordon,' qui faisait alors ses études à Paris. Cet Alexander Gordon fut l'un des premiers Evêques d'Ecosse qui embrassèrent la reforme. De son mariage avec Barbara Logie, il eut quatre fils, dont l'un, 'Robert Gordon,' au service de Marguerite Reine de France, et en grande faveur aupres de cette Princesse, fut tué en duel, dans notre pays. Son frere 'John' y avoit été envoyé des 1564, pour continuer ses études, par Marie Stuart, qui lui faisoit une pension sur son douaire. Pendant deux ans John étudia à Paris et à Orléans. Apres il entra au service de Charles IX. et apres sa mort, il continua d'être aupres de Henri III. et Henri IV. En 1574, il soutient une discussion publique dans la ville d'Avignon en presence de l'Archévêque et de plusieurs autres Prélats, avec le principal Rabbín de la Synagogue, pour la plus grande partie, en Hebru. Cette controverse a été imprimée, et à l'époque ou elle parut, on en fit grand cas en France, en Allemagne, et en Italie.

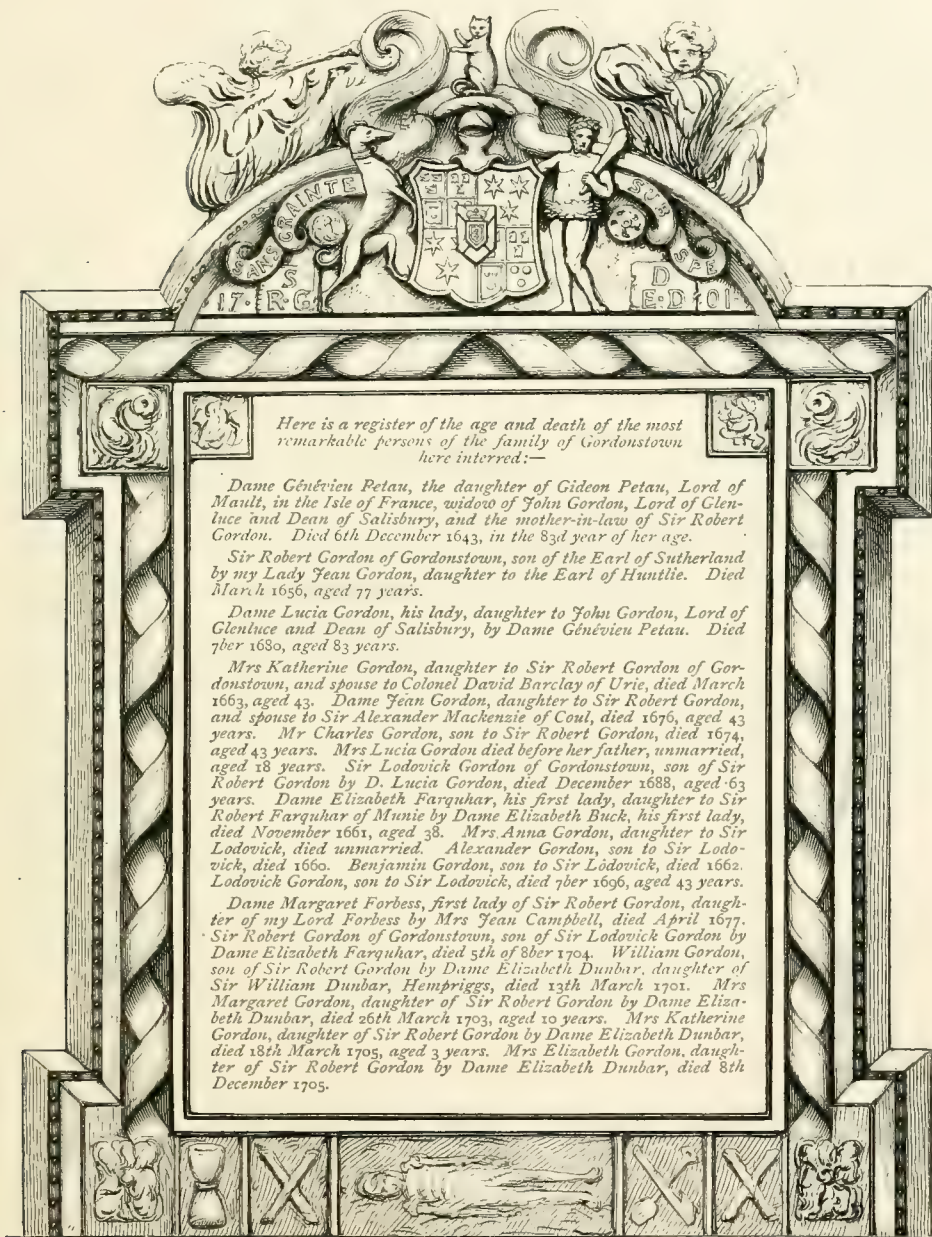
"L'an 1576. John Gordon épousa une noble et riche veuve, Antoinette de Marolles, qui lui donna plusieurs enfans, tous morts en bas age. C'est à elle qu'il dut la Seigneurie de Longormes, et plusieurs autres possessions qu'il avoit en France. Elle mourut en 1591. Trois ans apres il se remaria avec Gènévieve Petau, fille de Mon. Maulet, premier Président du Parlement de Bretagne, qui lui donna eu 1597. '*Louise Gordon.*'"

James I. recalled "John Gordon" from France to be about his person, and soon after named him Dean of Sarum, October 1603; whilst the good and gentle Princess Elizabeth Stewart was placed under the care of Gènévieve his wife, and Louise Gordon brought up with her until her marriage with Sir Robert Gordon in 1612. The princess was married the following year to Frederick V., Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

After the death of the Dean in 1619, Dame Gènévieve appears to have lived with her son-in-law at Kinnedar (now a part of the Barony of Gordonstown), wherein he concentrated his estates, having gone to France in 1620, and disposed of Longormes and other possessions in that country, as also of the lordship of Glenluce, which came into the possession of his father-in-law in 1610, by the death of his brother, "Laurence Gordon," Lord of Glenluce. In 1643 Dame Gènévieve died; and in her honour Sir Robert built a small chapel of very

beautiful Gothic architecture, dedicated to St Michael and all angels, which afterwards became the mausoleum of the family.

GORDON MONUMENT IN THE "MICHAEL KIRK."



Here is a register of the age and death of the most remarkable persons of the family of Gordonstown here interred:—

Dame Genevieu Petau, the daughter of Gideon Petau, Lord of Mault, in the Isle of France, widow of John Gordon, Lord of Glentuce and Dean of Salisbury, and the mother-in-law of Sir Robert Gordon. Died 6th December 1643, in the 83d year of her age.

Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, son of the Earl of Sutherland by my Lady Jean Gordon, daughter to the Earl of Huntlie. Died March 1656, aged 77 years.

Dame Lucia Gordon, his lady, daughter to John Gordon, Lord of Glentuce and Dean of Salisbury, by Dame Genevieu Petau. Died 7ber 1680, aged 83 years.

Mrs Katherine Gordon, daughter to Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, and spouse to Colonel David Barclay of Urie, died March 1663, aged 43. Dame Jean Gordon, daughter to Sir Robert Gordon, and spouse to Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul, died 1676, aged 43 years. Mr Charles Gordon, son to Sir Robert Gordon, died 1674, aged 43 years. Mrs Lucia Gordon died before her father, unmarried, aged 18 years. Sir Lodovick Gordon of Gordonstown, son of Sir Robert Gordon by D. Lucia Gordon, died December 1688, aged 63 years. Dame Elizabeth Farquhar, his first lady, daughter to Sir Robert Farquhar of Munie by Dame Elizabeth Buck, his first lady, died November 1661, aged 38. Mrs Anna Gordon, daughter to Sir Lodovick, died unmarried. Alexander Gordon, son to Sir Lodovick, died 1660. Benjamin Gordon, son to Sir Lodovick, died 1662. Lodovick Gordon, son to Sir Lodovick, died 7ber 1696, aged 43 years.

Dame Margaret Forbess, first lady of Sir Robert Gordon, daughter of my Lord Forbess by Mrs Jean Campbell, died April 1677. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, son of Sir Lodovick Gordon by Dame Elizabeth Farquhar, died 5th of 8ber 1704. William Gordon, son of Sir Robert Gordon by Dame Elizabeth Dunbar, daughter of Sir William Dunbar, Hempriggs, died 13th March 1701. Mrs Margaret Gordon, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon by Dame Elizabeth Dunbar, died 26th March 1703, aged 10 years. Mrs Katherine Gordon, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon by Dame Elizabeth Dunbar, died 18th March 1705, aged 3 years. Mrs Elizabeth Gordon, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon by Dame Elizabeth Dunbar, died 8th December 1705.

This monument appears from the date and initials to have been erected by Sir Robert Gordon and Dame Elizabeth Dunbar between 1701 and 1705. Additions have lately been made to the inscription of the dates of the deaths of the remaining members of the family, as given in the text.—See last page. Another monument was erected some years ago to the members of the Cumming family buried there; and still more recently, a monument erected by his widow to the memory of the late Sir Alexander Gordon Cumming.

A P P E N D I X

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX A (p. 6).

ALPIN, KING OF THE PICTS, died A.D. 836, leaving two sons.

I. Kenneth II., eldest son of Alpin, conquered the Scots A.D. 839, and was the first king of the united Scots and Picts. Kenneth died A.D. 859.

III. Constantine II., son of Kenneth II., succeeded his uncle Donald, and reigned from 863 to 881.

VI. Donald IV., son of Constantine II., reigned from 893 to 904, when he was killed by the Danes in Forres.

VIII. Malcolm I., son of Donald IV., reigned over Scotland from 914 to 933, when Indulf usurped the throne. Malcolm was killed by the Moray men in 939 at Ullam or Blervie, two miles from Forres. Malcolm left three sons.

IV. Aodh or Eth, second son of Kenneth, reigned from 881 to 882, when he was killed in battle by V. Gregory, or Grig, or Cyric, a usurper who reigned conjointly with Eoka, son of Cu, until 893, and afterwards for four years with Donald IV. Eth had left two sons.

VII. Constantine III., son of Eth, reigned from 904 to 914.

Doir, Thane of Lochaber, of whom Bancho and the Stewards.

IX. Indulf, son of Constantine III., reigned from 933 to 961. Killed in battle by the Danes at Invercullen.

II. Donald III., second son of Alpin, succeeded his brother, and reigned from 859 to 863.

A sister, married Cu, Prince of Strathclyde, and had a son, "Erika," who reigned conjointly with Gregory, until circa 900, when he died—when Donald IV., son of Constantine II., took his place, until killed in Forres in 904.

X. Duff or Duffus, eldest son of Malcolm I., reigned from 961 to 965. He was slain at Forres Castle circa 965. He left no son.

XII. Kenneth III., second son of Malcolm I., reigned from 971 to 994, when he was murdered by *Fenella*. Mogall.

XV. Malcolm II., son of Kenneth III., married a daughter of William Longépée of Normandy, reigned from 1004 to 1033, killed near Glamis, actat. 80.

Bethoc, eldest daughter of Malcolm II., married Crynan, Abthane of Dunkeld, and had a son, "Duncan," who succeeded his grandfather.

XVI. Duncan, son of Bethoc, eldest daughter of Malcolm II., succeeded his grandfather A.D. 1033, and reigned until he was murdered by Macbeth A.D. 1039.

Duncan left two sons—Malcolm Cænmore and Donaldbain. Their mother was Sybilla, sister of Siward, Earl of Northumberland, who assisted in restoring his nephew Malcolm to the throne of Scotland in 1057, crowned April 25.

XIX. Malcolm Cænmore reigned from 1057 to 1093. He married, 1070, Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, in whose children the ancient race of the Saxon kings of England was preserved. Of six sons, Edward, Ethelred, and Edmond died early; Edgar, Alexander, and David, became successively kings of Scotland. The two daughters married—1, Matilda, Henry, King of England; 2, Mary, Eustace, Count de Bulloigne.

XX. Donaldbain, second son of King Duncan, reigned from November 1093 until May 1094, and again from November 1094 to 1097, when he was dethroned by his nephew Edgar, son of Malcolm Cænmore. Donaldbain died 1099, leaving an only daughter, *Bethoc* or Beatrix, who married the Count de St Pol, and had a daughter, "Hexatilda," Countess of Ethelreda, married to Richard Cumyn circa 1144.

XI. Culen, son of Indulf, reigned from 965 to 970.

XIII. Constantine IV., son of Culen, reigned from 994 to 995, when he was slain by Kenneth VI. or *Grim*, near the Almond river, in the Lothians.

XIV. Kenneth M'Duff, or Grim, next seized the crown. He was the son of Mogall and nephew of Duffus, who appears to have adopted him. He died in 1004.

Bodhe, son of Grim, died vit. pat., and his son "M'Bodhe" was killed by Malcolm II. in 1033.

Gruach, daughter of Bodhe, married, first, Gilcomgain, Maormer of Moray, by whom she had "*Lulach*." Gruach married, secondly, "*Macbeth*," who murdered Duncan.

XVII. Macbeth, Maormer of Cromarty and Ross, second husband of Gruach, daughter of Bodhe, son of King Kenneth, or Grim, reigned, after murdering Duncan, from 1039 to 1056.

XVIII. Lulach, Gruach's son by her first marriage, reigned, after the death of Macbeth, from 5th December 1056 to 3d April 1057, when he was slain by Malcolm Cænmore.

Lulach and Macbeth were both buried at Iona, with other Scottish kings.

Lulach left a son, "Malsnechtan," called "King of Moray," whose daughter married "Heth," Earl of Moray, of whom the M'Heths. Macbeth also left sons.

XXI. Duncan, a son of Malcolm Cænmore by Ingjorg, his first wife, dethroned Donaldbain, his uncle, in 1094, and reigned for six months, when he was slain by the Maormer "Malpetet."

Duncan married, first, Ellen, daughter of Sigur VII., Jarl of Orkney; secondly, Ethelreda, daughter of Cospatrick, by whom he had "William Fitz-Duncan," General to King David I. at the battle of the Standard in 1138. This William married "Alice de Rumeli," Lady of Skipton, and had a son, Duncan, "The Boy of Egrement," who died early, and three daughters, who carried large estates to three great families in England. From one of these Williams also descended the M'Williams, who troubled Scotland in 1212.

APPENDIX B (p. 10).

JARLS OF ORKNEY AND DUKES OF NORMANDY.—(See p. 180.)

"*Rognvald*, the Wise and the Mighty," the friend of Harald Haarfager, Earl of North and South Mœri, and of Raumdal in Norway. He was killed circa 890, leaving five sons—1, *Thorer*, who succeeded him in Mœri, &c.; 2, Halloden; 3, Eynor; 4, Rollong; 5, Rollo or Rolf-Ganger.

Ante 888, Eynor became Jarl of Orkney, died A.D. 942. Two of his sons, Arnkel and Erlend, were killed at Stanmore with Eric Blodyaxe.

Thorfin Haussakliffer succeeded his father Eynor. He left five sons—1, Havard, d.s.p.; 2, Lödver or Lödovic, succeeded; 3, Arnfin; 4, Liot; 5, Skuli.

Lödovic's son, Sigurt Lödvinson, was killed at Clontarf A.D. 1014. By his first wife he left three sons—1, Somerled, d.s.p.; 2, *Brusee*; 3, Eynor, d.s.p., co-Earls of Orkney.

Sigurt married, secondly, Alice or Olitz, daughter of Malcolm II., King of Scotland, by whom he had "*Torphin*," Earl of Caithness, by gift of his grandfather Malcolm II., A.D. 1014, ætat. 5.

Brusee, Earl of Orkney, died there A.D. 1033, leaving a son, *Rognvald*.

Rognvald Bruceon, born in 1012, left by his father in Norway in 1022 with Olaf the Saint, married, first, *Ostrida*, daughter of Regenwald Walfson, Earl of Gottland, by Ingioborge, sister of Olaf Tryggeveon, by whom he had two sons, Earls "*Ulf* and *Eyliff*." The Regenwald and Robert de Brus of Normandy from 1031 to 1066; received by those names into the Church of Rome, as Rollo had been.—See p. 223.

Rognvald married, secondly, Arlogia, daughter of Duke Waldamar in Russia, by whom he had "*Waldamar*." Rognvald was killed in Orkney in 1046.—See p. 217.

Rollo, conquered Normandy A.D. 912, died 927, was christened "*Robert*."

His son, William Longépée, died A.D. 942.

His son, Richard Sanspeur, died 996.

His son, Richard le Bon, died A.D. 1027.

His son, Richard III., died 1028.

His brother succeeded. Robert le Magnifique died A.D. 1035.

Their sister Emma was twice Queen Consort of England—married, first, to Ethelred the Unready in 1002; secondly, to Canute the Great in 1017.

William the Bastard succeeded his father Robert le Magnifique in Normandy, A.D. 1035, and conquered England in 1066.

APPENDIX C (p. 11).

THE DANES IN BRITAIN.

Regner or Ragner Lodbrok, the contemporary of Charlemagne, of whom there are many strange legends, is best known by his death-song "The Lod-

brokr Quide," or, as it is otherwise called, "Kraaka's Mal"—the song of Kraaka, his third wife. Torfæous says that at Spargareide, an isthmus in Norway, the people relate, from the traditions of their forefathers, that a golden harp came on shore, in which was found a little girl. She was brought up to keep sheep, became famed for her beauty, and married Regner, a Danish king. Her name was "Otlanga" or "Aslanga." They show a hill called "Otlanga Hill," and the bay is called Gull Siken, or Golden Bay, and the stream near "Kraaka-becker, or the rivulet of Kraaka, one of the lady's early names.—Torfæous, see Regner, page 35.

This record of Lodbrok's wars and victories is supposed to be dictated by himself whilst imprisoned in a den of vipers by Ella, Earl of Northumbria, on whose inhospitable shores he was wrecked and taken prisoner, disdaining to disclose his name—and to have been concluded, after his death, by Aslanga.

It was first correctly printed from various MSS., with a free English translation, to which is added various readings, a literal Latin version, an Icelandic and Latin glossary, and explanatory notes, at Copenhagen, in 1702-4, by the Rev. James Johnstone, A.M., chaplain to his Britannic Majesty's envoy extraordinary, Morton Eton, Esq., to whom it is dedicated.

Several other translations of the "Lodbrokr Quide" have since been published. I am therefore only induced to give some of the notes, as they contain curious information concerning the Danish invasions of Scotland, and Fife in particular, although *the whole* has been copied for me by the kindness of a Danish friend from a copy in the British Museum, the work being out of print.

Ragner begins with his expedition to Gothland.

Herraud, a chieftain of that country, had a daughter, "*Thora*," who was detained in captivity by a serpent of enormous size. Herraud declared that the lady should be the reward of the champion who effected her deliverance. Ragner undertook the enterprise; and to guard himself from the poison of the serpent's bite he wrapped himself in "shaggy trousers," and, rushing through the waters, emerged covered with icicles, whence, ever after, he was called "Lodbrok." Perhaps, says the translator, the allegory meant no more than that Thora was detained within the walls of a fortress by "Orme," a petty tyrant of that country, to whose name the Scald adapts his ideas.

"Orme"—the Serpent or the Sword—was an appellation common even in Britain. Thus, "Orme of Abernethy," grandson of Gil-Michael, Earl of Fife, lived in the thirteenth century; and if we suppose him to be the predecessor of the Spences of *Wormeston*, it will enable us to account for the Abernethys and Spences bearing the arms of Macduff, and claiming his privileges.

Lodbrok begins :—

“When first we landed on the Gothic shore, vengeance soon
O’ertook the wily dragon, miner of the soil !
’Twas then I won my Thora. Men called me Lodbrok,
From what time I slew the snaky dweller of the heath.”

Most part of the poem refers to Lodbrok’s expeditions round the British Isles. Englea-nes, or the British Cape, seems to have been the Scandinavian name for Kent—that is, the angle or corner—which the Belgæ called “*Kant*.”

Bartha-firtha seems to have been the mouth of the Tay near Bertha or Perth, in the neighbourhood of which was Rath-inver-Almond, of old the residence of the M’Alpine kings. In the tenth century the southern coast of Fife was called Fiord-riki, or the Kingdom of the Bay, and it seems to have been possessed by feudatory princes. Two of these, probably the Earls of Fife and Strathearn, dreading a visit from Olave, “King of Norway,” put themselves under the protection of Canute the Great. As Snorro tells us: “To him came two kings from Scotland, in the north, from Fife ; and he gave them up his wrath, and all the land which they had before, and therewith store of winning gifts.”

Thus quoth Sigvat :—

“Princes from the middle of Fife, with bowed heads, have purchased peace from ‘Kund’” (Canute).

Towards the middle of the eleventh century, M’Duff—probably descended from *Duffus*, or, as the monkish writers call him, “*Niger*,” King of Scotland—having killed the usurper M’Beth at Dunfinven (Fin-evan Castle), got Fife erected into a county palatine.

It thus appears that M’Duff was the first Earl of Fife.

His posterity, called “*Propter Nigrum*,” were entitled to certain privileges contained in the inscription on a stone pillar called “M’Duff’s Cross,” which was broken to pieces in 1559 ; but a copy of the inscription was engrossed on the title-page of the Kilconquhar Session Record two centuries ago.

It is in strange Gothic Latin. Sir James Balfour and Sir J. Dalrymple give two different versions, the former saying that “The stone was so outworn that he who copied the same, had much ado to make words, of some dispersed and outworn bare characters.”

The following is believed to be the translation :—

“An altar for those whom the law pursues, a hall for those whom strife pursues, being without a home.
Who makest thy way hither, to thee this paction becomes a harbour.
But there is hope of peace only when the murder has been committed by those born of my grandson.
I set free the accused, a fine of a thousand drachms from his lands.
On account of M’Gridin,* and of this offering, take once for all,
The cleansing of my heirs beneath this stone, filled with water.”

* M’Gridin’s name is preserved in *Mugdrum*, a saint in that district.

The whole of the peninsula lying between Forth and Tay was particularly infested by the Scandinavians at a very early period. An engagement on its coasts between two chieftains, very near the age of Fingal, is said to have been represented in needlework by the daughter of Haco, a celebrated sea-king, who fled to Scotland after the battle of Roskild, as described in the Edda, Saxo says.

The Picts were reduced by Ragner Lodbrok; and as Fife was the seat of Pictish government, it is probable that the natives aided the sons of Lochlin against the tribes of Morven. "Confederatus eorum cum Paganis Saxonibus contra Scotes."

That the people termed Saxons were Norwegians, seems clear from a very ancient chronicle, wherein it is said, "Normanni integrum annum degerunt in Pictavia."

These Scandinavian auxiliaries became incorporated with the natives, whose language, of course, became tinged with the Teutonic, as is evident from the names of various places in Fife—"Mucros," the monks' cross, more anciently "*Kilrimon*;" "Cong-hiornier," Kinghorn, or the king's cross; "Coupar," the market-town, &c. The district around Burntisland in 1538 was divided into "Cönangrland and Grefland"—the king's land and the earl's land, indicating that part was the property of the king and part of the earl. It was from the Norse, and not from the Saxon, that the broad Scottish dialect originated.

Skipnes, or Skipnish, in Argyle, derived its name from having been a common station of pirates. The Hebudes, by the Norwegians, were denominated "*Sudoreys*," whence our *Sodor*.

About the middle of the ninth century the west was much harassed by pirates. Charlemagne, alarmed by their progress, engaged Eohock, King of Scotland (of Strathclyde), to assist in repressing their depredations, but to little purpose. All the islands round Scotland were successively visited by Regner Lodbrok and Harald Haarfager. Harald having subdued the Orkneys, formed them into a principality, which became very troublesome to Scotland. "Earl Torphin Haussakliffer" having married Grelog, daughter of Duncan, Earl of Caithness, added that county, together with the eastern coasts of Sutherland, Ross, and Moray, to his dominions. He was the father of Skuli-a-Leod, who at the battle of Slida-myre routed "Finlaig, Thane of Angus," and his son Magbreodr (*Macbeth*), afterwards the usurper.

The power of Sigurt Digre (grandson of Torphin Haussakliffer) became so conspicuous that Olave, King of Norway, demanded his son "Hund" as a hostage. Hund dying in Norway, his father disclaimed all further dependence on that country; and King Malcolm, the more effectually to detach the great

man from the Norwegian interest, gave him his daughter Olith in marriage; and to her only son, the great Earl Torphin, he gave the county of Caithness, to be held of the kings of Scotland. This was after the battle of Clontarf, A.D. 1014, when Sigurt fell, and his youngest son Torphin was in his fifth year.

To return to Ragner Lodbrok. His expeditions were not confined to the British Isles. The Low Countries, Norway and Sweden, Western and Southern Russia, Vandalia, and the countries round the Hellespont, felt his conquering arms; and it is said that he subdued kingdoms (or lordships) for each of his sons. Near Waterford, in Ireland, he killed Marstein—possibly the Melkrie of Saxo. A great battle, too, is recorded on Mona's shore (Anglesey). At length "*Ella*" was his conqueror.

"Now to my heir devolves the crown. Grim, scent the terrors of the adder. Serpents nest within my heart's recesses. Yet 'tis the cordial of my soul that Vithric's lance shall soon strike fast in Ella. My sons will swell with vengeance at their parent's doom. Those generous youths will sure forego the sweets of peace."

Ivar is the only one of Lodbrok's sons whose descendants we can trace. The "*Hy-Ivar*,"* or grandsons of Ivar, were rulers or kings over the Danish colonies in Northumbria and Dublin for several generations, and ancestors of the *Lords of the Isles*. The generations follow fast on each other; but it must be recollected that these Scandinavian warriors began life early. "At twelve years old began the king to plunder."

854. Olaf the White was a son of Ingiald and Ivar, who was a son of "Regnar Lodbrok."

He landed in Ireland, where he was opposed by "Kettill the Fair," but soon after made an alliance with him, and married his daughter "*Unnar*." He and his sons became noted vikings, and were known as the "*Hy-Ivar*," or grandsons of Ivar.

The father, "Olaf or OLAUS" the White, as he is sometimes called, and the grandfather "Ivar," were both killed before 873, when "Unnar" and her son "*Thorstein the Red*" retired to Orkney; and Thorstein, entering into a partnership with Sigurt I. (brother of Rognvald the Mighty), they overran Katenes (Caithness), which included the more modern county of Sutherland (the Suderland of the Scandinavians), and part of Ross, as far as Eckjalsbacca (the Oickel River). Thorstein and Sigurd were brothers-in-law, Sigurd having married Jucunda, daughter of Olaus the White.

875. Both these heroes fell. Sigurd died at Burghead, after the famous battle with the Scottish earl Malbridg, whom he killed, and whose head he cut off and

* "*Oye*" is still a word in common use in Scotland for a grandchild.

hung it at his saddle-bow, when a projecting tooth wounded his leg and caused his death. Thorstein was slain by Constantine's followers, after ruling as a king for some months over Caithness, Sutherland, Moray, and Ross.

Dungal or Duncan was then Earl of Caithness—the first on record—from whom Dungalshae, or Duncansbay, derives its name. By *Unnar* he was persuaded to marry Thorstein's daughter "*Groa*," and Thorphin Haussakliffer, Succd. fifth Jarl of Orkney, married their daughter Gariola or Greletta, and their 942. descendants became Earls of Caithness, holding of the King of Scotland, whilst their island jarldom held of Norway.

Ivar-Hy-Ivar was defeated and killed in Strathern by Constantine, son of 904. Eth, who had succeeded to the throne of Scotland on the death of Donald, son of the *former* Constantine. They appear to have had a great battle there—the Northmen seeking to overrun all Scotland—on the succession of a new king.

Ten years later, "Reginald," son of Ivar, destroyed the fleet of a rival vikingr, 914. off the Isle of Man.

Three years after that he was known as "Reginald, King of the 'Dhu-galls,'" 917. or black strangers.

His brother "Sitric" at the same time re-established the chieftainship of his family in Ireland, and became "King of the Danes" in Dublin; and the following year Reginald, with his younger brother "Godfrey," sailed for the shores of 918. England to assert his claim, as "King of the Dhu-galls," to succeed his kinsman Halfdan in Northumbria.

Reginald seized upon York, and scattered laymen and ecclesiastics in all directions.

Some of these, with Egbert their Earl, sought aid from Constantine, in whom they found a ready ally. With the support of a Scottish army they rallied, and met Reginald near Corbridge-on-Tyne. Both sides claimed the victory. Reginald maintained his sway over Danish Northumbria, but made no footing beyond the Tyne. Egbert was killed.

On the death of Reginald, his brother Godfrey became King of the Danes in 921. Dublin, *Sitric* ceding to him their Irish possessions, and taking Northumbria as his portion.

"*Sitric*," King of the Northumbrian Danes, died, having a few months before 927. married the sister of Athelstane; and the Saxon king at once seized the opportunity of annexing the province to the English kingdom. "*Godfrey*," the brother of "*Sitric*," applied for assistance to the King of Scotland, but Constantine preferred the alliance of England; although at a later period, "*Olaf Sitricson*" (*Sitric's* son) marrying Constantine's daughter, he became from that 934. moment suspected by Athelstane of wishing to regain Northumbria for his son-

937-38. in-law. "*Godfrey*" died about this time at Dublin, and soon after a confederacy was formed to regain Northumbria by the representatives of the Hy-Ivar and Constantine. *The two Olaves*, great-grandsons of the Danish Ivar, were at its head. One of them was the son of "*Sitric*," and grandson of Constantine ; the other was the son of *Godfrey*, and had succeeded him in Dublin. This attempt, however, failing, and the Danes being driven out, King Athelstane sent a message to Eric Blodaxe, who had been expelled from Norway, offering him Northumbria as a fief, on condition that he should defend the land from Danes and other vikings, and that he and his wife Gunhilda and their children and all their followers should be baptised and adopt the right faith,—all which was accepted.

Then Eric made his capital at York (*Forwick*)—"where *Lodbrok's sons* had been."

King Eric Blodaxe had many men about him, and little land, so he went a cruise every summer, and plundered much in Shetland, the Hebudes, Iceland, and Britland.

Circa 940-41. Athelstane died, and his brother Edmund or Jatmund, who succeeded, was no friend to Northmen, and it was reported that he would set another chief over Northumbria. Eric Blodaxe, on hearing this, set off on a cruise to Orkney, and from thence he took with him the Jarls Arnkel and Erlend, two of Turf Einor's sons, and in the Hebudes many vikings followed him. First he sailed for Ireland, and took from thence all the men he could ; then to Britland, and marauded ; then to England and plundered there, and the people fled before him. King Edmund had set up another king named Olaf to defend the land, and Eric had a great battle with him, in which great numbers on both sides were killed. Towards the end of the day Eric and five kings fell. There fell also Turf Einor's two sons, Arnkel and Erlend. Gunhilda and her sons retired with all their goods and the men who remained to Orkney, where Torphin Haussakliffer, "the Skull-cleaver," then reigned. He was the eldest son of Jarl Turf Einor, whom he succeeded in 942.

1014. Olave Sitricson in the mean time had retired to Ireland, where his power was unbroken until the year 980, when the battle of Tara re-established the superiority of the native Irish, which was afterwards confirmed by the more celebrated battle of Clontarf in 1014. Olave, who was not present at that battle, resigned his authority to "*Sitric*," one of his sons, who survived it, and himself retired to end his days in *Iona*.*

About this time the "*Jarls of Orkney*" appear upon the stage of Scottish politics. Liot and Skuli, under the influence of Ragnhilda, the wicked daughter

985. * On Christmas Day Iona was laid waste by the Danes, who killed the abbot and fifteen monks ; but it was restored within the next century.

of Eric and Gunhilda, contended for the possessions of their father, Torphin Haussakliffer, and their grandfather Dungal, Earl of Caithness; and Skuli sought and obtained the aid of Kenneth, then King of Scotland.

Godred Crovan, it is said, conquered the Isle of Man in 1077, when King 1077. Fingal, grandson of Sigtryg, King of the Danes in Dublin, fell, as well as Sigtryg M'Olaf, the actual King of Dublin. About the year 1096 died in Islay (Ile, Il, or Hyle) Godred Crovan, King of Dublin, Man, and the Hebudes, from whose granddaughter Ragnhilda, the wife of Somerled, descended the dynasty known as the "*Lords of the Isles*."

Magnus Bärfoot, King of Norway, came with a powerful fleet to the Orkneys, 1098. and, carrying off with him as hostages the two sons of Jarl Torphin, sailed to the Hebudes, where he pillaged and destroyed everything, with the exception of the church of Iona, which he spared. He next took possession of the Isle of Man, invaded Anglesea, and killed the Earl of Shrewsbury, who attempted to oppose him. Next winter, 1099, he spent amongst the Sudreys or Southern Isles, claiming all he could sail round as his own, and (having his boat drawn across the Isthmus of Tarbet, whilst he sat at the helm) he pretended also to include Cantire.

Magnus died in Ireland, and the sons of Crovan regained their possessions. 1102. Fergus, Lord of Galloway, who died in 1161, had a daughter, "EFFRICA," who was the wife of Olave the Swarthy, King of Man, who died in 1152, and their daughter Effrica, or Rachel, was the second wife of Somerled, Thane of Argyle; and the Sudreyjar or Southern Isles appear to have been ceded to Somerled by his brother-in-law, another Godred, King of Man. Somerled M'Gilbert, Thane of Argyle, son of Gillibride, son of Gillaegammon, founder of the kingdom of Argathelia, embracing the whole west coast, from Cowall to Lochbroom, was antagonistic to the Norwegian Jarls of Orkney and Man. Assisted by his Irish kindred, the M'Guires and M'Mahons, or the "Clan Colla," he had encountered his opponents amongst the hills and woods of Ardgower and Morvaren, and defeating them, they fled to the Isles with their king. It was then that he 1154-55. succeeded in obtaining one-half of the Western Isles for his eldest son "*Dhugall*," ancestor of the M'Dougals, Lords of Lorn, who then was styled "*King of the Isles*." The portion of the Isles thus added to the Gaelic kingdom of Oirergaidleal or Argathelia were those south of the Point of Ardnamurchan, including Mull, Isla, and Jura. Ten years later, Somerled showed still further his close 1164. relations with Ireland by placing the monastery of Iona under the abbacy of Derry.

That same year he was slain at Renfrew, in an attempt which he made to subvert the Scottish throne itself, with Irish aid; for in 1150 he had given his

daughter in marriage to a pretender and impostor, calling himself a "*M'Heth*, Earl of Moray," and, by the law of tanistry, rightful king—but in reality "*Wimund*," a monk.—See reign of Malcolm IV. Wimund was in prison, but Somerled's attack was in favour of his grandchildren.

Ante
1200. Reginald, his son, succeeded "*Dhugall*," as Lord of Inchgall, the Western Isles, and King and Lord of Ergile and Kintyre. He became a monk in Paisley, and his wife Fonia became a nun, his brother Dhugall's sons succeeding. From his own sons—"Roderic, Donald, and Dugall"—the clans M'Rory, M'Donald, and M'Dugall claim descent. Dugall's son Duncan was the father of "*Alaister of Ergadia*," Lord of Lorn, who married the third daughter of the first Red Comyn, Lord of Badenoch; and their son Duncan de Ergadia is said to be the Lord Dingawi M'Doual, of the Chronicle of Man, who defended Rushen Castle against King Robert the Bruce in 1313, at which time his elder brother "*John*" was also driven out of Man.

In 1222, Alexander II. had greatly curbed the power of the "*Kings of the Sudreys*," as the sons of Somerled are styled by Norse writers; and they were induced to pay 320 marks annually for a royal grant of such part of their dominions as held of Scotland and were not forfeited.

In 1249, Ewen or Eugene de Ergadia, then Lord of Lorn, being pressed to hold *the Sudreys* also, as a fief from Scotland, and feeling that such a course was inconsistent with his sense of honour—for he is described as a gallant and accomplished knight—offered to resign his islands to Norway, but not to break his allegiance by transferring them to Scotland. Alexander, determining to seize them by force, proceeded with a large fleet to the Western Isles; but being obliged by a sudden attack of illness to land on the small island of Berneraa, died there in July 1249—which was looked upon by the islanders as a special judgment upon the king, and an interposition of Providence in their favour.

Alexander II. had taken possession of the greater part of Argathelia in 1222—annexing the north part to the earldom of Ross, and the central portion to the province of Moray, leaving only Morvern and the southern portion of Argyle, with the Sudreys, to the descendants of Somerled.

1266. Alexander III., on the conquest of the Norwegian kingdom of Man and the Isles, annexed Skye and Lewis to the earldom of Ross, and the rest of the Isles to Somerled's kingdom—for he and his sons Dhugall and Reginald were styled, after the Scandinavian fashion, "*Kings of Man and the Isles*."

From Reginald sprang two great families—the M'Donalds of Isla and the M'Ruari's of Bute.

Three sons of the Lord of Bute were killed in 1210; and his daughter Jane

having married Alexander, son and heir of Walter the High Steward, he, in her right, claimed the island of Bute, and perhaps Arran also; and the Scots having obtained this footing in the Isles was apparently the cause of Alexander's expedition, with a view of subduing the whole; for, after Haco's unsuccessful expedition in 1265, and the battle of Largs, followed by his death, his successor, Magnus of Norway, had been induced to resign the *suzerainty* of the Isles to Scotland for the consideration of an annual *tribute*.

John of Ile got from Edward Baliol, Cantire, Skye, the Lewes, &c., with the *promise* of the great possessions of the Stewards and of the Earl of Ross; and it was no doubt to prevent this that "Thomas de Brus, Earl of Carrick, with his neighbours of Kyle and Cunningham, came to join the Steward" in 1337. 1335.

In 1341, when David Bruce returned from France, "John of Ile" returned to his allegiance, and received from David II. the confirmation of his existing rights in Isla, Gigha, Jura, Scarba, Colonsay, Mull, Coll, Tiree, and the Lewes, with the districts of Morvern, Lochaber (forfeited in King Robert's time by one of the powerful family of Comyn), Duror, and Glenco; whilst "Reginald or Ranald M'Ruari," the illegitimate brother of "Christina of the Isles," had for his portion the Isles of Uist, Barra, Egg, and Rum, and the lordship of Garmoran, comprehending the districts of Moydert, Arasaig, Morar, and Knoydert, the original possessions of his family in the north. By this arrangement Kintyre, Knapdale, and Skye remained in the hands of the Crown, having been formerly bestowed on Robert, the son and heir of Marjorie Bruce, by his grandfather—on the resignation of Angus Oig—the father of John of Isla, and the devoted friend of Bruce. Reginald or Ranald M'Ruari was killed at Perth in a quarrel with the Earl of Ross, from whom he held the lands of Kintail. As he left no issue, his sister "*Amie*," the wife of John of Isla, became, in terms of King David's grant, his heir; and her husband, uniting her possessions with his own, assumed henceforth the style of "*Dominus Insularum*," or Lord of the Isles.—Indenture with the Lord of Lorn, in Appendix to Lord Hailes's Annals, 1354, 2d edition. 1346.

After 1344, the English Government tried to withdraw John of Isla from his allegiance, but were unsuccessful at that time. Later, however, he was again in rebellion, and again reconciled in 1369. In King Robert II.'s day, he divorced Amie (by whom he had three sons), and married the king's (then High Steward) daughter Margaret, by whom also he had three sons. After 1370, the Isles were confirmed to him and the king's grandchildren.

John of Isla died, A.D. 1380, at his own castle of Ardtornish in Morvern, and was buried in great splendour at Iona.

Donald, his eldest son by his second marriage, became Lord of the Isles and

feudal superior of his brothers, which cost much after-contention and bloodshed. He married Margaret Leslie, afterwards heiress of the earldom of Ross, and the battle of Harlaw was fought in contesting her rights.

A.D. 1411, was fought the great battle of Harlaw, when the Highlanders, protesting against the unjust measures by which Albany, the Regent, sought to secure all the great northern earldoms for his own family, met the Lowlanders in battle array—the former under the Lord of the Isles, the latter under the titular Earl of Mar, illegitimate son of the Wolf of Badenoch. Neither party could claim the victory, but Donald was beaten back for a time.

Donald of Harlaw was acknowledged by James I., and may be called the first Earl of Ross of his family, 1411. He gave ample territories to his vassals—the sons of Amie and Margaret—Clan Donalds, Clan Ranalds, &c. &c. Dying at Isla in 1420, he was interred at Iona. He left two sons by the heiress of Ross. Alexander was his successor—"Angus, Bishop of the Isles."

M'Dougal of Lorn, otherwise called John of Ergadia, had married a niece of the king (Johanna, daughter of Matildis d'Isaak), and their daughter and heir carried Lorn proper to her husband, Robert Stewart, by whom that lordship was given to his brother, John Stewart of Innermeath, in exchange for his lordships in Fife, &c.—*Robert Stewart* thus becoming the founder of the family of *Rosyth*, whilst *John Stewart* became the ancestor of the Lords of Lorn.—*Inventory of Argyll Writts.*

In 1424, when the earldom of Ross, which had been procured by Albany for his son John, Earl of Buchan, fell, by his death at Verneuil, King James restored it to the mother of Alexander, A.D. 1425; and Alexander, Lord of the Isles and *Master of Ross*, sat upon the jury which condemned to death Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and his sons, and the aged Earl of Lennox.

1427. James I. held a Parliament at Inverness, where the Lord of the Isles is described as the principal disturber of the peace. The Highland chiefs were summoned to attend, and were, to the number of forty, seized by a stratagem of the king's, and committed to prison. Some were executed, and some liberated—among the latter the Lord of the Isles, by his mother's death now Earl of Ross.

Soon after, at the head of 10,000 men from Ross and the Isles, he burnt the town of Inverness and wasted the country.

The king came against them to Lochaber, where the Clanchattan and Clanchameran joined him, and Alexander was forced to make his submission. Coming to Holyrood when the king and queen and court were assembled in the church upon the eve of a solemn festival, he presented himself before them, clothed only in his shirt and drawers, and holding in his hand his naked sword

by the point, and falling on his knees, and surrendering his sword, implored the royal clemency. His life was spared, but he was committed to the Castle of Tantallon under the close ward of William, Earl of Angus. Whilst he was in prison the Earls of Mar and Caithness occupied Lochaber.

They were surprised and routed by "Donald Balloch," cousin of the Earl of Ross. The king was highly indignant at the result of the battle of Inverlochy, in which the Earl of Caithness and many more were killed, and the Earl of Mar severely wounded; and coming in force to Dunstaffnage in Lorn, Donald Balloch, after ravaging the lands of Clanchattan and Clanchameran, fled to Ireland. 1431.

On King James's return to Edinburgh, a head was sent him by an Irish chief, said to be that of Donald Balloch; but he is supposed to have survived the king.

Alexander of Lochaber, uncle of the Earl of Ross, was deprived of his lands for aiding Donald Balloch, and the earl was constrained to bestow them on Malcolm Mackintosh, captain of Clanchattan. The Earl of Ross, after a year's imprisonment, received a free pardon. In the minority of James II. he was Justiciar of Scotland north of the Forth—probably obtained from Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

He then wreaked his vengeance on the chief of Clancameron, who had deserted him in 1427, and bestowed his lands on M'Lean of Coll.

In 1445 he entered into a treasonable league with the Earls of Douglas and Crawford, but before this transpired Alexander Earl of Ross died at his castle of Dingwall.

He had married "Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Gordon of Huntly," by whom he left "John," his successor.

Celestine, Lord of Lochalch, and Hugh, Lord of Sleat, were also his sons.

This was the date of the forfeiture of the Livingstones, of Robert Bruce of Arthe, and Dundas of that ilk. With them John, the young Earl of Ross, was connected by marriage, his wife being the daughter of Sir James Livingstone. Whether the Douglas were with them, or against them, is a contested point; but at this time the Earl of Douglas made a pilgrimage to Rome—maintaining, however, it is believed, treasonable correspondence with Ross and Crawford; whilst the Livingstone party, whose loyalty stood in his way, had been sacrificed for a time. 1449.

Douglas returned, the insolence and tyranny of his brother in his absence having obliged the king to conduct in person an armed force into his territory, taking possession of Lochmaben, and razing the castle of Douglas to the ground. 1451.

The Earl of Ross then broke out into open rebellion. The king, he said, had broken his promise of giving him some lands as the dowry of Sir James Livingstone's daughter. He seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven in Badenoch, which last was immediately demolished. Urquhart he committed to the custody of his father-in-law, Sir James Livingstone, who had escaped from court to the Highlands. William, Earl of Douglas, sent for to Stirling by the king, refused to renounce the league with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, and fell by the king's own hand.

In 1457 the Earl of Ross had been made one of the Wardens of the Marches, an office of great importance, but obviously intended to weaken his influence by withdrawing him from the Islands and Highlands; and he was, at the same time, one of the nobles who guaranteed the truce with England; and joining James II. with 3000 of his vassals, well armed, offered to form the vanguard of his army on an intended invasion of England. This, however, never took place, so that his fidelity was not put to the test.

1460. After the death of James II. the Douglasses and the Earl of Ross entered into a league with Edward IV. of England, contemplating the entire conquest of Scotland. The whole country north of the Forth was to be divided between the two earls and Donald Balloch (come to life again), and Douglas to be restored to all his Border lands.

Whilst these negotiations were pending, the Earl of Ross raised the standard of rebellion. As Sheriff of Inverness his power extended over four counties, Nairn and Inverness, Ross and Caithness. He issued proclamations commanding the assembling of a large force, to be commanded by his bastard son Angus, assisted by the veteran Donald Balloch, and to pay to *him* all taxes usually paid to the Crown. How this rebellion was put down is not known. He was summoned before Parliament, but did not appear, and a process of forfeiture was suspended over him for a time. An army was in readiness to march against him, but all ended in his submission and the undisturbed possession of all his vast estates for about fifteen years.

1475. At length the treaty concluded between Edward IV. and the Earl of Ross in 1462 came to light, when it was determined by the Scottish Government to proceed against him as an avowed traitor and rebel; and he was summoned from his castle of Dingwall to answer various charges of treason. Failing to appear, sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against him—the Earls of Argyle, Crawford, and Athole commissioned to carry it into effect with a formidable fleet and land-force. But Ross again sued for pardon through the medium of the Earl of Huntly. The Queen and the States of Parliament also interceded for him; and with much humility and many expressions of contrition he appeared

in Edinburgh, and was pardoned by the king with wonderful moderation. In the Parliament held in 1476, July 1st, John of Isla was restored to his forfeited estates of the earldom of Ross and lordship of the Isles.

He then came forward and made a voluntary resignation to the Crown of the lordship of Ross, the lands of Kintyre and Knapdale, and all the castles, &c., thereto belonging; and, in return, was created a Baron banrent and Peer of Parliament by the title of Lord of the Isles. His son Angus subsequently brought him frequently into trouble. His sister, the Lady Margaret of the Isles, had been married to Kenneth M'Kenzie of Kintail, and divorced by him. Under cover of asserting her rights, he attempted to regain the earldom of Ross, invading it with his island vassals, and it is said to have required the force of the Earls of Crawford, Huntly, Argyle, and Athole to oppose him. The Earl of Athole, crossing over to Isla, carried off the infant son of Angus, called Donald Dubh, whom he delivered up to Argyle, whose daughter Angus had married. The rage of Angus knew no bounds when he found that his son had been carried off. Sailing to Inverness, he left his galleys there, whilst with a chosen body of warriors he made a swift and secret march into Athole, which he ravaged with fire and sword. The Earl of Athole and his Countess took refuge in the chapel of St Bride, their patron saint; but the sanctuary was violated by Angus, who returned to Lochaber, his followers laden with plunder, and leading with him as prisoners the Earl and Countess of Athole. On the voyage from Lochaber to Isla, many of his galleys were sunk, and much of his sacrilegious plunder lost, in a dreadful storm, which produced such an effect upon Angus that he liberated his prisoners without even procuring in return the release of his son, which had been his chief object in undertaking the enterprise.

Happening to be at Inverness soon after (ante 1490), he was assassinated by an Irish harper.

The raid of Athole has hitherto, by a mistake of Ferrarius, been ascribed to John of Isla, and placed twenty years earlier; but the 'Auchinleck Chronicles,' with all Highland records, ignore it in his day, and ascribe it to Angus.

The aged Lord of the Isles now resumed possession of his estates, from which he had been excluded by the unnatural violence of his son Angus; whilst John, his remaining son, dying without heirs, the rank of heir and successor to the lordship devolved upon his nephew, Alexander of Lochalche, son of his brother Celestine, who in his turn attempted to recover the earldom of Ross.

Alexander's possessions, which he had inherited from his father, lay in Lochalche, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom, and thus *he* had greater influence in Ross than Angus had had; but the only Crown vassal who now followed him was

Between
1480
and
1490.

Hugh Rose, younger of Kilravock, whose father was keeper, under the Earl of Huntly, of Armanach Castle in Ross.

In 1491, a large body of Western Highlanders, consisting of Clanranalds, Clancamerans, &c., advanced from Lochaber to Badenoch, where they were joined by the Clanchattan, who possessed lands both under the Lords of the Isles and the Earl of Huntly.

Farquhar M'Intosh, son and heir of the captain of Clanchattan, led the van. From Badenoch they proceeded to Inverness, where they stormed the castle, assisted by the young Baron of Kilravock. The fertile lands of Sir Alexander Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromarty, were plundered, and a vast booty carried off. The Mackenzies were next attacked ; but in a battle fought on the banks of the Conon, at a place called " Park," Alexander of Lochalsh was wounded, some say taken prisoner, and his followers expelled from Ross.

It does not appear, from the documents now accessible, how far the Lord of the Isles was himself implicated in the rebellious proceedings of his nephew, but it appears that either the will or the power was wanting to repress them ; and in a Parliament held by James IV. in May 1493, " John, fourth Lord of the Isles," was forfeited and deprived of his titles and estates. In the month of January following, he appeared in presence of the king, and went through the form of making a voluntary surrender of his lordship, which has ever since remained in the Crown.

" John of Isla " finally retired to the monastery of Paisley, which had received great benefits from himself and his ancestors. There he died about the year 1498, and was interred, at his own request, in the tomb of his royal ancestor Robert II.

APPENDIX D (p. 26).

THE HOUSE OF ATHOL.

" Crynan," the husband of the Princess Beatrix or Beatoch, eldest daughter of King Malcolm II., is the first-named chief of Athol, and father of the royal line.

Crynan was abthane, or *head* of all the thanes, of the western isles. He was also lay abbot of Dunkeld, or Dul. Athol or Ethol was probably the dowry of his princess. In his day the Culdees were still prominent there. The

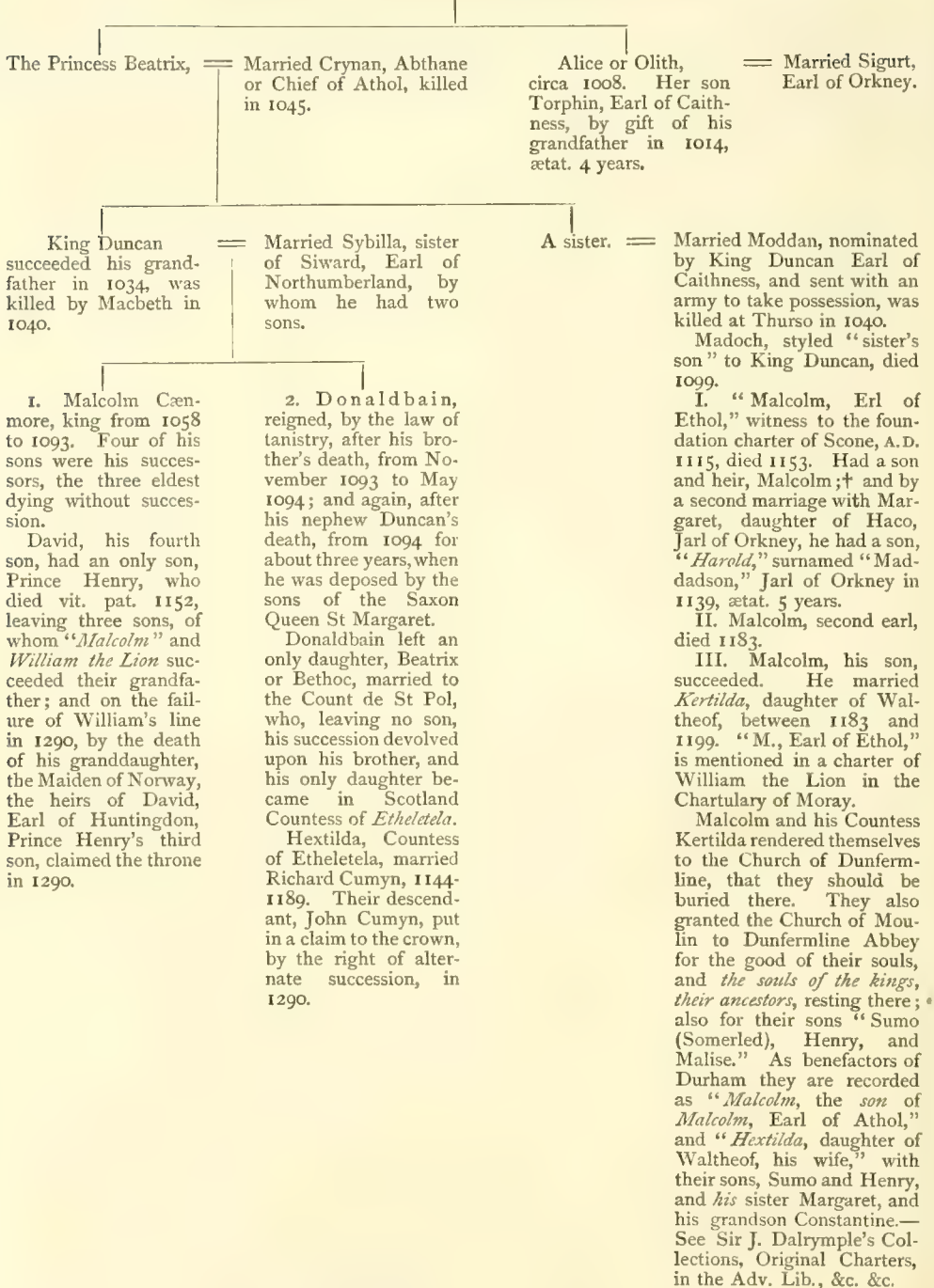
abbot represented the original founder, and came to be chosen from the principal family in the district, claiming to be founder's kin. Such were the abbots of Dunkeld of the house of Athol, a truth which the Roman Catholic historians were slow to recognise; but perhaps it may satisfy their scruples to learn, on the authority of "*Ailred*," that no Culdee, after his election, continued to live in the house with his wife and children. Crynan was probably from Northumbria, as we find the name in the family of the early chiefs of that territory.* Beatrix appears to have died early, leaving an only son—"the gracious Duncan"—and a daughter, whose husband, "*Moddan*," chief of Athol, was sent by King Duncan to conquer Caithness, but was killed at Thurso in 1040. From their son *Madoch* descended the early earls of Athol.

Crynan is the Earl Hundi of the sagas, and his son Duncan is by them called "Hundason," and "the king who was only an earl's son."

Crynan made an attempt to rally the adherents of the house of Athol in 1045. favour of his grandsons, Malcolm Cænmore and Donald Bain—the sons of the murdered Duncan—but was defeated and slain, with his "nineteen times twenty warriors." Ethelred, his great-grandson, the second son of Malcolm Cænmore and Queen Margaret, was the next *known* abbot of Dunkeld.

* Cospatrick was the son of Maldred, the son of Crynan or Crun, Earl of Northumberland.

MALCOLM II., KING OF SCOTLAND, had two daughters.*



* Some say that a third daughter of Malcolm II., "*Donada or Dovada*," was mother of Macbeth.

† Torfœus, the Danish historian, in speaking of this "*Madoch*" or "*Malcolm*," who married the daughter of Earl Haco, calls him "*Patruelus quippe Davidis Regis Scotiæ in presans regnans*."

Henry was the next earl, and the last in the male line. By his Countess "Margarita" he had a son, Constantine, who died vit. pat., leaving three daughters.

Henry is said also to have had a brother, "Duncan," witness with him, and "Magarita Comitissa, spouse ejus" in Chatulary, Dunf., ante 1174. But the daughters of Constantine succeeded. The eldest, "Isabel," married "Thomas de Gallovidia," leaving a son, Patrick.—Grant to the Abbey of Dunfermline by Thomas de Gallovidia, Comes Atholia, et Isabella Comitissa ejus spousa. Chartulary, Dunf.

Obeiit Thomas, frater Alani de *Galwcia*, Comes de Atholia, Fordun, lib. 9, 1231. c. 48. He left a son, Patrick, who became Earl of Athol upon his mother's death; but in the mean time Alan Durward held the earldom for a time, either as the second husband of Isabella, or as the guardian of the young earl, for, A.D. 1235, he witnesses a charter of Alexander II., endowing the Maison Dieu at Elgin, under that title. His (second) wife was "Marjorie," natural daughter of Alexander II.

Patrick, Earl of Athol, while still a youth, was much distinguished for his chivalry, and chanced to unhorse Sir Walter Bisset in a tournament at Haddington, in presence of the king. Soon after, Patrick, Earl of Athol, was basely murdered, and the house in which the deed was done, burnt, to avoid detection. 1241. Walter and William Bisset were regarded as the instigators of the crime, and were banished from Scotland. The Castle of Aboyne, the residence of the former, at which the king and queen had been entertained on their progress from Elgin to witness the tournament at Haddington, was forfeited, and remained in the Crown until the thirteenth century.

This banishment of the Bissets had much evil influence on the affairs of Scotland for many years.

Fernalith, younger sister of "Isabel," became Countess of Athol on the death of Earl Patrick, her nephew. Fernalith had married "David de Hastings," who became Earl of Athol during her lifetime. Assisted by Patrick, Earl of March, David de Hastings raised the country to avenge the death of his wife's nephew. Bisset denied all knowledge of the crime, in which, however, his followers and kinsmen were known to be implicated. 1241-42.

David de Hastings died at Tunis, on the crusade with Louis IX. Fernalith, it appears, had predeceased him, leaving an only child, "Ada," who succeeded her mother as Countess of Athol. That "Ada" was the daughter of David de Hastings is proved by the confirmation grant which "David, Comes Atholia, pater Adda, Comitissa," made to the abbacy of Cupar. "Fernalith was Countess of Athol in her own right, and so was Ada her daughter."—Additional Sutherland case. 1269.

The Countess Ada married "John de Strathbolgie," descended from Duncan, sixth Earl of Fife, who got from William the Lion a grant of the lands of Strathbolgie, and settled them upon "*David*," his third son. Earl Duncan's wife "*Ada*" appears to have been a Cumyn of the Athol line—a niece, it is said, of Malcolm Canmore.

John de Strathbolgie

Married Ada, Countess of Athol.

David de Strathbolgie

(the grandson of the first "*David de Strathbolgie*," styled in the Chartulary of Moray, "*filium inelyte memorie Duncani, Comitis de Fife*"). His son *John* succeeded.

1284. John de Strathbolgie

inherited Lesnes, in Kent, from his mother, "*Maud de Dover*," and was restored to the earldom of Athol by Edward I. before 1289, when he affixed his seal to the Letter of the Community of Scotland as "*Comite Johān de Ascelles*," —*Rymer's 'Fœdera*,' vol. i. p. 423.

He became one of the three Guardians of Scotland in October 1305; but in 1306 we find him with Nigel the Bruce in charge of the garrison of Kildrummie, having, it appears, in the mean time married the king's sister Isabel. 1306-7. Attempting to escape from Kildrummie on the castle taking fire, he was taken prisoner by Hugh le Despencer, and sent to London, where Edward ordered him to be hung on a gallows fifty feet high, in consideration of his being the king's cousin. "The intelligence of his relative's capture," says Matthew of Westminster, "afforded great ease to King Edward, who was then very ill." His head was placed over that of Wallace on London Bridge. He was allowed to ride to the place of execution, and not drawn on a hurdle, as was the usual custom. He was Earl of Athol and Lord of Strathbolgie and Strath Alveith.

1307, ætat. 19. David de Strathbolgie,

brought up in England, and inheriting large estates there, was a most inconsistent politician. In 1311 he was made High Constable of Scotland by King Robert, and his sister became the wife of Edward Bruce; but ere long he became a traitor, and, amongst other acts, made a raid against Cambuskenneth, and burned a quantity of provisions, &c., collected there for the Irish wars. He then lost his Scotch estates, and died in England A.D. 1326-27.

Married Maud de Dover, daughter of Richard, son nat. of King John. Maud was sister and heir of Richard de Dover, Lord of Chillam Castle.* Maud married, secondly, Alexander de Baliol, d. s. p., elder brother of King John Baliol, also in her right Lord of Chillam.

Married probably in England, where he was a hostage, and had a son, "*David*," and a daughter, "*Isabel*," the unbeloved wife of Edward Bruce.†

John, Earl of Athol, married, secondly, Isabel, sister of King Robert and Edward Bruce, and relict of Sir Thomas Randolph of Strathdon (mother of Randolph, first Earl of Moray).

After the death of John de Strathbolgie, Isabel, Countess of Athol, appears to have married, thirdly, an Alexander Bruce, and to have had a son, Alexander de Brus, who was for a time "*Earl of Athol*." Her stepson "*David de Strathbolgie*," succeeded his father in 1307. John Cumyn of Badenoch became Lord of Strathbolgie for a time in 1296, under Edward I., on the forfeiture of "*John de Ascelles*," as he was called in England.—See Burke's Extinct Peerage.

Married Joane or Johanna, daughter and co-heiress of John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, with whom he regained Strathbolgie. He also got with her, as niece and co-heiress of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, large estates in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertford, Lincoln, and Northumberland. By Joane Cumyn he left a young son, "*David*," whose ward and marriage were given to Henry de Beaumont for 1000 marks.

Married Katharine, daughter of Henry de Beaumont (by Alice Cumyn, co-heiress of the Earls of Buchan).[†] Katharine, Countess of Athol, with her ladies and her young son, were blockaded in the Castle of Lochandorb from November 1335, until August 1336, when Edward III. came in person to raise the siege.— See page 171.

Married Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Ferrars de Groby, by whom he had two daughters, between whose descendants the Barony of Strathbolgie fell into abeyance, the representation of the Barony of Strathbolgie becoming vested in the two daughters and co-heirs of Sir Henry Percy, Knight of Athol, son and heir of Elizabeth of Strathbolgie 1446.

Married, first, Sir Thomas Percy, knight; secondly, Sir Henry Scrope, knight.
Married Sir Ralph Percy, who died s. p.; secondly, Sir John Halsham.

1327. David de Strathbolgie had livery of *Tirsis* in Northumberland (4th Edward III.), and of other estates in England, on the death of his uncle "*John Cumyn*" (son of Red John No. 2). It had been provided by the Treaty of Northampton that no Englishman should possess estates in Scotland unless they resided within the kingdom and did fealty there. Those who lost their lands were called the *Desenheretés*, and in 1332 joined Edward Balliol in his attempt to regain Scotland. Defeating the Regent Earl of Mar at Dupplin, they succeeded for a time. David, Earl of Athol, recovered his paternal estates, and had a grant from Edward Balliol in 1334 of the whole estates of the Stewards, besides the great possessions of the Cumyns of Badenoch in right of his mother.

That same year, to punish his arrogance and cruelty, Sir Andrew Moray invading his estates, and being supported by the people, David joined the party of the Conqueror; whereupon Edward gave orders to the Sheriff of Kent to seize all his lands in England. In 1335, Edward, invading Scotland, "concluded a peace with 'Robert the Steward' and the 'Earl of Athol,' and they received their lands back again." Athol then prepared to besiege the Castle of Kildrummie, held by the Dowager-Countess of Mar, "Dame Christyan de Brus," with knights and squires stoutly. He lay, with his following of 3000 men, in the forest of Killyblain, where he was surprised and killed by the Earl of March, Sir William Douglas, and Sir Andrew Moray.

Thus perished David de Strathbolgie of royal descent, and possessing estates beyond the rank of a subject, but wanting ability and steadiness of purpose to profit by his position.

1335. David, his son, ætat. 3, succeeded. Summoned to the Parliament of England from 20th January 1366 to 6th April 1369.

He was in the wars of France with the Black Prince, and died in 1375 s. p. *M.* The ward and marriage of David de Strathbolgie's two daughters being given by Edward III. to Earl Percy, he married them to two of his own sons, brothers of Hotspur.

1. Elizabeth, ætat. 16 (51 Edward III.), left descendants by both marriages.
2. Philippa.

Her line ended in her son Sir Hugh Halsham, who died s. p. in 1441.

* Rose de Dovor had a grant of Chillam Castle, 16th John. It had been given to her ancestor "Fulbert de Lucy" by the Conqueror. Rose married Richard, son nat. to King John, and had a son, "Richard de Dovor," ætat. 21, A.D. 1271; and a daughter, Maud, married to David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athol, who became his heir.—Sir H. Nicholas.

† Sir Walter of Ross was killed at Bannockburn, whom "Sir Edward, the king's brother, lufft as himself; and the caus of his luffing wes, that he his syster per amours lufft, and held at rebours his avne wyff, Dame Isabell; and therefore sa gret distance fell 'twixt him and Earl Dawy of Athol, brithrer to the lady." See p. 262.

‡ Isabel de Beaumont, fifth daughter, married Henry Plantagenet, Duke of Lancaster; and their daughter, the Lady Blanche Plantagenet, married John of Gaunt, third son of Edward I., and was mother of King Henry IV., who, in 1400, claims to be half a Scot, through the blood of the Cumyns.

The earldom of Athol remained for a time with King Robert's sister, "The Lady Isabel," and her son by a subsequent marriage, who had charters, to "Isabel, Countess of Athol" and "Alex. Bruce filio suo, nepoti nostro." It afterwards was conferred on John, second son of "the Lady Mary Bruce," second sister of King Robert (her eldest son, Sir Colin, having succeeded his father, Sir Neil Campbell of Lochow, in 1316). John Campbell was created Earl of Athol, but being killed at Hallidon, without issue, the earldom reverted to the Crown. (David II. grants to Robert, Lord Erskine, the customs of Dundee, which some time pertained to John Campbell, Earl of Athol.)

The Lady Mary married, secondly, Sir Alexander Fraser, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, as appears by a charter of King Robert. "Mariæ, Sponsæ Alexandri Frazer, milites, sorori nostræ dilectæ, et Johanni Campbell, filio suo, nepoti nostro, pro homagio et servitio suo, omnes terras et tenementa quæ fuerunt Davidis Comititis Atholiæ, in comitatu Athole, quas idem David forisfecit."

William Douglas, Lord of Liddesdale, ancestor of the Earls of Morton, held Athol, which he resigned to Robert, Great Steward of Scotland, at Aberdeen, 16th February 1341, and for a time the title became vested in the royal family of Scotland.

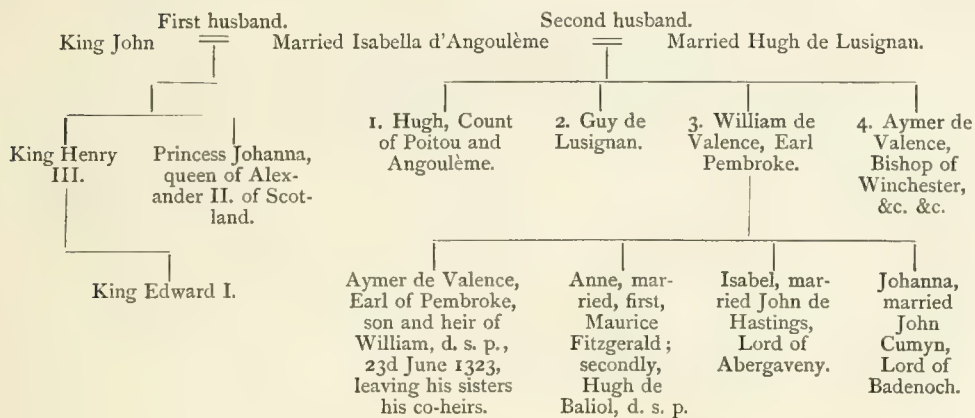
David Stewart, Duke of Rothesay, was Earl of Carrick and of Athol.

In 1057, Sir Adam Gordon of Huntly and Gordon, in the county of Berwick, gained his armorial bearings—three boars' heads or, on a field azure—by killing a boar that had wasted the country about Huntly forest. His lineal descendant, another Sir Adam, became the partisan of Robert Bruce, and received from him a grant of the lordship of Strathbolgie, on the forfeiture of David Cumyn, Earl of Athol.

In 1311, Sir Adam obtained permission, at the Parliament holden at Perth, to change the name of Strathbolgie to that of "*Huntly*." The most ancient part of the ruins of Huntly Castle dates from the days of the Cumyns. The south front, and most of what remains, were erected in 1602 by George, first Marquis of Huntly.

AYMER DE VALENCE, Earl of Pembroke.

Aymer de Valence and his sisters were first cousins, on the mother's side, to Edward I.; and the Princess Johanna, queen of Alexander II. of Scotland, was their aunt.



Queen Isabella, the only child of "Aymer, Count d'Angoulême" (and by her mother, granddaughter of Louis VI. of France), was early betrothed to "*Hugh de Lusignan*," surnamed "*le Brun*," tenth Count de la Marche and Poitou. In the year 1200, King John, visiting the castle of the Count d'Eu, Lusignan's uncle, met Isabella, who resided there previous to her marriage; and during the absence of Lusignan in the Holy Land, with the consent of her parents, but without that of the Count d'Eu or of her own (it is said), King John carried her off and made her his queen. They were married at Bordeaux, August 24, 1200. Isabella was then 15. Henry, her son, was born in 1206-7; the Princess Johanna in 1210. After a long period of war and discord, Lusignan made peace with King John, on condition that he should have the Princess Johanna, Isabella's eldest daughter, for his wife; and she was forthwith sent to his court to be educated, October 20th, 1214, ætat. 4; but A.D. 1216 King John died.

Isabella, returning to her native city of Angoulême, married her first betrothed; and after some delay, Henry III. recovered his sister Johanna, who was married to Alexander II. at York, A.D. 1221, ætat. 11; ob. 1236. 1217.

After the death of Queen Isabella, in 1229, Lusignan sent all his younger sons, and his daughter Alice, to Henry III., who overwhelmed them with riches and dignities. The second son, Guy, was killed at the battle of Leurs. The third and fourth, named "*de Valence or Valençia*," from the place of their birth, are well known in English history. Aymer, son and heir of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was three times married, but left no issue. He was killed on his wedding-day, 23d June 1323, in a tilting-match in France. "*Maria*," his third wife, was daughter of "*Guy de Châtillon*, Count de St Paul." His widowed Countess founded "*Pembroke College*," Cambridge, under the name of "*Aula Maria de Valençia*."

" But hark ! the portals sound, and pacing forth,
 With solemn steps and slow,
 High potentates, and dames of royal birth,
 And mitred fathers, in long order go.
 Great Edward ! with the lilies on his brow,
 From haughty Gallia torn ;
 And sad *Châtillon*, on her bridal morn,
 That wept her bleeding love ; and princely Clare,*
 And Anjou's heroine,† and the paler Rose,‡
 The rival of her crown and woes ;
 And either Henry there,
 The murdered saint, and the majestic lord
 That broke the bonds of Rome.
 Their tears, their little triumphs o'er,
 Their human passions now no more,
 Save charity, that glows beyond the tomb."

—GRAY's Ode.

APPENDIX E (p. 81).

EARLDOM OF CHESTER.

Canute, the Dane, first erected Chester into an earldom, and there were three Earls of Chester before the Conquest—

I. Leofric, son of Leofwin ; II. Algar, son of Leofric ; III. Edwin (perhaps the founder of Edinburgh—"Edwinsburgh").

Edwin was betrothed to one of the daughters of William I., but was killed in a tumult between some of his Saxon followers and the Norman soldiers, who cut off his head and sent it to the king. It is said that he was beautiful and fair-haired, and that even the Norman Conqueror wept at the sad sight. He was the last Saxon Earl of Chester.

IV. Gherbod, a valiant Fleming, was the next ; but he departed into Flanders, 1070. where he was detained a prisoner. In his place the Conqueror appointed his own nephew, "Hugh d'Aurange," V., better known as "Hugh Lupus," to be Earl of Chester. To him he delegated a fulness of power, making this a county palatine, and giving it a sovereign jurisdiction.

The ancient earls kept their own parliaments, and had their own courts of

* Elizabeth de Clare, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, by Joane d'Acre, daughter of Edward I., founded Clare Hall. She was the wife of John de Burg, son and heir of the Earl of Ulster.

† Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI., foundress of Queen's College.

‡ Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV., added to that foundation.

law, in which any offence against "the Sword of Chester" was as cognisable as the like offence against the dignity of the British crown.

Lupus created eight barons, who were obliged to attend him at his court in peace, and to follow him in war with knights, esquires, horses, and men. Their names were—1. Nigel, Baron of Halton; 2. Robert of Montalt; 3. William Malbeding of Nantwich; 4. Vernon of Shipbrooke; 5. Fitz Hugh of Malpas; 6. Hamon de Massie; 7. Venables de Kinderton; 8. Nicholas de Stockport.

The sword with which Hugh Lupus was invested is still to be seen in the British Museum, inscribed "Hugo, Comes Cestræ."

This species of government continued until the reign of Henry III., 171 years; when, on the death of John le Scot, seventh earl of the Norman line, Henry annexed the earldom to the Crown.

The Earls of Chester of the Hugh Lupus line, were—

I. Hugh d'Aurange or d'Auranche, surnamed Lupus, nephew to William I., 1070.
being his half-sister's son, ob. 1101.

II. Richard, his son and heir, who perished, with his wife, in the White Ship, 1101.
1119.

III. Randle or Ralph de Meschines, Viscount de Bayeux in Normandy, by 1120.
Maud, sister of Hugh Lupus.

IV. Randle de Gernous, son and heir, poisoned by his wife and William 1128.
Peverill, Lord of Notts, A.D. 1155.

V. Hugh Kyvelioc, his son and heir, ob. 1181. 1155.

VI. Randle de Blondeville, so called from the town of Album Monasterium, 1181.
in Powys (now Oswestry), where he was born. Randle was also Lord and Earl of the counties of Lincoln and Leicester.

Randle was knighted by Henry II., who had given to him in marriage Con- 1188.
stance, Countess of Brittany,* daughter and heir of Conon, Earl of Brittany, by Margaret of Scotland, sister of William the Lion and of David of Huntingdon.

Constance was the widow of Geoffry Plantagenet, and mother of Prince Arthur (murdered by his uncle King John). She was divorced from Randle, who married, secondly, Clemencia, daughter of Ralph de Feugers and widow of Alan Dinant.

Randle held Richmond Castle in Yorkshire, besides many others, and he began the building of Beeston Castle on his return from the Holy Land in 1220.

He was powerful, rich, and magnificent. It is recorded that he gave the king a palfrey in exchange for a lamprey. His sisters being his heirs, "John le Scot," the son of his eldest sister Maud, wife of David Earl of Huntingdon,

* Constance married, thirdly, Guy, Viscount de Thouars, by whom she had two daughters. Alice married Peter de Dreux, and was her heir.

succeeded as seventh Earl of Chester on the death of Randle in 1232, October 26th.

1724. The remains of Hugh Lupus, first Norman earl, were found in a stone coffin, wrapped in leather, with a † on the breast. At the head of the coffin was a stone in the shape of a T, with a wolf's head engraven on it, in allusion to his name. It was placed there by his nephew, Randle I., A.D. 1120, who erected the chapter-house, and removed into it the body of his uncle from the church-yard of the cathedral.

The following epitaph is given from an old MS. in Willis's Cathedrals :—

EPITAPH ON HUGH LUPUS.

“ Altho' my corps it lies in grave,
And tho' my flesh consumed be,
My picture here, now *that* you have
An earl sometye of this cittye,
Hugh Lupe, by name,
Sonne to the Duke of Brittainé,
Of chivalrie then being flower,
And sister's sonne to William the Conquistater.
To the honour of God I did edifie
The foundation of this monasterie,
The ninth year of this my foundation,
God changéd my life to His heavenly mansion.
In the year of our Lord, being gone
A thousand, one hundred and one,
I changéd this life verily
The eighteenth day of July.”

THE SISTERS OF RANDLE OR RANULPH DE BLONDEVILLE, 6TH EARL OF CHESTER.

1. Matilda married David, Earl of Huntingdon. Her only surviving son, “John, surnamed le Scot” (being the nephew of William the Lion), became, on the death of Randle his uncle, seventh and last Earl of Chester.

2. Mabel married the Earl of Arundel.

3. Agnes married William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby.

4. Hawis married Robert de Quincey, whose first wife was Helene of Wales, widow of John le Scot. Hawise was, by gift of her brother, Countess of Lincoln.

- Jan. 4. John le Scot carried one of the swords before King Henry III. on his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Provence, in token that, being an Earl Palatine, he had power to restrain the king, as some say.

The same year he took the cross ; but whether he went to the Holy Land I make question ; for the next year, about Whitsuntide, I find he died at Derndale, in Cheshire, poisoned by his wife, Helene, daughter of Leoline, Prince of Wales,

whom he married in his uncle Ranulph's days, A.D. 1222, that there might be a firm peace betwixt the earl and Leoline (Llewellyn). John, seventh earl, was buried in Chester Cathedral. Upon his death, in regard that regal prerogatives belonged to this earldom, the king assumed it into his own hands, and with the castles of Gannoc and Dissard, it was annexed to the Crown *for ever*.—Henry III., R. 31.

John le Scot, after the death of his father, was also Earl of Huntingdon and Lord of the Garrioch. There are confirmation charters in his name, "Johannes de Scotia, Comes Cestrie et de Huntidone," in *Liber Carta Prioratus St Andree*. Another in Reg. Aberbrothick MS., 1219-37, "*John de Brus, Testibus*."

THE DAUGHTERS OF DAVID, EARL OF HUNTINGDON, SISTERS AND CO-HEIRS OF
"JOHN LE SCOT," EARL OF CHESTER, &C. &C., WERE—

1. Margaret. 2. Isabel. 3. Maud, died unmarried. 4. Ada.

1209. Margaret married, at Dundee, = Alan, Lord of Galloway.
Died before 1237. Died 1234.

Devergoile married in 1233 John de Baliol, of Barnard Castle, who died in 1269—succeeded her father as Lady of Galloway in 1234.—See page 82.

Christian married, in 1236, "William de Fortibus, Earl of Albermarle." Christian died in 1246 without issue.

Mary, as some say, married John Cumin.

2d, Isabel married, also in 1209, Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, on his father's death in 1215. Robert de Brus, surnamed "the Noble," died in 1245; Isabel in 1251. They were buried at Salitre Abbey, near Stilton.

1. Robert, son and heir, first competitor in 1290, in right of his *mother*, married, in 1242, *Isabel*, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford. Died at Lochmaben in 1295, ætat. 84. His son and heir, Robert, married Marjorie, Countess of Carrick.

2. Richard, had a grant of Writtle, in Essex. Died in 1287, leaving a son, Robert.—See page 250.

Christian married Patrick, seventh Earl of Dunbar and March, who died in 1289. Christian was mother of the eighth earl, ætat. 5, in 1248.

3d, Maude, died unmarried.

4. Ada, married Henry de Hastings, who died in 1250, leaving a son and heir, Henry, who married Joane, sister of George de Cantilupe (see De Braose, page 228), whose son *John* was a competitor in 1290, in right of his grandmother Ada.

APPENDIX F (p. 82).

GALLOWAY AND CARRICK.

1160. Fergus, Sovereign Prince of Galloway, was conquered by Malcolm IV., upon
 1161. which he retired into the Abbey of Holeruid, where he died next year.

By Elizabeth, natural daughter of Henry I. of England, he left two sons—*“Gilbert”* and *“Uchtred”*—who held Galloway conjointly under William the Lion; but rebelling during his captivity, they besought Henry of England to receive their homage.

Sept. 22, Uchtred was cruelly murdered by Malcolm, son of his brother Gilbert.

1174. On Gilbert's death, Roland, son of Uchtred, possessed himself of all Galloway. This was not approved of by Henry III., and when peace was made between that Prince and William the Lion, Roland was constrained to cede *“Carrick”* to *“Duncan,”* son of Gilbert.

This was the origin of the earldom of Carrick.

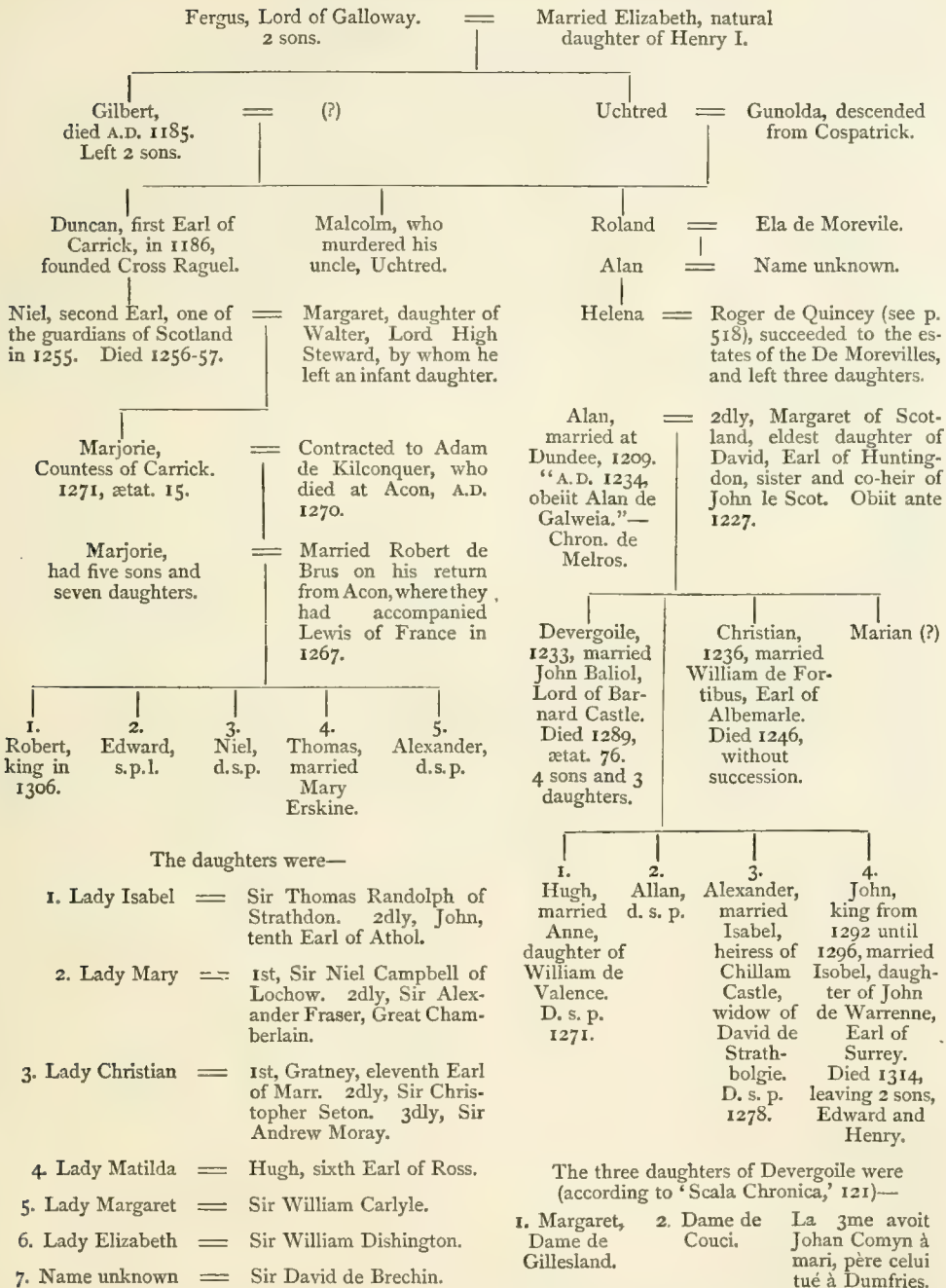
1196. Roland, son of Uchtred, retained the whole of *modern* Galloway. He was succeeded by his eldest son Alan, called the Great—the last, in the male line, of these princes of Galloway.

Roland having married *“Ela de Moreville,”* became, on the death of her only brother, *“William de Moreville,”* *“High Constable of Scotland,”* and inherited the great estates of her family.

Alan, Lord of Galloway, was High Constable of Scotland on his father's death, and was a person of great consequence in England also. He was one of the barons who obtained Magna Charta from King John; and when that king recalled the liberties and privileges he had so reluctantly granted to his subjects, and prepared to punish those nobles who had constrained him to sign it, Alan sought the protection of Alexander, King of Scotland. After doing homage, he was received into favour, and appointed High Chancellor as well as Constable of the kingdom. He invaded the territories of Olave, King of Man, and marching through the western borders of England, burnt the Abbey of Holm Cultram, but lost 2000 men in a flood of the river Eden.

1216.

GALLOWAY AND CARRICK.



See p. 255-274.

Fordun says that Alan, Lord of Galloway, married, 3dly, a daughter of Hugh de Laci, A.D. 1228, and that she was drowned on her passage from Ireland.

Thomas, natural son of Alan, married a daughter of the King of Man, and, together with Gilroth, an Irish chief, headed a rebellion, A.D. 1234.—See page 56.

DE MOREVILLES and DE QUINCEYS.

Alan Lord of Galloway inherited from his mother* the large estates of the De Morevilles, as well as the hereditary office of High Constable of Scotland, which his father Roland had held after the death of William de Moreville, Ela's only brother. This inheritance appears to have been settled upon the children of his first marriage, and was carried by Helena, his eldest daughter, to the De Quinceys,—(was "Marian, daughter of the Lord of Galloway," wife of the first Red John Cumyn, *her* younger sister?)

Helena, eldest daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, by his first wife (name unknown).

Roger de Quincey, in her right, was High Constable of Scotland after her father's death in 1234.

Helena was buried at Brackley, county Northampton.

— Married Roger de Quincey, Earl of Winchester. On the death of his father (although *Robert*, who married the widow of John le Scot, was his elder brother) was confirmed in the earldom, A.D. 1234; died 25th April 1264. He married three times; but leaving no heirs-male, the earldom became extinct. Buried at Brackley. Matilde de Bohan was his second wife, Eleanor de Ferrars his widow. Alive in 1266.

1. Margaret married William de Ferrars, sixth Earl of Derby. Robert, seventh Earl, was their eldest son. William of Gidley, second son, excepted from the (1266) dictum of Kenilworth, and probably then attainted of high treason. Obiit 1278. His lands conferred on Edmund Plantagenet, son of King Henry III.

2. Elizabeth married Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, who became in her right High Constable of Scotland, 51 Henry III., and had livery of the lands forming the portion of his wife. John, his heir, infeoffed in the same, 2d of Edward I. Died 18 Edward I.—See Buchan.

3. Ela married † Alan de la Zouche.

The first Alan was son of Geoffrey di Rohan, and grandson of Alan, Viscount de Rohan, by Constance, daughter and co-heir of Conan Crafiny, Duke of Brittany.

2. William, son and heir, d. s. p. 1199.

3. Roger, brother and heir, died 1229.

4. † Alan, son and heir, died 1269.

5. Son and heir, died 1285.

6. Alan, son and heir, baron by writ, 1313; summoned to Parliament, Edward II.; d. s. p. m. 1314, leaving 3 daughters, his co-heirs.

* Ela's mother was the daughter of William de Lancaster. Her father was Richard de Moreville, High Constable of Scotland, ob. 1189, leaving "*William*," son and heir, who d. s. p. 1196—and a daughter, "*Ela*."

1150. Hugh de Moreville and Beatrix de Bellechamp, his wife, held lands of King David in Roxburgh.

1180. Richard de Moreville and Amicia, his wife, grant to Melrose, wood pasture on the Gala water.—Melrose Chartulary.

Between 1196-1214. Ellen de Moreville, in exchange for the lands in Cunningham, which William, her brother, devised to them by his last will, gave to the monks of Melrose lands in Eddlestene.

This grant confirmed by Alan of Galloway, Constable of Scotland, son of Ellen de Moreville, and by her husband Roland of Galloway. Also confirmed by King William the Lion.—Liber de Melros, p. 71, 72.

"Roger de Quincey was High Constable of Scotland on account of his marriage with Helena, daughter of Alan of Galloway, as was likewise William Ferrars of Gidley; but these Englishmen lost very soon their inheritance in Scotland, as also the dignity of High Constable, which the Cumyns, Earls of Buchan, had, descended likewise from a daughter of Roger de Quincey."—Camden.

The first of the De Quincey family who settled in Scotland appears to have been "Robert," a Northamptonshire gentleman, who attached himself to William the Lion, or his predecessor.

1. Robert de Quincey married "Arabella," daughter of *Nes*, by whom, on her father's death, he obtained "*Leuchers*" in Fife, and "*Duglyn*" among the Ochils. *Nes* was one of the hostages for William in 1174.—Rymer's *Fœdera*.

Robert de Quincey died about 1190. He appears as a witness in some of the charters of Malcolm IV.

2. Seyer de Quincey succeeded the first Robert. He married Margaret de Bellmont, one of the co-heirs of Robert Earl of Leicester, and became Earl of Winchester in 1210.

Seyer de Quincey died, and his eldest son "Robert" being detained in Palestine, and probably supposed to be dead— 1220.

3. Roger, second son, succeeded to the earldom, which was confirmed to him in 1234, and marrying Ela or Helena, eldest daughter of Alan Lord of Galloway, became, in her right, "Lord High Constable of Scotland." After her death he married, 2dly, Matilda, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, widow of Anselm Marshall, Earl of Pembroke (who died 5th December 1245).

Matilda died without issue at Groby in Leicestershire, 20th October 1252, and was buried at Brackley. Roger married, 3dly, Eleanor, daughter of William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, by Sibell his wife, sister and one of the heirs of the aforesaid Anselm. She was widow of William de Vallibus or Vaux, and married again Roger de Leybourn, and died 2d Ed. I., 1274.—From 'Vincent;' 'Windsor Herald;' 'Discoverie of Errors in Brooke,' p. 603.

Roger de Quincey was besieged in his castle by his vassals, but cutting his way through them, he fled to Alexander II., and was reinstated by him.—Hailes's Annals. 1247.

His baronial residence was at Leuchars, in Fife.

In 1239, Robert, *eldest* son of the Earl of Winchester, but *never himself earl*, married *Helene* of Wales, widow of John le Scot, and got Fotheringay and other large estates for her life, from the sisters of her first husband.

APPENDIX G (p. 82).

HASTINGS DE HASTINGS.

Alfred's chief opponent in England was Hastings. We first hear of him as chosen by Ragner Lodbrok to initiate his son Biorn in the Vikingr. He led his young pupil against the Franks.

Charles bought him off, but Hastings aspired, for his prince, to the imperial dignity. He sailed for Italy, but mistaking the ancient city of Luna, in the Gulf of Spezzia, for Rome, he took it, and returned to France, where, in 867, he conquered Count Robert the Strong, reputed the greatest of its captains.

In 879 he was in England, but receiving no aid from Godrun, whom Alfred had wisely pacified, he sailed to Ghent, and assisted in desolating France for thirteen years. Defeated at length by the imperial forces, Hastings marched to Boulogne, and there constructing a large fleet, he determined to try his fortune against Alfred, hoping to be chosen King of the Northmen in Northumbria, Godrun being dead,—but afterwards settled in Normandy.

1066. I. Robert de Hastings came to England with William of Normandy.

1087. He, or his son, became Lord of Fillongley in Warwickshire, Portgreve of Hastings in Sussex, and Dispensator or Steward to William the Conqueror. He married "Maude," sister of Hugh de Flamville, as appears by a confirmation charter to Malton Priory in Yorkshire, made by the said Hugh de Flamville and Ivetta d'Arches his wife.

1100. II. Walter de Hastings, Great Steward in the reign of Henry I., held Ash-hill, and had charge of the napery at the coronation in 1135.

III. His son, Hugh de Hastings, succeeded as Great Steward to Henry I. He married Erneburga, daughter to Hugh de Flamville, county Leicester, and had with her Gissing in Norfolk, and the stewardship of the Abbey of Edmondsbury in Suffolk.

IV. William de Hastings, by paternal inheritance Great Steward to Henry I. and II., married "Maud," daughter of Thurstan Banaster, and widow of *William Cumin*, by whom he left two sons, Henry his heir, d. s. p., and William, who next succeeded.

William de Hastings married, second, Ida, daughter of Henry Count d'Eu, by whom he had two sons—1. *Thomas*, ancestor of Francis, tenth Earl of Huntingdon; and, 2. *John*.

V. William de Hastings succeeded (Henry being dead). He married Margaret, 1165. daughter of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, with whom he had the manor of Little Bradley to enjoy after the death of Gundred, stepmother to the said Roger.

VI. His son, Henry Lord Hastings, succeeded. He married *Ada, youngest daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon*, and left by her a son, and two daughters, Margaret and Hillaria.

VII. Henry, his son and heir, succeeded. He was knighted by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and adhering to the insurgent barons, was by them appointed governor of the castles of Scarborough, Winchester, and Kenilworth. By Joane, daughter of William and sister of George de Cantelupe, Barons of Bergavenny, he left two sons and three daughters—1, John, his heir; 2, Edmund, summoned to Parliament 1299 and 1313.

VIII. John de Hastings, eldest son, was Lord of Bergavenny also, in right of his mother, and Seneschal of Aquitaine, and in 1290 one of the principal competitors for the crown of Scotland, in right of his grandmother "*Ada*." He was summoned to Parliament in 1295 till his death, 6th Edward II. (1312). He married "*Isabel*," sister and co-heir of Aymer de Valence; and by her, who lies interred beside him in "the Grey Friars" at Coventry, he had two sons (also buried at Coventry) and three daughters—"Joane, Elizabeth, and Margaret. He married, second, Isabel, fifth daughter of Hugh le Despencer, Earl of Winchester, by whom he had two sons—Sir Hugh and Thomas. The male line of these two ended, about the time of Queen Elizabeth, in Sir Francis Hastings of *Steisthorpe*. Isabel, their mother, married, second, Richard de Monthermer.

Elizabeth, second daughter of John de Hastings by his first wife, married Roger Lord Grey de Ruthven, and her descendants succeeded in default of male heirs in 1390.

IX. John, Lord Hastings of Bergavenny and Weishford, eldest son of the Competitor, married Juliana, daughter of Thomas Leybourne and the Lady of Eltham, by whom he had an only son, Lawrence.

X. Lawrence, Lord Hastings, &c., succeeded his father, and was by patent, dated 13th October 1389, advanced by Edward III. to the dignity of Earl of Pembroke on the death of his granduncle, Aymer de Valence. He married Agnes, daughter of Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March, and dying in 1348, had a posthumous son and heir, "*John*."

XI. John, son of Lawrence, became second Earl of Pembroke of the Hastings line, and had the dignity of the Garter bestowed upon him by Edward III. He served gallantly under the Black Prince, and during the wars in Aquitaine, and was appointed lieutenant of that principality.

1372. He was sent with forty ships to succour the city of Rochelle, then closely besieged by the French army under Du Guesclin on the land side, and by Henry of Castile by sea. On Midsummer eve, as the earl was about to enter the port, he was fiercely attacked by the Spanish squadron, commanded by Admiral Boccanegra, a Genoese. His fleet was totally destroyed after two days' engagement, and himself and many of his officers sent, loaded with irons, to Spain. After four years' captivity he was ransomed, but died on his way home between Paris and Calais, 16th March 1375. His first wife was Margaret, fourth daughter of King Edward III., without issue. His second wife was Anne, daughter and heir of Sir Walter Mauny, by Margaret Brotherton, then Countess, afterwards Duchess of Norfolk. His only son "*John*" was born during his captivity in Spain. "It is reported," says an old chronicle, "that from Aymer de Valence unto this John, none of the Earls of Pembroke did live to see their sons, nor the sons their fathers, so untimely did they die" (forasmuch as Valence was one of the peers that condemned Thomas, Earl of Lancaster—Thomas of Walsingham).

1375. XII. John, third and last Earl of Pembroke of the Hastings line, was for a long time ward of the king, succeeding at a proper age to the honours and possessions of the family. He married *Philippa*, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, but died s. p., being accidentally killed in the prime of life at a tournament at Woodstock, running a tilt with Sir John St John. Thus, in default of male heirs, the earldom became extinct; but the titles of Lord Hastings, Bergavenny, &c., devolved on Reginald, Lord Grey de Ruthven, in right of his grandmother Elizabeth, second daughter of John de Hastings by "*Isabel*," sister of *Aymer de Valence*.

From 1491 to 1529 this earldom remained dormant, when it was revived by Henry VIII. in the person of Sir George Hastings, only son of Edward, eldest son of Lord Hastings, by Anne, daughter of Henry Stafford, second Earl of Buckingham, and widow of Sir Walter Herbert, second son of William, first Earl of Pembroke, who thus became the first of ten earls in lineal descent.

1529. December 8th, 21st Henry VIII., Sir George Hastings created Earl of Huntingdon. He left a son, Francis Hastings, second earl, who had by Katharine, eldest daughter and co-heir of Henry Pole, Lord Montacule, *six sons*—1st, Henry, his heir; 2d, George; 3d, William; 4th, Edward [of whom "*Hans Francis*," eleventh earl, proved himself to be lineally descended in 1818]; 5th, Francis; 6th Walter: also five daughters—1st, Katharine, married Henry Clinton, Lord Lincoln; 2d, Frances, married Henry, Lord Compton; 3d, Elizabeth, married Edward Somerset, Earl of Worcester; 4th, Anne, died unmarried; as did, 5th, Mary, who, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was fixed upon by "*Juan Vas-*

sillivich, Grand Duke and Emperor of Russia," to be his spouse. He having a desire to marry an English lady, and hearing of the Lady Mary's beauty and royal descent, he sent an ambassador with advantageous offers for her hand to the queen, and promised that her children should inherit the crown. The ambassadors arriving in England, were magnificently entertained and admitted to audience. The queen, thereupon, caused the lady to be attended by various ladies and young noblemen, so that the ambassador might have a sight of her in York House, Charing Cross. Then he, attended also by divers men of quality, being brought into her presence, casting down his countenance, fell prostrate before her, then rising back, with his face still towards her (the lady with the rest admiring this strange salutation), he said, by his interpreter, that it sufficed him to behold the angelical presence of her who would, he hoped, be his master's spouse and empress, and seemed quite ravished with her lovely countenance, state, and beauty. After this interview she was called "Empress of Muscovie;" but the queen, as well as the lady herself, understanding that by the laws of that land the emperor might put away his wife when he pleased, took occasion to put a stop to the overture.

Henry de Hastings, third earl, through his mother Katharine Pole, was the lineal descendant of George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV.—*her mother*, the Countess of Salisbury, being the sister and heir of the last heir-male of the Plantagenets, Edward Earl of Warwick, who was beheaded in 1499 by order of Henry VIII.

Henry, third Earl of Huntingdon, married Katharine, daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. He being the subject of much conversation in political circles as having a title to the crown of England by descent from the Duke of Clarence, Queen Elizabeth had some jealousy of him, and he thus writes to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Leicester:—

"Att my wive's last being att court to do her duty as became her, it pleaséd her Majesty to give her 'a privy nippe,' especially concerning myself, whereby I perceive she hath some jealous concept of me. How farr I have been from conceyting any greatness to myself—nay, how ready I have always been to shun applauses, both by my continual low saile and my carriage, I doe assure myself is best known to your lordship and the rest of my nearest friends."

We find "Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon," who pretended to dispute with the Scottish queen her right to the succession (to Queen Elizabeth), joined with Shrewsbury in making her imprisonment more intolerable by the excess of his vigilance and rigour.—See Robertson's History. In the ruins of Ashby Castle a room is still known as that inhabited by "Mary Queen of Scots."

In the year 1529, the 21st of Henry VIII., when Sir George Hastings was

advanced to the dignity of Earl of Huntingdon, which had remained dormant since the death of William Herbert in 1491, Sir George's eldest son was summoned to Parliament as *Lord Hastings*.

This line continued uninterrupted until the death of Francis, tenth earl, who, with his three brothers, dying without male issue, his sister, Lady Elizabeth, succeeded to the family estates.

1752. Lady Elizabeth Hastings married the Earl of Moira, and resided in Ireland for more than half a century.

Feb. 9, 1790. Her son, Lord Rawdon, becoming Marquis of Hastings, obtained leave on his mother's death to assume the name and arms of Hastings, as provided in the will of the last earl. On him devolved the baronies of "Hastings," "Hungerford," "Peverel," "Botreaux," "Moels," "Molines," "Newmarch," and "De Hunch;" but for some years the earldom of HUNTINGDON remained in abeyance.

1818. After a lengthened investigation, the Attorney-General reported that "Hans Francis," fourth and only surviving son of Colonel George Hastings, had proved his claim to the vacant earldom; and on the 7th January 1819, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent was pleased to issue a writ of summons, under the Great Seal, to the Right Honourable Hans Francis Hastings, as Earl of Huntingdon; and on January 14th he was introduced to the House of Peers by the Marquis of Ely, and soon after took possession of such of the family estates as had been entailed on the earldom by the seventh earl, which estates, until then, had been held by the Earl of Moira.

Amongst the remarkable persons bearing the name, we must not overlook "Selina, Countess of Huntingdon," widow of the ninth earl, and mother of the tenth, and of Lady Moira. Having survived her husband, "Earl Theophilus," nearly forty-five years, she zealously devoted her time and fortune to the promotion of the doctrines of the Whitfield Methodists, an offset of the Wesleyans. Nearly £100,000 was spent by Lady Huntingdon on chapels and a seminary in Brecknockshire for the education of proper ministers. The Countess Selina was second daughter and co-heir of Washington, Earl of Ferrars. She had four sons—1. Francis, the tenth earl; 2. George; 3. Ferdinando; 4. Henry, who died young: and three daughters—1. Elizabeth, Countess of Moira; 2. Selina, who died young; 3. Selina, who died on the eve of her marriage with Colonel George Hastings, whose son afterwards proved his claim to the dormant title of "Earl of Huntingdon."

Selina, Dowager-Countess of Huntingdon, died 17th June 1791, ætat. 83.

APPENDIX H (p. 179).

HOUSE OF DOUGLAS.

King David Bruce died in the castle of Edinburgh, in the tower which he had built, and which was called after him "King David's Tower," in the thirty-ninth year of his reign. 1370.

An effort then seems to have been made by the Douglas (as afterwards, in 1400, by the Dunbars, Earls of March and Moray) to reconstruct the Cumyn party, and claim through them the crown. The *Stewards* were not much beloved, nor as yet highly connected, amongst the Scottish nobility, and it was solely as the son of Marjorie Bruce that Robert Stewart had any claim to be king; but the name, and will, of his renowned grandfather carried the day against the power of the Douglasses and all their allies. Failing his young son David, who was only in his fifth year when his father died, King Robert Bruce declared "Robert Stewart," the son of Marjorie, his only child by his first marriage with "Isabel," daughter of Donald, tenth Earl of Marr, his heir and successor. This Robert Stewart was some eight years older than his uncle David II., being born 2d March 1316, and was therefore about fifty-four years of age in 1370.

His life had been a checkered one. Heir-presumptive to the throne, in 1333 he led the second division of the royal army at the unfortunate battle of Halidon Hill, although then only sixteen, under the guidance of his father's cousin, Sir James Stewart of Rosyth. The battle lost, his estates were confiscated and given by Edward to the Earl of Athol, and he with difficulty escaped to Bute A.D. 1335. Robert Stewart was chosen regent, and his estates restored, when he appears to have made friends with Athol, who aspired to be his colleague. Both made peace with Edward of England, who restored to Athol his *English* estates, and appointed him Governor of Scotland, under Edward Baliol, before returning southwards to pursue his war with France. See p. 284.

Athol immediately began to slay and imprison the friends of Bruce, which filled the hearts of the people with a desire of vengeance. Sir Andrew Moray became their chosen leader, and meeting Athol at Kilblain, on his way to attack the castle of Kildrummie, with 3000 men, Athol (David de Strathbolgie) and the heads of his party were defeated and slain.

What part Sir Richard Cumyn took in these transactions we know not; but it appears that he was confidentially employed and trusted by David Bruce and

See p. 453.

by the Douglasses, and that he had grants of lands from both ; whilst his successors, in the days of the Stewarts, were out of favour, and appear to have lost much that he had regained, so that many, to keep their estates, had to give up their name.

From 1346 to 1357 David II. was a prisoner in England, and Robert Stewart, his nephew and heir, was regent. For him David never had much favour, and about a year before his death he caused Robert Stewart and his three sons to be imprisoned. Might it not be that the king himself had a wish to favour the succession of the Douglas, after his project of an English successor failed ? Through the Lords of Galloway they were nearly connected with him and with the Cumyns.

In Hume of Godscroft's 'History of the Douglasses' we find, A.D. 1370-71 : "After the death of King David II. there was a convention of the States at Linlithgow to have crowned Robert Stewart, son of Marjorie Bruce, King Robert's daughter. Thither went the Earl of Douglas, and did claim the crown, and was so strongly accompanied they feared he would have taken it by force. He derived his right from Baliol and Cumyn. Alan, Lord of Galloway, he said, left at his death two daughters by Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon—Dornagilla and *Mary*, who was married to John Cumyn, Lord of Galloway. By *Mary*, his wife, John Cumyn had a daughter, 'Dornagilla,' married to Archibald de Douglas, killed at Halidon Hill, father to this Earl William, whereby he was grandchild to *Mary*, and great-grandchild to Margaret, eldest daughter to David, Earl of Huntingdon ; whereas Robert Stewart, son of Marjorie Bruce, daughter of King Robert Bruce, son of Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, son of Robert Bruce the Noble and Isabel, second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, was a generation farther off, and descended from a younger sister. But finding his pretensions evil-taken, and that it was to King Robert, and not to David of Huntingdon, that Robert Stewart was to succeed, and that Baliol having long since renounced his claims, and that *they all*, and Earl William's predecessors in particular, having sworn obedience to King Robert, and continued in it for sixty-four years, and being dissuaded from the same by his chiefest friends, George and John Dunbar, Earls of March and Moray, his *brothers-in-law by his first wife* (?), and by Robert Erskine, his assured friend, keeper of three of the principal castles in Scotland—Dumbarton, Stirling, and Edinburgh—he was contented to desist ; and joining very willingly with the rest of the nobility, accompanied Robert Stewart to Scone, and assisted at his coronation, being no less acceptable and commended for his modest bearing in acquiescing, than he had been before displeasing for his unreasonable motion ; for which, in token of his goodwill,

and that he might so much the more tie the earl to him, the new king bestows two very honourable gifts upon him—his eldest daughter Euphame on the earl's son 'James,' that so, failing male heirs, the crown might fall to his house ; and upon the earl himself the marriage of Margaret Stewart, Countess-*Dowager* of Marr and of Angus in her own right, on the death of her brother Thomas, third earl, in 1357."

But "Margaret of Marr," the wife of Earl William, and mother of James, the hero of Otterburn, and of Lady Isabel, was still alive, and we have yet to learn by what means her divorce and subsequent marriage to Sir John Swinton of Swinton were brought about. On the death of William, first Earl of Douglas, in 1384, James succeeded as second Earl of Douglas ; and on his mother's death in 1385 he became also Earl of Marr ; but dying childless in 1388, at Otterburn (an infant son, by Euphame, the king's daughter, predeceasing him), all hopes of succession to the throne were again cut off from the aspiring house of Douglas. His sister "Isabel" became his heir in *Marr*, which proves that she was his full sister ; whilst "Archibald de Douglas" succeeded to the earldom of Douglas. He may have been, as he is called by various writers, the half-brother of James, son of a sister of the Earls of Dunbar and Moray, who may have been the second wife of Earl William, otherwise he would scarcely have excluded "*George*," Earl of Angus.

THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS.

THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS.

A.D. 1236.—Archibald, 4th Lord de Douglas, testibus to charters, &c. Obt. 1240.

== Married Margaret, daughter and coheirress of Sir John Crauford, by whom he had 2 sons—

1. Sir William, his heir.

2. Andrew, by some said to be the ancestor of the Earls of Morton.

1240.—William, 5th Lord of Douglas, on Palm Sunday, apud Edinburgh, signs an indenture for the marriage of his son "Hugh" with the daughter of the Lord of Abernethy, settling on them all his lands, and, furthermore, those "quæ sunt in calumnia inter me et heredes Johannis Crauforde." Obt. 1276.

== Married Martha, daughter of Duncan, and sister of Niel, Earls of Carrick (1240-50), and aunt of Marjorie, Countess of Carrick, who married Robert de Brus, and was mother of King Robert.

Hugh, 6th Lord de Douglas, who married "Majorie," daughter of Alexander, and sister of Hugh, Lords of Abernethy, d. s. p. Alexander Cummin, Earl of Buchan, Raynald Cumin, Andrew de Douglas (his uncle), &c. &c., testibus to his marriage-contract.

Married 1st, Lord Keith's sister, by whom he had 2 sons, "James" and "Hugh." Sent by their uncle, Lord Keith, to be educated in France on their father's 2d marriage.

== William, 7th Lord of Douglas, surnamed "the Hardy," imprisoned (1288) William de Abernethy in Douglas Castle for the murder of Duncan, Earl of Fife. Died in prison in York, betrayed by his English wife, after 7 years' captivity.

== Married 2d, Eleanor de Ferrars, of the Derby family, descended from Helen de Quincey, eldest daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, but *not* by Margaret of Scotland. 2 sons, Archibald and John, progenitor of the Earls of Morton.

Sir James, 8th Lord of Douglas,* surnamed "the Good," the friend of Bruce, killed in Spain on his way to the Holy Land with Bruce's heart (A.D. 1330-31), left only a natural son, who accompanied William, 1st earl, to France, and was at the battle of Poitiers in 1356, and settled near Bourdeaux.

Extinct.

Hugh, 9th lord, survived his brother James for 9 or 10 years; resigned in favour of his nephew "William," son of his half-brother Archibald, in 1341-42.

Archibald, Lord of Galloway, Regent of Scotland from March to July 1333, when he was killed at Halidon. He defeated the Baliols at Annan in 1332. He married Dornagilla, daughter of John Cumin of Badenoch by Mary of Galloway.

Archibald left 2 sons and a daughter, Alianore.

William, 1st Earl of Douglas.

Archibald, Lord of Galloway.

Alianore, Countess of Carrick.

* The seignery and forestry of Traquair and Selechirche were granted in free barony to Sir James Douglas by "the Bruce," the sasine given by placing on his finger an emerald ring, from which it has been named the Emerald Charter.

EARLS OF DOUGLAS.

A.D. 1342.—William, Lord Douglas, by resignation of his uncle "*Hugh*." William had a charter from David II., dated 28th May 1342, apud Aberdeen, "confirmasse dilecto et fidei nostro Gulielmo de Douglas, milite, omnes terras, &c., de quibus quondam Jacobus, avunculus suus, Archibaldus de Douglas, pater suus, milites, obierunt vestite."

William was sent a hostage to England for the king in 1357, at which date he is *first* styled "*Earl of Douglas*."

By some authorities he is said to have married three times, by others only once. Ante 1343 he married "*Margaret of Marr*," who became ultimately, on the death of her brother Thomas, 13th Earl of Marr (A.D. 1377), "Countess of Marr and Lady of Garioch," by whom he had "*James de Douglas*," the hero of Otterburn, where he fell A.D. 1388, and Isabel, afterwards Countess of Marr.

It is said that Earl William divorced this lady, who married, 2dly, Sir John Swinton of Swinton; and that the earl married, 2dly, *Margaret*, daughter of the Earl of Dunbar and March, by whom he had Archibald "the Grim," who succeeded his brother James in 1388 as Earl of Douglas.

3dly, and with doubtful legality, Earl William married "*Margaret Stewart*," daughter of the Earl of Angus (who died of the plague, 1357-58), and widow of the Earl of Marr, who died in 1377, by whom he had "*George*," by his mother's resignation in 1389 Earl of Angus.

Archibald, by grant from King David II. (an. reg. 40), Lord of Galloway after the death of Thomas de Brus, 9th Earl of Carrick, in 1361. Cancellarium Scotiæ guarantee of the truce with England (A.D. 1380).

Archibald left no legitimate heir; but "*William the Black Douglas*," Lord of Niddesdale, was his son-natural, and for his great worth and bravery married the king's beautiful daughter "*Egidia*," by whom he left an only daughter, "*Egidia*," who married Henry, Earl of Orkney.

Legitimate line extinct.

William the Black Douglas is designed in a charter of Robert II., roll 7th, "*Willielmus de Douglas, miles, filius Archibaldi de Douglas, Domini Galovidiæ, consanguinei nostri*."

King Robert II. gave him the lordship of Nithsdale with his daughter Egidia.

In France he was Prince of Danskin and Duke of Spruce.

Alanore or Eleanor married, 1st, Alexander de Brus, 8th Earl of Carrick, and had an only daughter, Alanore. Alexander, Earl of Carrick, was killed at Halidon (A.D. 1333) with his father-in-law, Archibald Douglas, the regent. Alanore de Brus, his daughter, married Sir William Cunningham; and after the death of her uncle Thomas, 9th earl, had a grant of the earldom of Carrick from David II. in 1361. Confirmed in 1364.

Alanore, Countess-Dowager of Carrick, married, 2dly, Sir James de Sandilands, who had from her brother William, Earl of Douglas, in free marriage with his sister, the barony of West Calder, &c. &c. Her son and heir, Sir James de Sandilands, married "*Johanna*," daughter of King Robert II., and relict of Sir John Lyon, Lord of Glammis, and after the death of Isabel, Countess of Marr, quartered the arms of Douglas, as representing the chief family—the Lords Torphichen being their lineal descendants.

Alanore married, 3dly, William de Touris.

4thly, Duncan Walays of Sundrum.

5thly, by dispensation (1376), Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes.

1384.—James de Douglas, 2d earl, married the Princess Isabel or Euphame, daughter of King Robert II. by his first wife Elizabeth More, by whom he had one son, who died young. Sir James was slain at Otterburn A.D. 1388.

Abercromby says, "The young hero died on the field of battle much regretted, but had been more so had he not been succeeded by his brother *Archibald the Grim*, like unto himself, and the noble house from which he descended. His sister Isabel succeeded him in Marr."

Extinct.

1400.—Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas, Lord of Bothwell, Galloway, and Annandale, 1st Duke of Touraine, Lord of Longueville, and Marshal of France, killed at Verneuil A.D. 1424. In 1409 he had a charter of confirmation from the Duke of Albany of the lordship of Annandale, &c., upon the resignation of George, Earl of March, *who was his granduncle's son*.

1388.—Lady Isabel, Countess of Marr and Lady of Garioch in right of her mother, after the death of her brother James, married, 1st, Sir Malcolm Drummond, brother of Queen Annabella; 2dly, by compulsion, Alexander Stewart, son-natural to the Wolf of Badenoch. A.D. 1404, she made a grant of her earldom, &c., "to him and his heirs;" he died vit. pat. A.D. 1397, Lady Isabel had resigned all the land she held from her father to George, Earl of Angus, her half-brother.

1388.—Archibald, 3d Earl of Douglas, surnamed "the Grim," married *Yvart*, daughter and heir of Thomas de Moravia, 2d son of Sir Andrew Moray, regent, and had with her the barony of Bothwell.

William, his eldest son, died vit. pat. s. p.
Archibald, 2d son, became 4th Earl of Douglas.
Marjorie, his daughter, married "David," Duke of Rothesay, who died at Falkland A.D. 1400, s. p.

Married Margaret, daughter of King Robert III., who lies buried in the church of Lincluden. "Hic jacet Margarita, Scotiæ Regis filia; Comitissa de Douglas; Wallis, Annandia, et Gallovidia Domina."
Their children were—
Archibald, 5th earl.
James, Lord Abercorn, afterwards Earl of Douglas.
Margaret, married to William, Earl of Orkney.
Elizabeth, married to John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Constable of France.

Helen, married to Alexander Lauder of Hatton.
Mary, married to Sir John Glendoning of that ilk.

Archibald, 5th earl, was Earl of Wigton in his father's lifetime by resignation of Thomas Fleming. Succeeded his father in 1424. Died of the hot fever at Restalrig, 26th June 1439.
He was 2d Duke of Touraine, Count de Longueville, and Marshal of France.
He went to France in 1419 with the Earl of Buchan.

William, 6th earl, succeeded A.D. 1439, ætat. 17.
Both brothers were beheaded in Edinburgh Castle by order of Crichton, Governor and Lord Chancellor, A.D. 1443.
Extinct.

Margaret, ætat. 11. "The Fair Maid of Galloway."

Married, 1st, Mauld Lindesay, daughter of David, Earl of Crauford, at Dundee, with great pomp, "that never the like was seen at na' man's marriage."
Married, 2dly, Lady Eufame Graham, daughter of Patrick, Earl of Strathearn.

1444.—William, 8th earl, by Papal dispensation, married his cousin Margt. Douglas. He was slain by King James II. in Stirling Castle, 13th February 1452. D. s. p.

James, 9th and last earl, married his brother's widow. He resigned the earldom of Wigton in 1452, and died a monk in Lindores Abbey A.D. 1488.

Extinct.

James, Lord Abercorn, surnamed "the Grosse," succeeded his nephew (A.D. 1443) as 7th Earl of Douglas, the French honours failing.
He married Beatrice, daughter of Henry, Earl of Orkney, by whom he had 6 sons and 4 daughters. The 2 eldest sons became successively Earls of Douglas after his decease, A.D. 1443.

Margaret Douglas married, 3dly, John Stewart, Earl of Athol, uterine brother of King James, and had 2 daughters. Janet married the 3d Earl of Huntly.
Catherine, Lord Gray.

The remaining children of James, Lord Abercorn, 7th Earl of Douglas, were—

3. Archibald, by marriage Earl of Moray, attainted in 1445 as “Archibaldus, pretensus Comes Moraviæ.”

4. Hugh, Lord Ormonde.

5. John, Lord of Balveny, killed in 1452.

6. Henry, all forfeited ante 1454.

The daughters married—1. Margaret, Lord Dalkeith; 2. Beatrix, Lord Aubigny; 3. Janet, the Lord of Biggar and Cumbernauld. Elizabeth died unmarried.

NOTES ON THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS.

SONS OF WILLIAM THE HARDY, SEVENTH LORD OF DOUGLAS.

The good Sir James Douglas, the friend of Bruce, killed in Spain A.D. 1331, on his way to the Holy Land with the heart of the Bruce, had one full brother, “Hugh,” who succeeded him as “Lord of Douglas,” and survived him for nine or ten years, but never distinguished himself in any way, and is supposed to have been weak either in body or mind. He died s. p. A.D. 1342.

Their mother was the sister of the Earl Mareschal Keith, who sent them to be educated in France on their father's second marriage with Eleanor de Ferrars, of the Derby family, descended from one of the daughters of Helena de Quincey, eldest daughter of Alan Lord of Galloway, but NOT by Margaret of Scotland. By Eleanor de Ferrars William the Hardy had also two sons, “Archibald and John” (see *Morton*). Of these, Archibald became Lord of Galloway, and Regent of Scotland from March until July 1333, when he was killed at Halidon Hill. He had married Dornagilla, only daughter of John Cumyn, Lord of Badenoch, in whose right, some say, he became Lord of Galloway.*

His son “William,” the companion of David II. in France, was also probably of *his* company when he landed at Inverbervie, in Kincardineshire, in 1341, as he had a charter from that king, dated “Aberdeen, 28th May 1342,” “confirmasse dilecto et fideli nostro Gulielmo Douglas, milite, omnes terras, &c.

* Hollinshed says, in his ‘Chronicles of Scotland:’ “John Cuming had by ‘Mary’ his wife, sister of Devergoile, only *one* daughter, *Dornagilla*, married to Archibald Douglas, the Regent, killed at Halidon A.D. 1333. William, first Earl of Douglas, and Archibald, Lord of Galloway, were his sons. This Archibald, his second son, bought the earldom of Wigtown also from Thomas Fleming, including the title, for £500.”

Buchanan says: “Balliolus enim, per matrem, Devergoile, totam Gallovidium (regionem amplissimam) tenebat. Cuminiam familiam secundum reges potentissimam, affinitate sibi junctam habitat per Joannem Cuminium, cui ‘Maria’ Dornagillæ Loror, nupserat.”

&c., de quibus quandam Jacobus, Dominus de Douglas, avunculus suus, Archibaldus de Douglas, pater suus, milites, obeiirunt vestite."

William appears to have returned to France, and not to have settled in Scotland until after the disastrous battle of Neville Cross, A.D. 1346. He expelled the English from Douglasdale, and took possession of Ettrick Forest. He also invaded Galloway, and made Duncan M'Dowall swear fealty to David II., A.D. 1353. He slew his cousin and godfather, "the Knight of Liddesdale," in Ettrick Forest, to avenge the death of Ramsay of Dalhousie, in 1342.

Hume of Godscroft says: "Three Archibald Douglasses, almost contemporary, are to be distinguished, that we mistake not the one for the other. First, *Archibald*, who was brother of William, the first earl, and was Lord of Galloway in his brother's lifetime, and had a son-nat., Lord Niddesdale, who married Egidia, the king's daughter.

"Second, Archibald, son-nat. of Sir James [of Dalkeith], who is sometimes wrongfully named William in our chronicles. He was made captain of the castle of Edinburgh when it was taken by his brother, the Lord of Liddesdale. He was at the battle of Poitiers, and married and died in France.

"Third, 'Archibald the Grim.' And these three are divers times taken for one another, as when they say, 'Archibald, Lord of Galloway, son of Sir James killed in Spain,' it is a manifest error; for Galloway never did belong to Sir James, but to his brother '*Archibald*,' who obtained it by marrying Dornagilla Cumyn, and gave it to his second son, *this* Archibald.

"This much I think it right to advertise the reader in this place for the better distinguishing of them."

Why does no one "*advertise us*" whose son Archibald the Grim was? In most peerages and genealogies he is set down as the natural son of the good Sir James, which this decidedly contradicts.

That the Knight of Liddesdale and his brother, Sir John of Dalkeith, were legitimate, appears to be proved, 1st, by the mention of their natural brother "*Archibald*," captain of Edinburgh Castle; as also by "James," the son of "Sir John," being his uncle's *heir-male*. They certainly were, therefore, the heirs-male of the house of Douglas after the death of "James, Earl of Douglas" in 1388, when the descendants of his *sister* "*Alianore*" are recognised as *his* heirs of line.

ALIANORE OR ELEANOR DE DOUGLAS.

Alianore de Douglas,
Countess of Carrick, had by her 1st marriage an
only daughter.

== Married, 1st, Alexander, 8th Earl of Carrick (2d son of Edward Bruce). Alex. de Bruce was killed, with his father-in-law, Archibald, Lord of Galloway, and regent, at Halidon A.D. 1333.

Eleanor or Alianore de Bruys,
Countess of Carrick after the death of her uncle,
Thomas de Bruys, 9th earl.

== Sir William de Cunningham, who had a grant of the lordship of Carrick from King David II. in 1361. Confirmed in 1364. D. s. p., when the earldom reverted to the Crown.

Alianore,
Dowager-Countess of Carrick, had by this, her
2d marriage, a son and heir.

== Married, 2dly, Sir James de Sandilands, to whom William, 1st Earl of Douglas, gave in "maritagium," with his sister Eleanor, relict of the Earl of Carrick, "the baronie of West Calder to them and their heirs," as the transcript of this charter bears, extracted by James de Douglas, Lord Dalkeith, 4th April 1420.

Sir James de Sandilands, who married the Princess Johanna, daughter of King Robert II., from whom the Lords Torphichen lineally descend, and who have carried in their arms the crowned heart of the Douglas as heirs-general of that noble house after the death of James, the hero of Otterburn, and of Isabel, his sister, Countess also of Marr, both dying without heirs. 28th July 1397, King James III. confirms a donation made by Sir James "of all rights of succession competent to him after the death of Isabel (Earl William's daughter), with the heritable succession to the haill lands to which the heirs of James, Earl of Douglas, might succeed, in favour of George, Earl of Angus," who, had he been legitimate, would have excluded all other heirs.

Alianore,
Dowager-Countess of Carrick.

== Married, 3dly, William de Touris, and had with her a grant of the lands of Dalry (Robertson's Index, 51).

Alianore,
Countess of Carrick. Duncan Walays resigned his lands in liferent, with remainder to his own heirs of the marriage, whom failing, to Sir James Sandilands and his heirs.

== Married, 4thly, Duncan Walays of Sundrum, who had a charter, with Eleanor his wife, of the barony of Dalzell, in county of Lanark, of various lands in Roxburgh, and of Erthbypet, Slamannan, &c., in county of Stirling.

1357. There is a dispensation, dated from Avignon, allowing Alianore, Countess of Carrick, to marry, 5thly, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, whose first wife stood in the fourth degree of consanguinity to the countess.

In 1373 the Countess of Carrick had a pass to go, with sixty horse in her train, to visit the shrine of Thomas à Becket.

Sir Robert Fleming, the companion-in-arms of Bruce from 1306, had a grant of the lands of Lenzie and Cumbernauld before 1314, when he died. Another charter to his son, Sir Malcolm Fleming, of the lands of Kirkintilloch also (and of Poltown in Wigtown, by the resignation of Malcolm Drummond) records, of the first-named possessions, "Quæ fuit quondam 'Johannes Comyn,' milites."

Malcolm Fleming was Sheriff of Dumbarton, and held that castle against Edward Baliol, whence he conveyed David II. and his queen to France in 1331-

32; for which, on David's return to his kingdom in 1341-42, he was rewarded by a grant of a certain territory in Galloway, to be called "*the earldom of Wigtown*," with a grant of *regality*. Sir Malcolm was taken prisoner with David II. at Durham, but obtained his liberty on sending his son "John" as a hostage.

"Thomas," his grandson, a hostage for the king, was allowed to visit Scotland in 1351, and received a new charter of the "earldom of Wigtown," *without the regality*, in deference to *Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway*, who afterwards bought the earldom of Wigtown from him in 1371 for a considerable sum—£500—the title included; so that in 1375 Thomas was styled "Thomas Fleming of Fulwood," formerly "Earl of Wigtown." He had no children, and alienated all his estates—Lenzie for £80—to his cousin, Sir Malcolm Fleming of Biggar, &c., who carried on the family.

"John Cumyn," first competitor, is styled "Lord of Galloway" after Baliol's degradation; and his son, the Red Cumyn, after his father's death in 1299, is made by Barbour to say to "*the Bruce*," when they were arranging their band, "Now, Edward has all Galloway given to me."

By Robert Bruce it was given to his brother "*Edward*," who signs as witness to a charter to the abbacy of Aberbrothock, "*Edwardo de Bruys, Domino Galwydie, dilecto frate nostro*;" and it was held in succession by his three sons.

Ann. reg.
septimo,
xxvi.
Fevru.

By David II. it was given to "Archibald de Douglas," 16th November 1363—that is, on the death of Thomas, third and last surviving son-natural of Edward Bruce, who thus appears to have held it after the death of his brother Alexander, who married Archibald's daughter Alianore.

Prince David Stewart, Duke of Rothesay, born A.D. 1378, was the eldest son of King Robert III. by his queen, Annabella Drummond.

George Dunbar, Earl of March, had betrothed his daughter "Elizabeth" to this David, the king's son, and had paid great part of her portion beforehand; whilst it is said David had engaged himself to Lord Lindsay's daughter. But the Earl of Douglas, alleging that the king's private contracting of his son and heir, without the consent of the State, was not according to the custom of the kingdom, nor right and orderly done, caused the matter to be propounded by his majesty to the Parliament, as former kings had done; and there he so handled the matter that the contract with March's daughter was declared null and void, and his own daughter, "Marjorie Douglas," was contracted to Prince David by consent of the Parliament. Having offered a greater portion with her than March had done with his daughter, he obtained for her jointure all the rents and revenues which belonged to the king on the south side of the Forth. "And so," says Hume of Godscroft, "this marriage, which was solemnised in the church of Bothwell in February 1400, with greater haste than good speed,

brought no comfort to either party; for neither came this David to be king, which was the thing expected, that thereby the house of Douglas might be greatened, neither did this alliance with the Earl of Douglas stand the prince in any stead" (for Archibald the Grim, his father-in-law, died of fever that same year); "and the prince was most miserably handled by his uncle the Duke of Albany, the governor of the realm, who aspired himself to be king, which makes me wonder why he did not rather hinder this alliance of his nephew with the Earl of Douglas than further it; but so are the secrets of things hid from us that we cannot find out the causes and reasons of them by no means, being not observed, or not mentioned by the writers of those times. However, this marriage bred great contention and enmity between the Earls of March and Douglas, near kinsmen, and did also disturb the peace and quietness of the kingdom; for March did not stick to go to the king and upbraid him with the breach of promise. The king having not answered him according to his mind, he retired from Court, fortified his castle of Dunbar, and gave it in keeping to his nephew, Robert Metellan [Maitland]; he himself having received leave from King Henry IV." (probably in answer to the letter quoted, p. 432), "he went to England."

The castle of Dunbar was taken by the Douglasses, after which the Earl of March returned with the Percies and invaded the Lothians, defeating the army commanded by Sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes at Nisbet, with great loss, *June* 1401.

May 5, 1402. The battle of Homildon ensued, when "Murdoch," son of the Duke of Albany, and the Earl of Douglas, were made prisoners, and numbers of the Scottish nobility slain.

The Earl of March and Henry Hotspur commanded the English.

The Earl of Douglas continued a prisoner in England until 1406, kindly entertained by King Henry, and by some, it is said, set at liberty without ransom on the death of King Robert III., and being reconciled with the Earl of March, procured liberty for him to return to Scotland.

During the time of his brother-in-law the Earl of Douglas being a prisoner in England, the Duke of Rothesay died miserably at Falkland. Complaints of his conduct having been made to the king, he was ordered to be placed under restraint, and it is supposed that he was starved to death by his uncle Albany's orders; but Wynton, his contemporary, never alludes to this (perhaps because he *was* his contemporary), nor did Douglas, his brother-in-law, resent it. Of his princess, "Marjorie Douglas," we hear nothing after her father's death. Archibald the Grim, "Earl of Douglas and Lord of Bothwell" (in right of his wife, daughter of Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, Governor of Scotland and

cousin of King David II.), had, besides this Marjorie, two sons—1. William, who predeceased him; and, 2. Archibald, his successor (in 1400), who married "Margaret," daughter of King Robert III. He was styled Earl of Douglas, Lord of Bothwell, Galloway, and Annandale, and Duke of Touraine, Lord of Longueville, and Marshal of France, from the part he took in the French wars. Along with his brother-in-law Prince David he bravely defended Edinburgh Castle against King Henry IV.

NOTES ON THE EARLS OF DOUGLAS.

Seven thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Buchan, crossed over to France to aid the Dauphin and the house of Valois in their contest with Henry V. of England, and were mainly instrumental in gaining the battle of Beaugé. 1421. Two years after (October 1423), an embassy was sent from France, with the Earl of Buchan at its head, to treat with the Earl of Douglas, and invite his assistance. Many titles and territories were at that time in the gift of the Crown of France from death and forfeitures. Douglas had the county of Longueville and the duchy of Touraine—a province which held of the Crown, but was virtually a sovereignty. Within it were many lordships and feudal domains. Probably there never had been a coronation of a king of Scotland so splendid as the inauguration of the new duke in his capital, the ancient city of Tours.

It was Archibald, *fifth* Earl of Douglas, who succeeded in 1424, and died of the hot fever at Restalrig in 1439, who married Mauld Lindsay at Dundee with much triumph and pomp, "that never the like was seen at na' man's marriage." *William*, their son, was the *sixth* belted earl of the Douglas line. He was fourteen years of age when he succeeded. He and his brother David were beheaded in Edinburgh Castle A.D. 1443.

His uncle *James* succeeded as seventh earl. He obtained from the king the marriage of Elizabeth Dunbar (some call her Annes), youngest daughter of "James, Earl of Moray," last of the Dunbar line, for Archibald Douglas,* his third son, and so made him Earl of Moray; and for Hugh, his fourth son, he got the earldom of Ormonde; and for John, his fifth son, the lordship of Balveny.

The elder daughter of *James, Earl of Moray*, had married Sir William Crichton, son of the Chancellor, and had got Freudraught in tocher; and against Crichton the Douglasses *made a band*—"Douglas," "Crawford," "Moray," and "Ross." This was the cause of King James II. slaying Douglas with his own hand in Stirling Castle.—Hume of Godscroft.

* Attainted with his brothers in 1445 as "Archibaldus, pretensus Comes Moraviæ."

DOUGLASES, EARLS OF MORTON.

I. John de Douglas, fourth son of William the Hardy—that is, his second son by Eleanor de Ferrars—was probably the heir of his granduncle Andrew.

II. Sir James de Douglas, his son, was styled of “Loudon.” He left two sons—1. Sir William ; and, 2. Sir John of *Dalkeith*.

III. Sir William de Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale—surnamed “the Flower of Chivalrie”—was taken prisoner near Lochmaben, A.D. 1332, by Sir Anthony Lucy, and kept in irons by Edward III. for two years. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Graham of Abercorn,* by whom he had an only daughter, who was given up as a hostage to Edward III. in 1353, along with Sir William’s *nearest heir-male*, “James de Douglas,” son of *Sir John Douglas of Dalkeith*, his brother-german, who had defended the castle of Lochleven against the English during the minority of David II.

1353. The Knight of Liddesdale was slain in Ettrick Forest by his cousin and godson, “William, Earl of Douglas,” who had lately returned from France to avenge, it was supposed, the death of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, who had been starved to death in 1342 by the Knight of Liddesdale in Hermitage Castle ; but more likely to put a stop to the intrigues which he was known to be carrying on against the liberties of Scotland with Edward III.

Oct. 8, 1354. Hermitage Castle was seized by Edward, who soon after bestowed it upon Elizabeth, the widow of the Knight, the King of England at the same time undertaking to put her in possession of whatever lands belonged to her of right *on his attaining the sovereignty of Scotland*. Not long after, Elizabeth married “Hugh Dacre,” brother of Lord Dacre, appointed by Edward keeper of Hermitage Castle ; upon which her daughter and “*James de Douglas*,” heir-male of the Knight of Liddesdale, were delivered up, 1st July 1355.—Lord Hailes.

Sir John Douglas had married “Agnes de Monfode ;” and it was their son, Sir James, who was sent to England as *security* for his uncle’s goodwill towards Edward, rather than as a hostage, and who succeeded to most of his possessions.

IV. Sir James de Douglas was present, as “*James, Lord of Dalkeith*,” at Scone at the coronation of King Robert II., and appended his seal to the Act of settlement of the crown, 26th of March 1371. His wife was “*Egidia*,” daughter of Walter, the high steward, by his second wife, Alice Erskine, and thus half-sister of the king. Egidia was relict of Sir Hugh Eglinton, whose only daughter married Sir John Montgomery, who took Sir Harry Percie

* Sir John Graham of Abercorn and Dunduff, proprietor of *Dalkeith* in 1303, bought by the Buccleuchs in 1642.

prisoner at Otterburn. Lord Hailes suspects that the person designed by *Froissart* as "James Lord Douglas," was, in fact, *this* James Douglas, *Lord of Dalkeith*, who had, *Froissart* says, a fair sister *Blanche*. Douglas, in his remarks on the history of Scotland, chapter iii., is also of this opinion, "*D'Alquest*," where he visited the Douglas, standing for Dalkeith.

V. James Lord of Dalkeith succeeded, and married "Agnes Dunbar," daughter of the Earl of March, and was succeeded by his son—

VI. James, who married the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Robert III.

VII. James, their son, married the Princess Johanna, ossia Annabella, daughter of King James I., and relict of James, third Earl of Angus.

1st Earl. This James de Douglas,* Lord of Dalkeith, was created a peer of Parliament, 14th March 1457-58, by the titles of Lord of Aberdour and Earl of Morton.

2d. John, his son, succeeded, and married Janet, a daughter of the family of Crichton, and had two sons and two daughters—Elizabeth, married to Robert Lord Keith; and *Agnes* to Alexander, Lord Livingstone.

3d. James, the third earl, married Catharine, natural daughter of King James IV., and leaving no son, the male line became extinct.

His three daughters married—1. Margaret, James, Earl of Arran, regent.

2. Beatrix, Robert, Lord Maxwell, whose son, "John, Lord Maxwell," became *hereafter* fifth Earl of Morton.

3. Elizabeth, James Douglas, son of Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, and brother of the Earl of Angus, who succeeded, under special settlement, to the earldom, as fourth Earl of Morton.

EARLS OF ANGUS OF THE STEWART LINE.

See
Rosyth,
p. 284.

Sir John Stewart, who fell at the battle of Falkirk with Sir John the Graham in July 1298, was the uncle of Walter, who married Marjorie Bruce. Sir John married Margaret, only daughter and heir of Sir Alexander Bonkyl of Bonkyl, county Berwick, by whom he had seven sons and a daughter, Isabel, married to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray and Regent of Scotland. By some it is said that his eldest son, Sir Alexander Stewart, was created Earl of Angus by King Robert the Bruce, but in England the Umphravilles were still so entitled; and Sir Alexander's son, (I.) *John Stewart*, is the first whose name appears as a witness when Randolph was "*custos regni Scotiæ*," as Earl of Angus, Lord of

* Two lozenges within the ruinous choir of the parish church of Dalkeith represent the arms of "James Douglas," first Earl of Morton, who died circa 1498, and Johanna his wife, third daughter of King James I.

Bonkyl and Abernethy, having married in 1329, by dispensation from the Pope, Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Alexander de Abernethy. This John was slain at Halidon, along with his *brothers* James and Allan, Buchanan says, lib. ix. But they appear rather to have been his cousins, as his father, Sir Alexander, it is said, left only two children—this John, his heir, and Isabel, married first to Donald, Earl of Marr, by whom she had Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Marr, and Margaret, who succeeded her brother, and married William, first Earl of Douglas. John, first Earl of Angus, left an only son Thomas, who succeeded in 1332.

II. Thomas, second Earl of Angus, married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Sinclair of Roslin. He assisted the Earl of Douglas and the Earl of March in the taking of Berwick in 1352; but being suspected by David II. of conspiracy, was imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle, where he died of the plague in 1361, leaving an only son—

III. Thomas, third earl, and two daughters. Lady Margaret married, 1st, her cousin Thomas, thirteenth Earl of Marr, who died s. p. in 1377; 2d, William, first Earl of Douglas, by whom she was mother of George, "Earl of Angus," on her resignation in 1389, when he was seven years old. Her brother Thomas, as well as her first husband, dying in 1377, she was Dowager-Countess of Marr and inheritrix of Angus, her sister "Elizabeth," married to Hamilton of Cadzow, having resigned to her, her rights in the earldom.

DOUGLASES, EARLS OF ANGUS.

George Douglas, first Earl of Angus of that name, was son of William, first Earl of Douglas, by Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas Stewart, Earl of Angus, and succeeded to his mother's estates by her resignation into the hands of King Robert II., in full Parliament, 9th April 1389, the countess reserving her liferent. George was then seven years of age.

24th of May 1397, being in his sixteenth year, he was married by contract to the king's granddaughter, the Princess Mary, his mother therein styling him "Lord of Angus."

In that deed the king binds himself to confirm all grants by "Isabel" Countess of Marr to George her half-brother, "notwithstanding any promises of his majesty to Sir Thomas Erskine to the contrary." Isabel gave to him "all the lands she had gotten from her father;" and at one time it is said that she "gifted him with the earldom of Marr," having no children by her first marriage with Sir Malcolm Drummond, brother of Queen Annabella; but in 1404, Alex-

ander Stewart, natural son of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, fourth son of King Robert II. (better known as "the Wolf of Badenoch"), besieged the Countess Isabel of Marr in her castle of Kildrummie, and compelled her to marry him. Afterwards, *apparently* at freedom and of her own freewill, in the open country without the castle walls, she presented him with the keys, and made a grant to him of her earldom and lordships inherited from her brother James, killed at Otterburn, and their mother "Margaret," Countess of Douglas and *Marr* in her own right. That Isabel should have succeeded to her mother's earldom is quite natural; but why did George not succeed to his father's after his half-brother James's death? unless Archibald were, indeed, the intermediate brother, or George's legitimacy more than questionable. His mother never was called Countess of Douglas—perhaps because her other titles were more ancient, or, as some say, because his former wife was still alive. Yet the earl calls her *his wife* in a bond made to his sister "Marjorie" (also by marriage Countess of Marr) for the due payment of her terce, let to him *and his wife*, "Margaret Countess of *Marr* and *Angus*."

I. George Douglas, first Earl of Angus of the Douglas name, born 1382, married in his sixteenth year the Princess Mary, daughter of King Robert III., and left by her William, his successor, and Sir George Douglas, Kt., second son. He was taken prisoner with the Earl of Douglas at Homildon, and died ante 1430.

II. William Douglas, second Earl of Angus, was sent to England as one of the hostages for the ransom of his uncle, King James I., at whose coronation he was knighted. He married Elizabeth Hay, daughter of Sir William Hay of Lockhart, Tweeddale. Died 1437, leaving one son, "James." 1402.

III. James Douglas, Earl of Angus, married the Princess Johanna, daughter of King James I. Died s. p. Johanna married, secondly, James, seventh Lord of Dalkeith.

IV. Sir George Douglas, second son of the first earl, succeeded his grand-nephew. In 1449 he was one of the commissioners sent to meet the English lords at Berwick, and one of the wardens of the marches. The 20th of James II. (1457) he was sent *against* the Earl of Douglas, then in rebellion, which he quelled; and he had in consequence a grant of the lordship and barony of Douglas. He indents with Henry VI. of England to assist in his restoration. He relieved Mons. Brisaek and the French troops under his command, when besieged by the English army at Alnwick, and brought them safe to Scotland. He died 14th November 1462. His wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Andrew Sibbald of Balgony, by whom he had Archibald, the Great Earl (Bell-the-Cat), and three daughters, whereof Jane married William Lord Graham; and Margaret, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy (Braidalbin).

V. Archibald, Earl of Angus, flourished in the reigns of James III. and IV. His first wife was daughter to Robert Lord Boyd, by whom he had three sons—1. George, Master of Angus, who predeceased his father; 2. Sir William Douglas of Braidwood, killed at Flodden (see eighth earl); 3. Gavin, Bishop of Dunkeld.

Archibald married, secondly, Catharine, daughter of Sir William Stirling of Keir, by whom he had three daughters—Marjory, who married the Earl of Glencairn; Elizabeth, Robert Lord Lyle; Janet, Robert Lord Herries.

Sept. 9, 1513. George, Master of Angus, was killed at Flodden field with two hundred of his name and family, which so affected his aged father that he retired from the world and died next year. George, the Master of Angus, had married “Margaret,” daughter of John Lord Drummond, and left by her three sons and six daughters, whereof Elizabeth married John Hay, Lord Yester; and Jane, John Lyon, Lord Glamis.

The sons were—1. Archibald, who succeeded his grandfather; 2. Sir George Douglas, who married “Elizabeth,” daughter and sole heir of Sir David Douglas of Pittendriech;* and their eldest son David afterwards became seventh Earl of Angus; whilst James, their second son, became *Earl of Morton* by marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of James, fourth earl, who left no male heir. He was the Regent Morton.

The third son of George, Master of Angus, was “William,” Prior of Coldingham. The daughters married—“Elizabeth,” Sir John Carmichael of that ilk; “Mary,” Sir George Auchinleck of Balmanno.

VI. Archibald, eldest son of the Master, succeeded his grandfather as sixth Earl of Angus. He was made a Knight of the Order of St Michael by Henry II. of France, and was councillor to James V. of Scotland. He married “*Margaret Tudor*,” the king’s mother, eldest daughter of Henry VII. of England, by whom he had a daughter, Margaret, who married, 1st, Thomas Lord Howard; 2d, Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, and was mother of “Henry Lord Darnley,” father of James VI. of Scotland and I. of England. Dying without male issue, he was succeeded by “*Sir David*,” eldest son of his brother, Sir George Douglas, circa 1528.

VII. Sir David Douglas of Pittendriech succeeded his uncle Archibald. He married “Margaret,” daughter of Sir John Hamilton, brother to “James” Duke of Chatelherault, by whom he left Archibald, his heir, and two daughters. Margaret married Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch; Elizabeth, John Lord Maxwell, who afterwards became fifth Earl of Morton.

VIII. Archibald Douglas, surnamed “*the Good Earl*,” married three times, but only left one daughter. The honours and estates devolved upon Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, descended from Sir William Douglas of Braid-

* An old MS. says that “Dame Elizabeth Douglas’s mother was daughter-lawful to Cumyn of Altyre.”

wood, second son of the fifth earl. All these Earls of Angus lie buried in the old church of Abernethy.

Sir George Douglas of Pittendriech, killed at Pinkie, married Marion, daughter and heiress of James Douglas of Parkhead, and had three sons—1. Sir James ; 2. Sir George ; 3. John, doctor of divinity—and three daughters—1. married to Dundas of Arniston ; 2. *Martha* married *Mr Robert Bruce of Kinnaird*, whose Douglas betrothal ring we have ; 3. Mary married John Carruthers of Holmains. 1. Sir James, the eldest brother, was killed by *William Stewart* ; July 1, 1608.
2. Sir James, his son and heir, married Elizabeth, only grandchild and heir of “Michael Lord Carlyle,” who died circa 1580, to which dignity her husband succeeded.—See Carlyle.

Sir George Douglas of Mordington, knight, second son of Parkhead and Pittendriech, was one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber to King James VI. He married Margaret, daughter of Archibald Dundas of Fingask, and had issue—Sir George, ambassador to Poland and Sweden from Charles I., and 1633.
a daughter, “*Margaret*,” married to Sir James Lockhart of Lee, a Lord of 1655.
Session and Justice-Clerk. *Their* eldest son, Sir William Lockhart, was ambassador to the Court of France from Charles II.; and Sir George Lockhart of Carnwath, and Sir John of Castlehill, were also Lords of Session.

CARLYLE OF TORTHORALD.

Sir William Carlyle, in the days of King Robert the Bruce, married the king's fourth sister, Lady Margaret Bruce. Their son, Sir William Carlyle, got a charter from his uncle, the king, of the “*barony of Torthorald*.” King James III. called “Sir John Carlyle of Torthorald” into the number of his nobles by the title of “Lord Carlyle of Torthorald,” anno 1473.

I. “John,” first Lord Carlyle, married “Margaret Douglas,” and died A.D. 1500.

II. William, his grandson and heir, married a Maxwell.

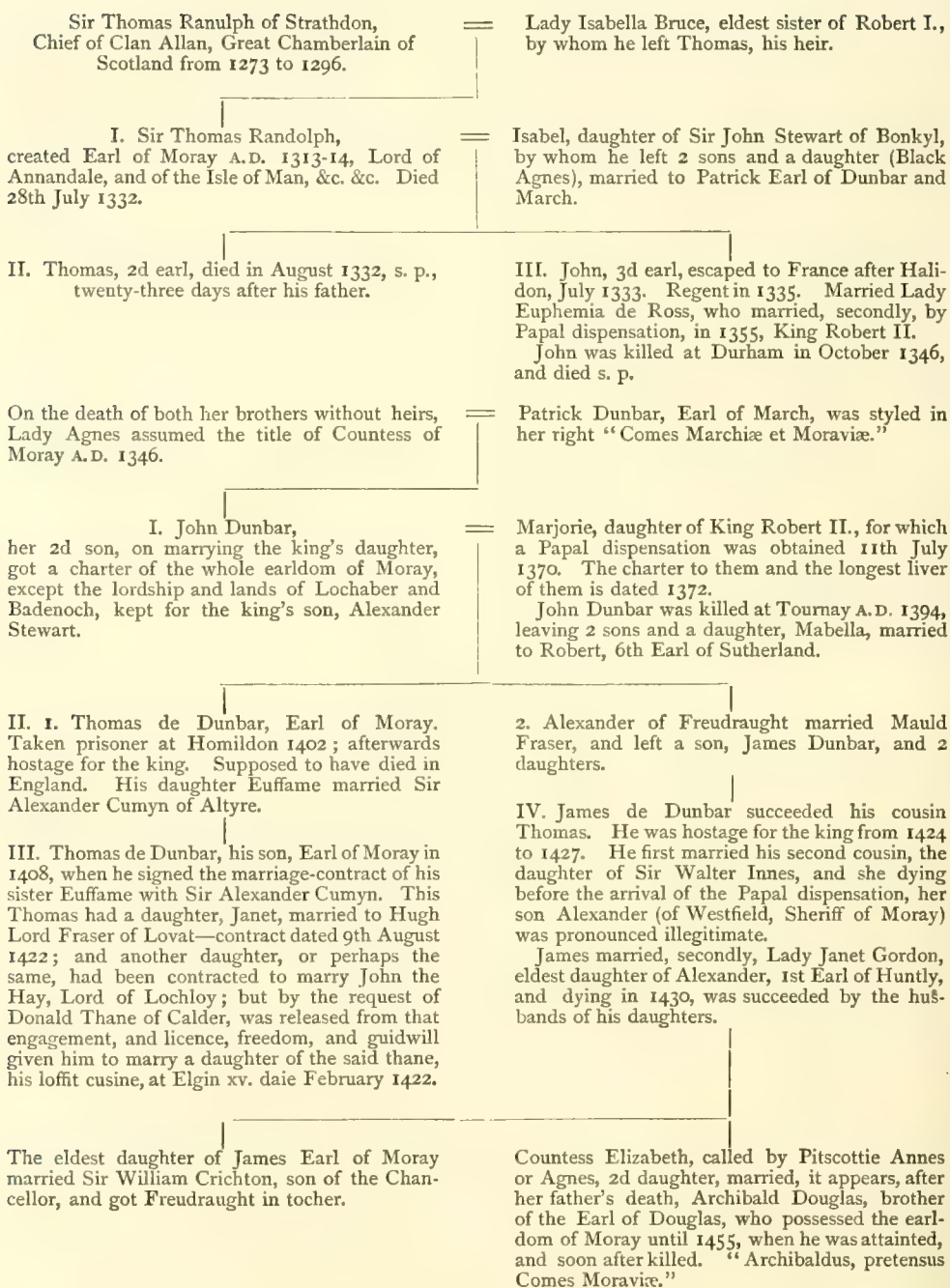
III. James, his son and heir, married Janet Scrimgeour, daughter of the Constable of Dundee. He died A.D. 1529 s. p.

IV. Michael, his brother, succeeded. He died A.D. 1588. William, his only son, having predeceased his father, *Elizabeth*, his daughter, succeeded her grandfather as his sole heiress. Elizabeth married “Sir James Douglas of Parkhead,”

V. Who was created “Lord Carlyle of Torthorald.”

VI. James, their son, succeeded. He married “Elizabeth,” daughter of “Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar.” Having no heirs, he resigned his titles and estates in favour of William, first Earl of Queensberry, A.D. 1638.

EARLS OF MORAY FROM 1313 TO 1455.



EARLDOM OF MORAY.

Archibald de Douglas being attainted in 1455, James Stewart, son-natural of James IV., was made Earl of Moray from 1501 to 1544, when he died s. p. m. The earldom was given by Queen Mary to George Earl of Huntly, Lord High Chancellor in 1548; reclaimed 30th January 1561, and bestowed on "James," Prior of St Andrews and Regent, brother-natural of the Queen. James Earl of Moray was shot in Linlithgow, 23th January 1570, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. By his wife Anne, daughter of Keith, Lord Mareschal, he left two daughters—1. Elizabeth, married to Sir James Stewart, Lord Donne, in 1580; 2. Margaret, married Francis, ninth Earl of Errol.

The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband, Lord Donne, succeeded to the earldom. He was styled "the bonny Earl of Moray." His hereditary enemy, the Earl of Huntly, burnt Donibristle, and killed the earl on the sea-shore, when escaping from the flames, on the 9th of February 1591-92.

James, his son, however, became reconciled with the Earl of Huntly, and married his daughter Anne in 1602, of whom the present Earls of Moray.

THE ANCIENT EARLS OF MARR.

I. Martacus, Earl of Marr, at Forfar, in the beginning of Malcolm Caenmore's reign, witness to a charter of donation by the said Malcolm to the Culdees of Lochleven, as Martacus, Comes de Marr. Martacus died ante 1100, and was succeeded by his son. 1065.

II. Graitnait, second earl, witness to the foundation charter of Scone in 1114.

III. Morgand, witness to a donation to the monastery of Dunfermline by King David I. after 1124, and one by Malcolm IV. in 1158.

IV. Gilchrist or Gilocheri, witness to a charter of Malcolm IV. in 1163.

V. Morgund, served heir to Gilocheri, Comites de Marr, &c. &c., in 1171 (Selden, p. 846, 847), by which service it appears that Morgund and his father were also Earls of Moray. This earl left five sons, of whom the three eldest became successively Earls of Marr.

VI. Gilbert was sixth earl.

VII. Gilchrist was seventh earl.

VIII. Duncan was eighth earl. He married Orabella, daughter of Ness or Nessius, Lord of Latherisk, and died ante 1234.

IX. William, ninth earl, son of Duncan, made a great figure in the reigns of Alexanders II. and III. He confirmed all the donations that "*Morgundus* avus suus" had made, anno 1264, his sons Donald and Duncan being witnesses. He married "Elizabeth," daughter of William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, by whom he had these two sons. He was one of the regents with the Cumyns in 1258.

X. Donald, tenth Earl of Marr, succeeded in 1270. He was one of the nominees of Robert the Bruce at Brigham in 1290. He died in 1294, leaving a son, Gratney, and two daughters — 1. Isabel, first wife of King Robert Bruce, and mother of the Princess Marjorie; 2. Mary, wife of Kenneth, third Earl of Sutherland.

XI. Gratney, eleventh earl, married Christian de Bruce, sister of the king, and got with her by charter, from her brother King Robert I., the lordship of the Garioch, with its chief castle of Kildrummie, which she bravely defended. By the Lady Christian, Gratney, Earl of Marr, left *Donald*, his heir, and the Lady Elyne, through whom this earldom afterwards came to the Erskines by a special charter from Queen Mary, 23d June 1565.

XII. Donald, twelfth earl, an infant, succeeded his father in 1300. He married "*Isabel*," only daughter of Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkyl, and dying in 1347, left a son.

XIII. Thomas, thirteenth earl, who married three times, but had no issue. To him in 1377 succeeded Margaret, Countess of Marr, and to her, first her son James Douglas, and to him his sister Isabel.—See Earls of Douglas.

APPENDIX I. (p. 427).

THE EARLDOM OF ROSS.

FERQUHARD MACKINSARGET, Earl of Ross from 1212 to 1252, was knighted by Alexander II. in 1215, and was at York with that king in September 1237. Ferquhard founded Fearn Abbey, in Ross.

William, his son and heir, died vit. pat. circa 1234. Testibus to a grant of land to his sister's husband, Walter de Moravia.

Euphemia, daughter to Ferquhard, married Walter de Moravia A.D. 1231.

Christina, a daughter or sister, married Olave the Black, King of Man.

William, Earl of Ross, died at Earls Allan 1274.

Married a daughter of Cumyn, Earl of Buchan.

William, Earl of Ross, swore fealty to Edward in 1291; was taken prisoner at Dunbar with the Cumyn party in 1296; died at Delgany 1323.

Married, 1st, a daughter of Sir David de Graham. £100 worth of land allotted to the Countess of Ross by Edward in 1296.

2dly, Mauld de Bruce, the king's sister, after 1308.

Isabel, for whom a Papal dispensation was obtained to marry Edward Bruce (too late, June 1317). "Robert, Alexander, and Thomas de Bruce, her sons, successive Earls of Carrick, but illegitimate.

Isabel appears to have had a brother, "Walter," who was killed at Bannockburn.

Lillias married William Urquhart of Cromarty, whose second wife was Violet Cumyn.

Hew, son and heir, had charters from King Robert Bruce of Nairn, Crumbachty, Kinfauns, &c. &c. Killed at Halidon 1333.

He married Jean, daughter of Walter the Steward (half-sister of Robert II.) by Alice Erskine, his first wife.

John de Ross married Margt. Cumyn, to whom King Robert gave the half of the hails lands of the Earl of Buchan. D. s. p. Margaret was alive and a widow in 1333.

1333. William, Earl of Ross, married a daughter of Malise, Earl of Strathearn. William, his son, died vit. pat. His daughter succeeded in 1372.

Hugh of Balnagown, heir by charter to his uncle, "John of Ros," and "Margaret Cumyn," was styled of Philorth until 1362, when he exchanged his lands in Buchan with his brother William for Elandonan and lands in Ross.

Euphemia married, 1st, John Randolph, Earl of Moray; 2dly, Robert Stewart, Earl of Strathearn; afterwards Robert II., by Papal dispensation, 2d May 1355—his second wife.

Janet married, 1st, Monimusk of that ilk; 2dly, Sir Andrew Moray of Abercainey, brother of Maurice, Earl of Strathearn.

Euphemia, Countess of Ross, married, 1st, Sir Walter Lesley, and had a son, Alexander, and a daughter, Margaret; 2dly, Sir Alexander Stewart, both Earls of Ross in her right.

Johanna, succeeded to the estates of John de Ros, held by Euphemia until she became Countess of Ross.

Married Sir Alexander Fraser of Cowie, afterwards designated of Philorth, that barony including Cairnbulg, &c. &c., of whom the Lords Saltoun.

Sir Alexander Lesley succeeded. He married the Lady Isabel, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany.

Margaret Lesley assumed the title of Countess of Ross in 1424.

Married Donald, Lord of the Isles. Fought the battle of Harlaw in 1411; assumed the title of Earl of Ross in 1424.

Euphemia, their only child, took the veil, resigning her earldom to her grandfather in 1415.

His two sons (Euphemia's uncles) successively took the title, but were both killed at Verneuil in France in 1424, leaving no heirs.

Alexander of Isle and Earl of Ross.

Married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon and Huntly.

John of Isle resigned to King James III. A.D. 1476.

NOTES ON THE EARLDOM OF ROSS.

The first Earl or Mormaer of Ross that we know of is "Finlach," or Finleikr Jarl, the Scot, son of Ruadri and father of Macbeth.

"Finlach" was slain by the sons of his brother "Malbrigid," whom, as in duty bound, Macbeth slew.

Macbeth slew King Duncan A.D. 1040, and reigned King of Scotland until 1056.

Real and pretended descendants of Rhudri or Rhoderic Ri-Alban, "Mormaer of the sons of Croeb,"* reigned over Ross almost independently until 1160, when a gathering of these chiefs, with Ferquhard, Earl of Strathearn, at their head, and with him "five other maister-men," surrounded Perth, where "Malcolm the Maiden" was holding his court, and attempted to carry off the person of the king; but they were scattered and driven into Galloway by "Gilchrist," Earl of Angus, and Walter the High Steward.

1161. The earldom was given, with "Ada," the king's sister, to Florence, Count of Holland.

1215. Macintargert or Mackinsarget, "the priest's son," "Ferquhard" by name, was knighted by Alexander II. for his good service in quelling an insurrection in Moray. It is on record that he was at York with Alexander II. and his Queen Johanna when they went to meet her brother Henry III., and to settle the disputes about the lands belonging to the crown of Scotland in England. He founded Fearn Abbey, in Ross, and is styled—

1237.
Foedera,
i. 377.

I. Earl of Ross, from 1212 to 1252. William, son and heir of Ferkar, Earl of Ross, witnesses charters from 1224 to 1232.—Chartulary of Moray.

II. William, Earl of Ross, "guidson to the Earl of Buchan, callit John Cumyn, leived 24 yeirs, and deit at Erllis-Allane" (1274?)

III. William Ross, "wha mariet the king's sister Mauld, quha bore to him the fourth earl, callit Hew Ross." Mauld was his second wife. Robert Bruce and this William Earl of Ross met and were reconciled at Auldearn in 1308; for it was this William Earl of Ross who gave up Bruce's queen and daughter to the English when they fled from Kildrummie and took refuge in St Duthae's Sanctuary, in Tain, in 1306. They were not restored to liberty until after the battle of Bannockburn.

1316. There is a grant to the Earl of Ross by King Robert I., apud Aberbrothoc, quinto die Dec., ann. reg. 10 Gilbert de Haya, Robert de Keth, and Hugone

* Cromarty.

de Erth, Testibus, which was probably on his marriage with "Mauld" or Matilda, the king's sister.

In a roll of missing charters of Robert I. is one to "*Joannis Ross*," "sone of the Earl of Ross," in tocher with "Margaret Cumyn," *dochter* to the Earl of Buchan, "the half of the haille lands of the Earl of Buchan in Scotland."

This lady is generally supposed to have been the sister of Alice Cumyn, who married Henry de Beaumont, and who was the daughter of Alexander, second brother of John, Earl of Buchan, and who had a sister "Marjorie;" but Marjorie and Margaret are not synonymous, and I believe this *Margaret*, as well as "*Violet*," married to Urquhart of Cromarty, and "Isabel," who married Francis Lord Cheyne of Essilmont, to have been the daughters of John, Earl of Buchan, by Isabel, daughter of the Earl of Fife, his countess, who was imprisoned so long at Berwick for having "set the crown of Robert Bruce's head," and upon whose daughter it is much more likely that he should have settled at least *half* the earldom, than upon the sister-in-law of de Beaumont, his greatest enemy. Alice and her sister are called in Dugdale "the cosins;" by other authors, the nieces of the Earl of Buchan; Margaret and Violet expressly the *daughters*.

It appears by entries on record of the arrangements of the Earl of Ross with May 10, his sons, that Margaret de Ross was then still alive and a widow, for the Earl ¹³³³ *Hugh* grants to his second son Hugh the lands then in possession of Margaret, by reason of her *terce*, when "it" (her death) should happen, except certain lands in Aberdeenshire, reserved for "William," his son and heir.

On St Magdalen's Day, Earl Hugh fell at Hallidon. His son William, being in Norway at the time of his father's death, only assumed the earldom in 1336. In that same year he is also styled "*Lord of Skye*."

William, Earl of Ross, married "*Isabel*," eldest of the four daughters of Malise, Earl of Strathearn, by his third marriage with the daughter and heiress of Magnus, Earl of Caithness, &c., by whom, it appears, he had a son "William" and two daughters.

William, Earl of Ross, going to Perth to join David II. and his army, and ¹³⁴⁶ meeting with Reynald of the Isles, slew Reynald at the monastery of Elcho, and returned to the mountains with his men. At the instance of the people of Ross, and with the consent of his *sister*,* "the lady Marjorie, Countess of Caithness and Orkney," he appointed Hugh of Ross his heir (his son William being then dead), in the event of his dying without male heirs; but before 1370 Hugh of Ross also was dead, when Earl William resigned his earldom and the lordship of Skye into the hands of David II., who thereupon granted them anew to him and his heirs-male, and to the earl's eldest daughter Euffame and

* His wife's sister.—See Strathearn.

Sir Walter Leslie her husband, and their heirs-male or eldest heir-female, without division; failing whom, to "Johanna," the earl's younger daughter, and her heirs.

1371. Earl William represented to Robert II., being then king, that King David had given all his lands and tenements, and all those of his brother Hugh (the half of the haill lands of the Earl of Buchan, given with Margaret Cumyn to John of Ross, and from him descending to Hugh his nephew), to Walter Leslie, without the earl's consent, and that he had not been able to recover them. That his daughter Euffame had married Sir Walter Leslie without his consent, and that *he* had neither given Sir Walter any grant of land, nor made any agreement with him respecting the succession, down to the time of King David's death. The result of this representation is not on record.

1372. Earl William died, and was succeeded by his eldest daughter Euffame and Sir Walter Leslie. Sir Walter Lesley, styled Lord of Ross, died in 1382, leaving by the Lady Euphemia a son, "*Alexander*," afterwards Earl of Ross, and Margaret, married to Donald, Lord of the Isles.

1383. The following year Euphemia made an unhappy marriage with Alexander Stewart, Wolf of Badenoch, son of Robert II., who appears in 1384-7 as *Lord of Ross*, as well as Earl of Buchan and Lord of Badenoch.

1394. Alexander Lesley succeeded his mother as Earl of Ross.

1398. He married Lady Isabel Stewart, daughter of Robert, Duke of Albany and Regent of Scotland, by whom he had an only daughter, "Euphemia," Countess of Ross, who took the veil, resigning the earldom into the hands of her grandfather, the Duke of Albany.

1411, Battle of Harlaw. 1415. Her next of kin was her aunt Margaret, married to Donald, Lord of the Isles, who had taken possession of Dingwall Castle in 1411; and raising an army of 10,000 men in Ross and the Hebrides, he advanced towards Aberdeen, but was met by the Earl of Mar (Alexander Stewart) with a rather inferior force. A battle took place, in which numbers fell, without any decisive result. Next year Albany took possession of Dingwall, and obliged Donald to resign his pretensions to the earldom.

It was after this—on the 12th of June 1415—that Euphemia, Countess of Ross, having made a resignation in favour of her grandfather the Duke of Albany, received it back again by charter dated 15th June same year at Stirling, "To her and the heirs of her body; whom failing, to John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, son of the regent, and his heirs-male; whom failing, to Robert Stewart, brother of John, and his heirs-male; whom failing, to the king and his heirs." Both of these Stewarts being killed at the battle of Verneuil in Normandy, 17th August 1424, and leaving no heirs, the earldom of Ross devolved to the crown.

Margaret, however, assumed the title of Countess of Ross, as did also her son, "Alexander of Isle," who married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon and Huntly.

Alexander of the Isles, styled "Earl of Ross," had by Elizabeth Seton a son, ^{1461.} "*John*," known as "*John of Ile*." Having, like his father, allied himself with the kings of England (Richard II. and Henry IV.) as an independent prince—"King of the Isles"—and otherwise disturbed the peace of Scotland, he finally forfeited the earldom of Ross as well as the sheriffship of Inverness and Nairn, being attainted for treason in 1475.—See Lords of the Isles.

"John of Ile" married, 1st, Amie, daughter of M'Dougal of Lorn, from which marriage descend Glengary and Clanronald. 2d, He married the Princess Margaret, daughter of King Robert III.: from this marriage the families of Sleate, Antrim, and Keppoch, as well as Margaret, Countess of Sutherland, descend.

The bishopric of Sodor and Man—that is, of the "Sudryjar," or all the islands south of Lewis on the coast of Argethalia—was founded in 838 by Pope Gregory, and united with Man by King Magnus in 1050 under the Archbishop of Trondhjem. In 1098 Skye was added to Norway by Magnus, restored to Scotland in 1266, and annexed to the earldom of Ross by Alexander III. at that date, along with Lewis. After the battle of Largs, Alexander III. restored the Isle of Man, and the see of Sodor and Man, to Scotland.

In 1226, Simon, Bishop of the Isles, was also Abbot of Iona.

In 1234, the Lord Bishop of Hy, and brother Alan, a monk, were present at the settlement of a dispute about the church of Kyncardyn in Strathspey, between Andrew, Bishop of Moray, and Walter Cumyn, Earl of Mynynteth, and appended their names to the settlement.

In 1334, King Edward, taking advantage of the civil wars in Scotland, seized on the Isle of Man, and in 1340 Bishop Thomas swore fealty to Edward.

In 1380, the English chose a bishop for Man, and the Scotch a bishop for the Isles; but no regular division of the diocese ever took place, or was recognised in Scotland.

EARLDOM OF STRATHEARN.

I. Malisius, Earl of Strathearn, testibus in the foundation charter of the monastery of Scone by King Alexander I., ann. 1115; was at the battle of the Standard, ann. 1138.

II. Ferquhard, second earl, was at Perth with Malcolm IV. (Fordun, vol. i. p. 1153.

1160. 450). He left 2 sons; 1, Gilbert, and 2, Malise, who is designed in the foundation charter of Inchaffray "*frater Gilberti, Comites de Strathern*," ann. 1198.

III. Gilbert, 3d earl, married Maude or Matilda, daughter of William d'Aubigny, Earl of Albemarle, and had 5 sons and 2 daughters; 1, Gilbert, died s. p.; 2, William, died s. p.; and 3, Ferquhard, died s. p.; 4, Robert became the heir; 5, Fergus, "*frater, Domini Roberti, Comites de Strathern*."—Arbroath Chartulary.

1200. Christian married Sir Walter Oliphant. The Earl and Countess founded and richly endowed the monastery of Inchaffray. "*Ego Gilbertus, filius Ferquhardi Comes de Strathern, et ego Matilda, filia Willelmus D'Aubigny*," &c. &c.

1225. IV. Robert, 4th earl, witness to the charter of the whole earldom of Fife granted by Alexander II. to Malcolm, son of Earl Duncan. He died before 1244, leaving a son, "Malise," and 3 daughters; "Annabella, married to Sir David Graham," "Matilda to Malcolm, Earl of Fife," "Lucia to Sir William Sinclair of Roslin."

V. Malise, one of the guarantees of the truce in 1224 with England, married Mary, daughter of Eugene of Ergadia, relict of the King of Man. "*Malisius, Comes de Strathern, viduam regis Manniæ, filium Eugenii de Ergadia uxorem duxit*," &c.—Fordun, vol. ii. p. 109. He died ann. 1271, and was buried at Dunblane, and was succeeded by "Malise" his son.

VI. Malise, sixth earl, agreed to the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Alexander III., with Eric of Norway, A.D. 1281.

And to the marriage of her daughter, the maiden queen, with Prince Edward of England, in 1290.

Malise was one of Bruce's chosen arbiters in 1292. He married Egidia, daughter of Alexander Cumyn, second Earl of Buchan, and left by her "Malise," his heir, and "*Mary*," married to Sir John Murray of Drumsargard, whose son afterwards became Earl of Strathearn.

VII. Malise, seventh earl, was an adherent of Robert the Bruce. He signed the letter to the Pope in 1320, asserting the independence of Scotland.

Malise appears to have married three times, but left no male heir; his first wife, mother of "the Countess Johanna," being the daughter of Sir John Menteith.

1343. Malise was forfeited for giving the earldom of Strathearn, with his daughter Johanna, to the Earl of Warrene and Surrey, who got a grant of it, besides, from Edward Baliol.

His second wife, "Marjorie," was daughter of "Robert de Muschamp." "*Malisius, Comes de Strathern, uxorem habuit 'Marjorium,' filium Roberti de Muscampo*," &c.—Charter under the Great Seal.

His third wife, according to Sir James Balfour, was Matilda, daughter and heiress of Magnus, Earl of Orkney and Caithness; by whom he had four daughters—of whom the first married William, Earl of Ross, who had, A.D. 1344, from Malise a gift of the earldom of Caithness; but this was not confirmed by David II. until 1362.

Isabel, the second sister, married Sir William Sinclair of Roslin.

The third, "Matilda de Strathern," married Hugh de Arthe, and was mother of Alexander de Arthe.

The fourth married Reginald Cheyne, and was mother of Mariot Cheyne. And these four daughters of Malise, Earl of Strathearn, inherited the earldoms of Orkney and Caithness in right of their mother, daughter and heiress of Earl Magnus, untouched by their father's forfeiture.

Sir Robert Gordon says, "Malisius, Earl of Caithness, Orkney, and Strathearn, gave the earldom of Caithness to William, Earl of Ross, in marriage with his daughter 'Isabel,' which was not confirmed by David II. until 1362; Malise himself being attainted in 1343 by King David, for giving the title of Earl of Strathearn to David's enemy the Earl of Warrenne, who married 'Johanna,' Malise's daughter. It must have been Johanna's *mother*, and not herself, who was the Countess of Strathearn implicated in the plot against King Robert and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, anno 1320.—Fordun, vol. ii. p. 274.

Mariot Cheyne had a fourth part of the earldom of Caithness, on her own May 25, resignation, and a charter of half the barony of Strabrock, as wife of the de- 1366.
ceased John Douglas.

Alexander de Arth, representative of the Earls of Strathearn, inherited and 1375.
resigned the earldom of Caithness to Robert II.

King Robert II. granted two charters to David Stewart (his eldest son by March his second marriage) of "castles and lands in Caithness, as well as in other 21,
parts of the kingdom, which belonged to Alexander de Arthe by hereditary 1374-5.
succession, by reason of Matilda de Strathern, his mother, as well as the *second* and all other claims which Alexander de Arthe had; both on the resignation of the said Alexander."

The earldom of Strathearn, on the forfeiture of Malise, seventh earl, was conferred on his nephew, Sir Maurice Moray, eldest son of "Mary," his sister, married to Sir John Moray of Drumsargard, lord of Clydesdale, who had joined the Steward at the siege of Perth in 1339, and had many charters from David II., and the ward of Walter Cumyn of Rowallan.—Robertson's Index, 40-54.

VIII. Mauritius, Comes de Strathearn by charter from David II., accompanied 1343.
King David into England, and was killed at the battle of Durham, and having 1346.

no issue, the earldom, which was conferred on him and his heirs-male, returned to the crown, he being succeeded in his other estates of Abercairney, &c., by his younger brother, "Sir Alexander" Moray of Abercairney.

1371. The earldom of Strathearn remained in the crown until it was erected into a county palatine by King Robert II., in favour of his eldest son, David, by his second marriage with the Lady Euffame, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Ross. "*Prince David*" thus became "Earl of Strathearn;" and had charters of the barony of Urquhart, with the castle thereof in Inverness-shire, and others in the county of Perth, dated July and August of the said year, anno regni primo.

David Stewart, Earl of Strathearn, left an only child, the Lady Euphemia, designed "Comitessa Palatina de Strathern," who married Sir Patrick, son of Sir Patrick Graham, lord of Kincardine and Dunduff, &c.*

EARL OF MENTEITH AND AIRTH (GRAHAM).

Malise, her son, became, in her right, Earl of Strathearn, and was so designed in 1423; but was dispossessed by King James I. finding it to be a male fee, and created Earl of Menteith. He was one of the hostages for the king, and was not set at liberty until 1453, when his son Alexander was surrendered in his stead. This Alexander died before his father, who lived to a great age, dying A.D. 1492. Malise's second son, Sir John Graham, had from his father a charter of the lands of Kilbride, 9th June 1464; and was ancestor of the Grahams of Gartmore and Netherby.

Malise was succeeded by his grandson, Alexander, who was served heir on the 6th of May 1493, and was the second Earl of Menteith of the Graham family.

1627-30. William, seventh Earl of Menteith of the Graham line, was in great favour with King Charles I., who appointed him one of his Privy Council, Justice-General of Scotland, and President of the Council. He got charters under the Great Seal, "Willielmo, Comiti de Menteith, domino Graham de Kinpont," of the lands and barony of Kilbride and others. He revived the old claim of the family to the earldom of Strathearn, and got himself served and retoured heir to "David, Earl of Stratherne, and Euffame, Countess of Strathern, his daughter." The service is dated 25th May 1630. The king ratified his title to the earldom by a new patent in July 1631, so that he was then designed "Earl of *Strathearn and Menteith*." But his majesty afterwards, discovering that he had

* Sir J. Dalrymple says, In the Chartulary of Inchaffray (Insula Missarum) there are many particulars concerning the old Earls of Strathearn which have escaped genealogists.

been imposed upon, raised a reduction of his right, and he was deprived of both titles; but afterwards was pleased to create him "Earl of Airth," with the precedence of the title of Menteith which his predecessor had obtained from King James I., anno 1428. After this he got a new investiture of the whole earldom of Menteith, confirmed by a charter under the Great Seal, to himself in liferent, and to John, Lord Kinpont, his son and heir, &c., dated 11th January 1644. This John, being a great loyalist, always adhered to the interests of Charles I., and was unfortunately killed in the Marquis of Montrose's camp by a gentleman of the name of Stewart, A.D. 1644. William, his only son, succeeded his grandfather, and was Earl of Airth and Menteith; but having no children, he made a conveyance of his whole estate in favour of James, Marquis—afterwards Duke—of Montrose; and dying without issue, on the 12th of September 1694, the representation of the family devolved upon his nearest heir-male, James Graham of Gartur, descended from the second son of the second earl.

APPENDIX J (p. 234 & 240).

GUISBOROUGH ABBEY.

Guisborough or Gisburne Abbey was founded by Robert de Brus, Lord of Henry I. Skelton, at the instance of Pope Calixtus II., and of Thurston, then Archbishop ^{and} of York. It was the richest priory in Yorkshire, being largely endowed by the ^{Stephen.} founder,—his wife "Agnes" and his son "Adam" consenting. His brother William was the first prior. Robert de Brus dying, was buried at Guisborough; 1141. his brother, "William the Prior," died in 1155, and was buried there also. All this strictly tallies with history and chronology. *This* Robert, second of Skelton, and father of Robert of Annandale, was at the battle of the Standard in 1138, a very aged man, as was also the venerable Archbishop Thurstan, whose reign was from 1114 to 1140. It is therefore evident that Dugdale is mistaken in saying that "Robert de Bruis, a noble knight, coming into England with William the Conqueror, possessing by conquest and other titles of various acquisition the manor and castle of Skelton, as also the lordship of Werkes, Up-Lethem, South Wesby, Bendon, Danby, Levington, Sarum, Tiphthorp, Carleton in Balne, and Thorp, with Herts and Hertnesse, in the bishoprick of Durham, and the lordship of Annandale in Scotland, soon so increased *his* estate, that, *before the end of the Conqueror's reign*, he had no less than forty-three lord-

ships in the East and West Ridings, whereof *Gisburne* in Cleveland being one, he there, through the advice and instance of Pope Calixtus II. and of Thurstan, *then* Archbishop of York, founded a monastery of canons regular of St Augustine, and amply endowed it with lands and possessions, his wife and son Adam joining with him in that pious work."

Thus confusing the grandfather, who came over with the Conqueror in 1066, and died, we are told, soon after, and was succeeded by his son Adelme,* with *Robert*, son of Adelme, who died seventy-five years later.

For many generations Guisborough continued to be the connecting link between the two families of Skelton and Annandale, descending from Adam and Robert, the sons of the founder. There most of them sought their last home and resting-place, with the exception of Robert de Brus, surnamed "the noble," who married Isabel of Scotland, daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, and was buried with his wife at Saltre Abbey, near Stilton, beside her noble father.

The other exception is "Robert de Brus, le viel Counte de Carrick," who is said to have been buried at Holm Cultram in 1295, at which date probably Guisborough was in ruins, for Hemingford, himself a canon of Guisborough, tells us that in 1289 the priory was consumed by fire by the carelessness of a plumber and his workmen, who were engaged in repairing the roof, leaving a charcoal fire in an iron crucible burning in their absence. The lead melted, and the joists of the roof becoming ignited, it fell in, and carried ruin along with it. The chalices, images, plate, &c., of the monastery were fused, and in a fluid state made their way through the floor.

Soon after it was rebuilt and restored on a still grander scale, the choir being larger than any other in Yorkshire, as shown by Paley and Sharpe in their 'Parallels.'

This time Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, first competitor, chiefly contributed to its restoration, and is, therefore, sometimes erroneously called its founder.

A beautiful cenotaph, still existing in a ruinous state, is called the Tomb of the first Competitor, and may most probably have been raised to his memory, and his remains removed there, but by whom it is hard to say. In Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' in 1660, it is given entire, and from it is copied into Mr Drummond's 'Book of the Bruces,' but neither represent half the beauty of its design and workmanship. It appears to have been a cenotaph dedicated to the two families of Skelton and Annandale, five knights in armour being ranged in niches on each side, holding Bruce shields, those on one side having them on their breasts, representing the Lords of Skelton, all bearing the lion rampant, with differences on each. On the other side, the five knights have their shields on their arms,

* Or Adam.

with the armorial bearings of Annandale, each with a difference. On the span-drels of the arches are^a represented the sun, moon, and stars, wafers and chalices, and a shield with a mitre, bishops, priests, and pilgrims.

This fine work of art now stands in a dilapidated state in the porch of the parish church, the Reformation having wrought a more complete ruin than the fire of centuries before. The upper slab is now used as the altar-table. It is of great weight, 9 feet and half an inch long, 3 feet 9 inches wide, and 9 inches thick, and, like the whole of the tomb, is of fine black foreign marble. There was no recumbent figure on the top. The tomb in the centre is 8 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 2 inches deep, the base still attached. The two principal sides with their carving are, as I understand, built into the wall of the porch, but the two ends were awaiting. One of these has been lately recovered from Hardwick Hall, about sixty miles off, where it had been built into an imitation ruin in the grounds about a century ago. It is mentioned in Hutcheson and Surtee's history of the county as having been taken there "with other stones" from this priory. On it is represented the Virgin holding a shield, with the arms of Guisboro' (a lion rampant), and six monks on either side in adoration—which induces the belief that the monument was erected *by the convent* of St Mary of Guisborough and its abbot, as a tribute of gratitude to its founders and benefactors of Skelton and Annandale. At first this seemed puzzling, as the fourth end, as given by Dugdale, represented an aged king arrayed in royal robes, holding a sceptre in his right hand, and in his left supporting a shield with the royal arms of Scotland; above, on two shields, the Bruce arms of Skelton and Annandale; and behind him, two small and youthful figures, also crowned and holding sceptres in their hands. This at first seemed unaccountable, as when Robert Bruce became king he lost all power over Guisborough and his English lands, and the Skelton line had become extinct in Peter de Brus A.D. 1272, when his four sisters became his heirs; but it is here exactly that we find the solution of the difficulty.

Lucia de Brus, one of the co-heiresses, married Sir Marmaduke de Tweng, and had the barony of Daneby, and many other possessions of the family, as her portion, from 1436 to 1452. One of her descendants (probably her grandson), *Thomas de Tweng*, was Prior of Guisborough, and in his day, no doubt, this cenotaph was erected, to commemorate the family connection and the gratitude of the community to their founder and restorer, and perhaps in remembrance also of the kind treatment Sir Marmaduke had received from his cousin the King of the Scots after the battle of Bannockburn.—See p. 240.

The date accounts for the two young kings behind King Robert (his son David II., and his grandson Robert II.) being represented on "the tomb (as

it is called) of the first competitor;" but *this* most interesting bas-relief has been lost sight of, and we only have Dugdale's representation of it. As, however, the present proprietor of the site is carrying on extensive excavations, there are still hopes of its being recovered. Immediately below the steps leading up to the altar a stone coffin was found, which probably contained the remains of the first competitor; over it had stood the beautiful black marble cenotaph described above (some pieces of the marble found there corresponded with parts broken off in its removal). The skeleton found in it was that of a tall and aged man. About 12 feet to the left another stone coffin was found, in which the skeleton was also complete. The tiles scattered among the ruins in this part of the church were of great beauty, bearing the arms of Bruce. About 170 feet from the east window, under solid masses of masonry, apparently portions of the central tower, the workmen came upon three monumental stones, 6 inches thick, 9 feet 6 inches long, by 4 feet 5 inches wide; and at 5 feet from the surface the skeleton of a man was found in an oak coffin, which, according to Dr Merryweather of Guisborough, was 6 feet 8 inches in length. On the skeletons beneath the slabs ancient chain-armour was found in two instances; and on the third, sandals and remains of vestments; on the centre one, probably that of William de Brus, first Prior of Guisborough, was the only inscription, deeply and finely cut in black letter,—

Sit, Pax Eterna, Tecum Victore Superna.

Sir Thomas Chaloner, ambassador to Charles V., and afterwards to King Ferdinand of Spain, obtained a grant of the site at the Dissolution, and, for many years after, these buildings were converted into a stone quarry for the adjacent town and country by order of Henry VIII. The second Sir Thomas used some of the materials to build his house. His descendant, Captain Chaloner, the present possessor, has within the last few years caused extensive excavations to be made amongst the ruins; and according to a paper communicated to the Archæological Society by Mr T. E. Brudenel Bruce, many interesting remains have been found of tombs, besides heraldic tiles of great beauty, quantities of coloured glass and ancient pottery, bosses rich in colour and gold from the roof, portions of the lead, silver, and iron fused together by the fire of 1289, which had found its way beneath the old floor, and debris of all kinds.

APPENDIX K (p. 246 and 277).

ANNANDALE AND CLACKMANNAN.

Chalmers, vol. iii. p. 64, says :—

David I., in his charter of Annandale to Robert de Brus, gave him the “Jus Gladii,” or Law of the Sword, within all the bounds of Annandale ; but when William the Lion confirmed his grandfather’s grant to Robert de Brus, son of the first baron, he reserved to himself the “Pleas of the Crown.”

In “King Robert the Bruce,” *both* were conjoined in one person, and “Robert the King” conferred Annandale upon his nephew, Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray.

The Castle of Lochmaben, the pride and safeguard of the Bruces in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, became a royal fortress on the succession of Robert I., when it was intrusted to a constable, and considered of great importance as low down as the Union. In all warfare on the western borders it was the first place to be attacked by the English, and was several times pillaged and burnt, A.D. 1296. The Cumyn party, then Regents in Baliol’s name, confiscated the estates of all Englishmen holding property in Scotland—neutrals being included in this forfeiture. This Act was put in force against “Le Viel Counte de Carrick,” then with Edward in England, and, in consequence, John Cumyn, Earl of Buchan, took possession of Annandale ; but the fall of Dunbar Castle, and the defeat of all the Cumyn party immediately after, restored Annandale to its rightful lord, and gave him at the same time, probably, an excuse for leaving Edward’s army (who had broken his promise of placing him upon the throne), and of retiring to his own domain.

Lord Robert Clifford, with the men of Carlisle, invaded the district, which 1297. was given up to plunder.

This was in Wallace’s day. “Le Viel Counte de Carrick” then resided on his English estates in Essex.

“Le Jeune Counte,” afterwards king, held the Castle of Ayr, and as far as 1298-99. possible remained neutral ; but Edward suspected him of favouring Wallace, and, turning towards Ayr after the battle of Falkirk, prepared to attack him ; but Bruce burnt the castle and retired, leaving the country bare of provisions. Edward then turned into Annandale, took Bruce’s Castle of Lochmaben, and so departed by the western marches.

1300. Edward again entered Scotland by the west, and took possession of Lochmaben, but his progress was arrested by the intervention of the Pope, "in consequence of the interposition of *certain* Scottish emissaries at the Court of Rome." Of these it had been rumoured that Wallace was the head, and a letter lately discovered and published in the 'Scottish Records' goes far to prove the fact. It is from the King of France, recommending Wallace to his Holiness.

About this time Lochmaben was restored to "*Le Viçl Counte*," who died there in 1305, as his father, the first competitor, had done in 1295—and both were buried at Guisborough.

A stone taken from the ruins of the Castle of *Annan* bore the inscription "Robert de Brus, Counte de Carrick, et Seniour du Val de Annan, 1300."—(Penant's 'Tour').—Probably on its restoration.

William the Lion's charter of Annandale was signed at Lochmaben when the king was a guest to the Robert de Brus of 1183, whose son (probably at that date) was contracted to Ysembel, daughter of King William; and "*Robert de Brus, filio*," signs as a witness. Ysembel's husband died s.p. in 1190, and his brother "*William*" succeeded as Lord of Annandale—Ysembel marrying, secondly, Robert de Ros of Warke Castle, A.D. 1191, and apparently taking to him her dowry of Haltwhistle, and her pretensions to the crown. It is to be remarked that 1183 was also the date of the first Parliament held by William the Lion at Clackmannan, and that he held another there in 1190, the year that his son-in-law, Robert de Brus, died, and another in 1195. It has always been asserted that Clackmannan Tower was founded by a Robert de Brus, "Lord of Annandale," and most probably at this date, when the "*clachan* or *village*" of Annan ceased to give sufficient accommodation to the king's son-in-law.

June 12, Edward I. of England was at Clackmannan on his way to the North, and
1303. probably left in it, as in Airth, an English garrison, in Wallace's time.

That Clackmannan should have become a *royal castle* in the days of King Robert, and of his son David II., is quite natural—as in the case of Lochmaben and Kildrummie, and other Bruce possessions; for whilst the lands and baronies were bestowed upon the sisters and nephews of these kings, the castles, or the right to inhabit them, were probably retained.

Thus, on the 20th June 1830, Sir Reginald More settles his public accounts there for the expenses of the king's household.* He takes credit for 23 chaldrons of wheat, 43 chaldrons of barley, 103 chaldrons of oats—delivered to Simon Peebles, keeper of the Clackmannan granaries—46 hogsheads of wine, 29 carcasses of beeves, 160 muttons, 29 baconum superius, 5748 alecum, 4040

* See 'Accounts of the Chamberlains of Scotland,' published by Mr J. Davidson in 1771.

salmon, 9908 hardfish, 80 gross of eels and a barrel containing 288 large eels, 1 porpoys, also barrels of olive oil and vinegar, 107 lb. of ginger, 118 lb. of zucar, 4 lb. of mace, 101 lb. of gingerbrat, a quantity of cloth, and a variety of clothing.

At the same date "Domino Roberto de Bruys" receives from Sir Reginald More, grand chamberlain, "in partem quingentarum marcarum, sibi concess. per Dominum Regem defunctum de Anno hujies," £40. This, no doubt, was Robert, the natural son of King Robert Bruce, made by him "Lord of Liddesdale" on the forfeiture of the "de Soules" in 1322.—See Morton's 'Annals,' p. 51.

In 1327 Sir Robert de Brus and Sir Reginald More are witnesses to a charter to William de Lindsey in the Glasgow Chartulary. But Sir Robert de Brus, King Robert's son, and *two* other Sir Roberts—one of whom was Edward Bruce's eldest son, "the Earl of Carrick"—fell at Dupplin on the 12th August 1332. The third Sir Robert, killed there, may have been the son of the Lord of Liddesdale (if he had one), who is said to have married the daughter of Alan de Vipont; for had he *left* a son, he would have been "*Lord of Liddesdale*," whereas David Bruce gave that lordship to Sir William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, who was also called "Keeper of Lochmaben Castle" when taken prisoner by the English in 1333—after which date Patrick de Charteris was keeper of Lochmaben, one of the four castles *not* lost to King David before the final defeat of Edward Baliol at Annan in 1334.—'Rotuli Scotiæ,' 8 ed., iii. p. 274.

It is not impossible that Thomas de Bruys, Earl of Carrick, who came with his neighbours out of Kyle and Cunningham to join the Steward in 1337, may have taken Clackmannan from the Baliol party, and afterwards got a grant of it for life; and his wife (if a daughter of the chancellor who was killed at Durham in 1346, when David II. was taken prisoner, and sister of the faithful governor of Lochmaben) would fully deserve her terce; but, as stated before, they had no son, or he must have been Earl of Carrick by King Robert's charter.

Another idea presents itself.

When the two younger brothers of King Robert were made prisoners in Galloway by Duncan M'Dowell, and sent to King Edward at Carlisle, who ordered their barbarous execution, it is said that "*Thomas*," the elder of the two, had married "*Mary Erskine*," whose sister "*Alice*" was the second (some say the first) wife of Walter the Steward, husband of the Princess Marjorie, and that another sister married *Sir William Livingstone*.

Lord Buchan, in his curious letter to the last Lady of Clackmannan (see next

page), says, "*My aunt*" (he must have meant the aunt of his progenitor, as the lady could scarcely have survived for 400 years) "*was the mother of the first Bruce of Clackmannan.*" Was "Roberto de Bruys" of 1359 the son of Thomas Brus and Mary Erskine (who married, secondly, Ingelram de Moreville), fostered, perhaps, at Lochmaben by the de Charteris? The Erskines had a grant of Alloa, adjoining Clackmannan, in 1369.

This might also account for the connection with the Livingstones, which we do not otherwise find, although, afterwards, there were so many intermarriages between the families, that at last they came to be called "The Clannit men of Livingstone and Bruce."—See "Bishop James Bruce" in 1447.

Copy of LORD BUCHAN'S Letter to LADIE CLACKMANNAN, requesting KING ROBERT'S sword and helmet, which had always remained in the family of Clackmannan.

"MADAM,

"I believe Mrs Strange, our worthy friend, has been my advocate with you on the interesting subject of the sword and helmet. Allow me, Madam, personally to advance my pretensions, which I flatter myself you will hold to be superior to any person on this side of the water. First, I have the honour to be as nearly allied to the royal family of Bruce by descent, in the lawful line, as any subject in Europe. Secondly, The mother of the first Bruce of Clackmannan was my aunt (?), and daughter to the Lord Erskines. Thirdly, King Robert Bruce married the Earl of Mar's daughter, and Mar married the king's sister. Fourthly, I have been the means of restoring the study of history and antiquities in Scotland, and of founding a society for preserving the monuments and relics of ancient grandeur. Fifthly, The family of Kennet, which is the chief house of Bruce after yours of Clackmannan, did, in the person of the late excellent Lord Kennet, favour my suit for the sword and helmet. Sixthly, I have felt, and feel, more on these subjects than any other man who has proved the contrary of my assertions by deeds, because there has been always a sad negligence in this country with respect to such venerable remains of antiquity. And seventhly and lastly, Because, if you are good enough to grant my request, I will place them in the museum of a great society in the event of my death, when they will be honoured and preserved for ever, to the honour of your name and character, and the glory of the great king with whom they are connected.

"I entreat of you, Madam, to weigh these pretensions, and to give such atten-

tion to them as you shall think they deserve, and that you will be persuaded that, if I did not act for my country at large, and for a great chartered body of men, I would not pretend to interfere with the family of Elgin on this subject.—I am, Madam, with great esteem, your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "BUCHAN."

"NEW EDINBURGH, 21st April 1785."

Copy of LADY CLACKMANNAN's Answer.

"MY LORD,

"I had the honour of your lordship's letter. The attention you pay to the antiquities of Scotland does your lordship a great deal of honour, and the desire you show of preserving what will keep up the memory of the great King Robert Bruce is highly proper. I am sorry I cannot grant your lordship's request in giving up the sword and helmet, as I intend keeping them during my life, and in the event of my death, they go to those that I think has best right to possess them. Our good friend Lord Kennet, who was a worthy man, makes a prodigious blank in this neighbourhood.—I am, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "KATHERINE BRUCE."

"TOWER OF CLACKMANNAN."

It is quite a fallacy to suppose that either King Robert or David Bruce ever created one of their name "*Earl of Ross*," as Mr Drummond has been led to believe. It never was in their power to do so. William, the third earl of that name, survived King David by two years, and had the earldom confirmed to the "husbands of his daughters," in whose line it continued with various *Stewart* marriages, until forfeited by "John of Isle" in 1476, and annexed to the crown, as may be seen by the notice of the Earls of Ross in the Appendix, p. 548.

On the disgrace of the Douglas faction, Lochmaben, which had long been in their hands, was seized by James II., and continued to be a royal castle down to the days of Queen Mary, who held her last court there after the battle of Langside. James IV. built the great hall, and during the minority of James V. the Maxwells were the keepers.

It is scarcely necessary to advert to the foolish derivation, vulgarly given, for the name of Clackmannan. There is a large stone in the village, where the cross probably stood, on which it is said the king once left his glove, and thence they

derive Clackmannan from *clack*, a stone, and *mannan*, a glove ;* but as it was so called in the days of William the Lion, *he*, or some of his predecessors, must be the king referred to, *not* Robert the Bruce. That he did often reside there in his later days, before his declining strength sought the still greater repose of Cardross, on the Clyde, where shipbuilding and boating employed his leisure hours, until his death on the 7th June 1329, is well known. And precisely twelve months after (June 1330), we find the young King David and his queen Johanna, the sister of Edward III., aged respectively six and eight years, holding their summer court under the shadow of its venerable tower.

APPENDIX L (p. 300).

KINLOSS ABBEY.

(*MS. history written by Johannes de Ferrarius, now in the Harleian Collection.*)

Founded by David I. in 1141, confirmed by a papal bull in 1174. The monks were Cistercians brought from Melrose, called "Monachi Albi," as their dress was white, with a black hood and scapulary.

William the Lion added largely to King David's liberal endowment; and Alexander II., in 1221, gave them the lands of Burgie, &c. &c., in addition to their already large possessions.

1310. King Robert Bruce granted them all the fishings on the Findhorn "from Dunduff to the sea," as also the church of Ellon in Buchan.

It appears from the MS. history of the abbey and abbots of Kinloss, written by "Johannes de Ferrarius," that the buildings were large and excellent, and the furniture ample and splendid, so as to make it a fitting resting-place for the monarchs who visited the plains of Moray.

There were fifty feather-beds in the monastery, and twenty-eight arras-coverings, and two silk-beds.

King Edward I. of England made it his headquarters in 1303, when it

* As an instance of how names were sometimes derived from other and larger possessions of a family, we may instance *Tillibothville*, now Tullibody, as belonging to the De Moravias, lords of *Bothwell* or *Bothville*.

appears from the records that the English army consumed sixty chalders of malt between the 20th September and the 10th October.*

Edward III. was there after raising the siege of Lochindorb, where the Countess of Athol (daughter of Henry de Beaumont) and her young son had been blockaded for eight months by Sir Andrew Moray. It is said that Edward laid waste the rich plain of Moray at that time with fire and sword. 1335.

The fine church was ornamented with paintings, statues, organs, and altars, to St Jerome, St Anne, the Virgin Mary, St Thomas, and other saints.

Robert Reid was Abbot of Kinloss, and was, about that time, appointed also "Commendator of Bewlie." 1530.

He was made Bishop of Orkney, and appears to have held the three benefices until his death in 1558. 1540.

He received seven young men into the priory of Bewlie as monks, and was engaged in preparing materials for building the nave of the church. On returning from Orkney in 1540, he brought five young monks from Bewlie to Kinloss, and placed them under the care of J. Ferrarius, a learned man whom he had brought from France in 1528 to instruct the monks of Kinloss, and settled on him a pension of £40 per annum for life. The death of James V. interrupted the labours of Ferrarius, and having sent back the young monks to Bewlie, he returned to France soon after. 1537.

John de Ferrarius wrote an MS. history of the abbey and abbots of Kinloss. He was first brought from France to teach Latin in Edinburgh, where he resided for three years.

Robert Reid gave £450 to the town of Edinburgh for establishing a "*schola illustris*," which, in 1581, was used to found the college. In Orkney he repaired the cathedral of Kirkwall, and founded a library there. It is said that a part of his collection of books still exists in Kirkwall.

He also began a library for the Edinburgh College.

Although much employed in foreign embassies and State affairs (being President of the College of Justice), he did not neglect any of the concerns of his abbey. Besides keeping the buildings in good repair, he brought from Dieppe in 1540 a gardener, "William Lubais" by name, who planted fruit-trees there and at Old Duffus, some of which existed a very few years ago; and also engrafted fine apples and pears in various orchards and gardens around.

Robert Reid was born at Akynheid in Kinnedar.

* Edward I. addresses a letter to King Philip of France :—

"Dat apud Kinloss in Scotia per consilium," on the 20th day of September; and other writs are dated from thence on the 23d and 25th, when he proceeded to Lochindorb ("Loghindorm," in the Itinerary), by the "Via Regia of Findhorn and Drummynd," mentioned in a charter of Alexander II., and supposed to have been a Roman road.

His father was killed at Flodden field. His mother was Bessy Shenwall (of Shenwall in the Cabrach). His elder brothers, William and John Reid, appear to have held property also in the county Clackmannan.

Bishop Leslie and other historians tell us that, December 1557, nine commissioners were sent from Scotland to witness the marriage of Queen Mary with the Dauphin.

"1. James Betoun, Archbishop of Glasgow; 2. *Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, President of the College of Justice*; 3. James Stewart, Prior of St Andrews—for the Church:

"1. George Leslie, Earl of Rothes; 2. Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassilis; 3. George Setoun, Lord Setoun; and, 4. James Fleming, Lord Fleming—for the nobles; John Erskine, Laird of Dun, Provost of Montrose—for the burgesses, were elected and chosen as ambassadors and commissioners to pass into the realme of France, as representing the three estates, and there to contract the marriage of the most excellent Princess Marie, Queen of Scotland, our sovereign, with Francis, Dolphin and eldest son and apparent heir to Henry, King of France, and to end and solemnise the same."

After due preparation they embarked in the month of February from Leith, and sailed "through the seas with great storms and tempestuous winds, till they landed in France. But by the way, one of their ships laden with horses, and all the noblemen's coffers and other riches, was lost before St Ebbishead in the mouth of the Firth of Scotland; and another ship, with great riches and many gentlemen, with the captain thereof, called Wattertoun, was lost likewise in Boulogne roads, after the Earl of Rothes and Bishop of Orkney, with a few others, were put forth of the same."

"On the xxth day of April 1558 the fiançialles of the young Prince Francis and Marie, Queen-Heritrix of Scotland, took place; and upon the next Sunday, the xxiiij of April, the marriage was solemnised and completed by the Cardinal de Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen.

"When the ambassadors and commissioners of Scotland had tarried in the Court of France till the month of August, they took their leave of the king, the queen, their own sovereign, and all the nobility, being richly rewarded and '*propyned*' with the cupboards of silver, partlie gilt, of sundry sorts, to every one of them; and being honourably dismissed, taking their journey from Paris, they came to Dieppe about the end of the said month, where suddenly all the principal noblemen and prelates became sick; and shortly after, the most of them, being the wisest and most vaillant of the realm, deceased there, to the great hurt of the commonwealth. *For the Bishop of Orkney, President of the College of Justice*, of singular wit, judgment, *guid learning and life*, with long

August
1558.

experience, died in Dieppe on the *sixth* of September. The Earl of Rothes, a wise nobleman and counsellor, died the *ixth* November. The Earl of Cassillis, Lord Treasurer of Scotland, who was both wise and vaillant, died there the *xiii* of the same month; and my Lord Fleming, a young nobleman of good courage and judgment, died at Paris the *xvii* day of September *thereafter*."

By *Knox* these deaths were attributed to poison; "for whether," says he, "it was by an Italian posset, or French '*fegges*,' or by the potage of their potingar (he was a Frenchman), these departed this life:—the Earl of Cassillis, the Earl of Rothes, Lord Fleming, and the Bishop of Orkney, *whose end was evil, according to his life*, for, perceiving his sickness to increase, he caused make his bed betwixt his two coffers, some said *upon them*—such was *his* god. The gold that therein was enclosed, that he could not depart therefrom so long as memory could serve him"!!! "The Lord James, the Prior of St Andrews, had, by all appearance, a less dangerous attack, for thereof to this day his stomach does testify; but God preserved him for a *better* purpose." Some shrewdly suspect that the whole was a plot contrived by himself to take competitors out of his way, and to make the French alliance odious in Scotland.

A French account says of *Robert Reid*:—"Suivant un mémoire de famille qui se trouve entre les mains d'un habitant de Chatellerault, allié au famille '*Blacvod*'—Blaccader of Tulliallan—Robert Reid décédé à Dieppe le 15 Septembre 1558, fut inhumé dans la chapelle de St André, dite chapelle des Ecosseis, de l'église St Jacques. On trouve un éloge de Robert Reid, par Adam Elder, moine de l'Abbaye de Kinloss, dans un volume rare imprimé à Paris, sous ce titre, *Adami Senioris, Scoti Monachi, Ordinis Cisterciensis, Monasterii Kinlossiensis, ad Reverendum in Christo Patrem ac dominum Robertum Reid, Orchardum præsulum strenæ, sive conciones capitulares Parisiis 1558, in 4to.*"*

Probably these coffers of plate and gold came into the possession of Robert Reid's nephew, Lord Bruce of Kinloss, for in the library of Auchinleck there is "a particular inventory of the movabilis stuff, plate, and plenishing of Lord Kinloss's house, at the time he left Scotland for England."

The plate amounted to the large sum of 467½ ounces. Turkey carpets and rugs for the table, &c., prove that comfort was not neglected.

In an old MS. letter, written by a Cumyn of Ernside, in which a marriage is recorded between Alexander Cumyn and Egidia Blaccader, daughter of Blaccader of Tulliallan, whose wife was a sister of Bishop Reid, and Egidia therefore his niece, it is said that the bishop's possessions were so great, that "he

* D. Irving, '*Lives of Scottish Writers*,' vol. i. p. 161-62.

could ride out of Orkney to England and sleep every night in his own bed, except one ;" "and for his wit, courage, and virtue, was directed ambassador to sundry nations."

P. 297.

20th July 1533.—CHARTER of PROTECTION, by KING JAMES V., to Mr EDWARD BRUCE, son of Sir DAVID BRUCE of Clackmannan, knight, dated at Edinburgh as above. This Charter is so important that we give a copy :—

"Jacobus, Dei gratia Rex Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus suis ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis nos dilectum nostrum magistrum Edwardum Brus, filium Davidis Brus de Clakmanan, militis, terras suas, homines suos et universas eorundem possessiones ac omnia bona sua mobilia et immobilia sub firma pace et protectione nostra juste suscepisse. Quare firmiter inhibemus ne quis eis malum, molestiam, injuriam, seu gravamen aliquod inferre presumat injuste, super nostram plenariam forisfacturam ; presentibus post annum minime valituris. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras sibi fieri fecimus patentes.—Apud Edinburgh, undecimo die mensis Julii, Anno regni nostri vicesimo.

"Protectio pro Magistro Edwardo Brus."

The year in which this charter is dated, the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Abbot of Kinloss, James Colville of Easter Wemyss, and Sir Andrew Otterburn, were despatched to the English court to conclude a peace which was to last during the lives of Henry and James V., and to continue for a year after the death of the first deceased. Edward Bruce probably was one of this commission.

1558. From these documents it appears that *Walter Reid* succeeded his uncle as Abbot of Kinloss. Adam Eldar (Adami Senioris), one of the monks, writes that he was still a student in Paris for some years after he received the obedience of the monks. He appears to have been merely a lay abbot, A.D. 1583. He conveyed certain of the lands of the abbey (Muirtown, &c.), as well as all the fishings of the Findhorn, from Dunduff to the sea (the gift to the abbey of King Robert the Bruce), to Anthony Bruce of Waltoun, burgess of Stirling, in trust for Margaret Collace, his wife, and their heirs.

1589. A lawsuit arose betwixt Margaret Collace and Edward Bruce (nephew of Robert, Bishop of Orkney), in which Edward is styled "ane of the Commissaries of Edinburgh," and afterwards "Commendator and Lord of Erection of the Abbey of Kinloss." This lawsuit was afterwards referred to the arbitration of

1606. Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston, who gave it in favour of Margaret Collace, then designed of Muirtown, who afterwards conveyed all her rights therein to

the said Edward Bruce, who by that time had been created Lord Bruce of Kinloss.

The town of Forres rented some of these salmon-fishings from the Abbey, and receipts for the payments of these feu-duties still exist.

In 1560, James Bruce, subsellar, grants receipt, and Den William Forsyth signs as sub-prior, or superior of Kinloss.

The receipt runs :—" Us Waltyr Hedon, Aboit and Lord of Kinloss, by the provisione of God." It is dated at the place of Kinloss, 9th November 1575, before 'Patrick Dunbar of Eist Grange,' Alexander Band, ane of the convent, 'Robert Bruce, my servand,' and 'Gawin Dunbar, Archdean of Moray.'"

Margaret Collace, wife of Walter the Abbot, signs. 1585.

William Bruce, brother-german and factor to my Lord Abbot of Kinloss ; Adam Dundas of Wyndihills, and Thomas Dundas, his brother, frequently sign as witnesses. 1589.

Katherine Reid (Dunbar) resigns all her lands to Mr Thomas Dunbar, her eldest lawful son, now Dean of Moray, and to his heirs-male, who were in possession until 1830. 1606.

From a torn paper, printed in Edinburgh 1st January 1589—

"Mr Edward Bruce, now Abbot of Kinloss, ane of the commissioners of Edinburgh, for himself, and also the said Mr Edward, as taking burden on himself for Alexander Brus of Airth, Robert Bruce of Sheriffmiln, James Reid, father-brother to David Reid of Aitkenhead, *cautioners*."

Copy Ex. Reg. CONTRACT of MARRIAGE betwixt ALEXANDER, Dean of Moray, and CATHERINE REID, dated 10th February 1561. Reg. 17th August 1561.

"At Edin^r, ye tent day of Februar, ye zeir of God, Jai Ve. lxi. yeires. Ap-poyntit, aggreit and finallie contractit betwixt honourable persons—that is to say, Walter, Abbot of Kinloss, and Euphame Dundas, relict of Umq^{le} Alexander Adamson, burgess of Edin^r for thairselves, and for Catherine Reid, Dochter to the said Euphame, and Sister German to the said Abbot on yat ane pairt—And Maister Alexander Dunbar of West Grange on yat ry pairt—That is to say, the said Maister Alex^r. Dunbar will God willing take to his Spoussit-wiff the said Catherine Reid, and sall solemnizat mariage with hir in the face of ye holie congregation, betwix this and the Fest of Whitsunday next to cum. And at the contracting of the said m^{ri}age, or before ye said Abbot sall infest or cause to be infest sufficiently, ye said Cathe in feu-ferm, and ye

heirs of her, and the said Alex. Dunbar, whom failing, to the said Cath^{is} heirs quhatsumever, in all and haill ye lands of ye West Grange, with ye milne thereof lyand in the barony of Kinloss, and sherifdom of Elgyne, to be holden of the Abbot and convent yroff, and sall give to the said Mr Alex^r. in name of tocher at the contracting of the said m^riage ye sum of five hunder merks, and sicklyk, ye said Euphame sall giff to the said Mr Alex^r. in name of Tocher gude with the said Cath^e the sum of five hunder merks, and yat by, after the sum of one thousand merks, the quilk ye said Catherine hes siller in her awin hand, left to tocher by ane reverend Fader in God, umq^{ll} Robert, bischopp of Orkney, her Fader-brither; w^{lk} haill sommes, extending alltogedder to ye sowme of twa thousand merks, sall be gevin as said to the said Mr Alexander, to be laid upon land to the proffit and utilitie of the said Alex^r. and Catharine in all goodlie and possible heast, &c., &c."

1589. CHARTER from ALEXANDER DUNBAR, Dean of Moray, and CATHERINE REID, in favour of THOMAS DUNBAR, their eldest son, and his heirs—whom failing, to ROBERT, their second son—of the lands of West Grange and Little Penick.

Dec. 19, 1599. "To Robert Dunbar, their second son and substitute, of the lands of Burgie. Discharges by F. William Bruice, brother german to ane venerabill man Mr Edwart Bruice, Commendator of Kinloss, and ane of the Lordis of Or Soverane Lordis Session grantes me to have resauvit fra ane honorabil woman, Kathe Reid of Bourgie, the sowme of ane hundred merks fyve schellings and twa pennies, in name and behalf of the said Mr Edwartt, Abbot of Kinloss, in complete payment of the feu maills for the term of Whitsunday and Mertmass bypast, of ye towns and lands of Burgie, Lawrenstown, Boigharborie, West Grange, &c., &c., &c.

"Exoneris, q^t claimis and dischargis ye said Kathe, her aires and assigneys, for me, the said Mr Edwartt my brother, for now and ever, by this my acquittance, subscribit be my hand att Kinloss, ye nineteen day of December, Jai ve four-scoir and nineteen yeires, before these witnesses—

"ALEXANDER DUNBAR, Chaunter.

"ROBERT DUNBAR of Burgie.

"THOMAS BROWN, Kynloss, and

"JOHN BELL and ALEXANDER, servitors to the said William.

"Signed WILLIAM BRUCE, Factour and Chalmourer, with my hand."

Alexander Brodie, first of Lethen, second son of David Brodie of Brodie, 1641. signs, at Forres, as Chamberlain to my Lord Bruce of Kinloss.

Alexander Brodie was born in 1587; died in 1672. He bought Pitgaveny, East Grange, and Lethen, circa 1630-4. His second wife was "Margaret, daughter of" James Clerk of Balbirnie, in Fife, and niece of Magdalen Clerk, wife of the first Lord Bruce of Kinloss. Between 1643 and 1647 Alexander Brodie bought the lands and feu-duties of Kinloss from Thomas Bruce, second son of Edward, first Lord Bruce of Kinloss, who succeeded his brother Edward as third Lord of Kinloss in 1316, and was created Earl of Elgin in 1633.

The buildings were pretty entire, except the great tower, until 1650, when this Alexander Brodie sold the materials to build the citadel of Inverness, the remainder being built into a granary and other farm offices by his descendant, also "Alexander Brodie."

In the year 1652, William Campbell, minister of Alves, Commissioner for the Presbytery of Elgin to the brethren of Forres, represented that "The Chapter House of the Abbey of Kinloss hath been, since the Reformation, a place for preaching the word, celebrating the sacraments and marriage, and that by a condescendence between Alexander Brodie of Lethen, and the English garrison at Inverness, the fabric of the Abbey is taken down, for building their citadel, save this place of worship, and those who have the charge to transport the stone, have it in command to take *that* also down; therefore the brethren at Elgin earnestly desire that the presbytery lay to heart what the sequel will be, seeing, by the unanimous consent of the whole heritors of the adjacent lands, and of all the members of presbytery of Elgin and Forres, it is agreed that there shall be a church and special parish erected for Kinloss, and the people thereabouts, who are now almost without the means of the gospel."

In answer, Mr Brodie declared, "That it was against his will that these stones were taken away, and he agreed to build a manse and church with the money he received for the stones of the Abbey, and also to give a sufficient glebe off the lands of Kinloss."

SALMON-FISHINGS OF THE FINDHORN.

The earliest grant of which there is any known record of these fishings is contained in a charter dated 1st July 1300, by King Robert Bruce to the Abbot and Convent of Kinloss, "Deo et Beatæ Mariæ et Abbati et Monachis de Kinloss, totam piscarium aquæ de Findhorn." July, 1300.

And a second grant by the same monarch, dated May 2, 1312.

"Deo et Beatæ Mariæ, et Abbati et Monachis de Kinloss, ibidem deo servientibus, et in perpetuum servituris, omnes illas terras donationes et possessiones suas quas habent cum collationibus principum regum Scotiæ predecessorum. Nostrorum vel aliorum fidelium oblationibus infra Moraviam et infra vice comitatum de Banff et terras suas ac burgagia ubicunque in burgis nostris vel alibi ubicunque locorum infra regnum nostrum Scotiæ constituta, cum Silvis, aquis, molendinis, *Piscationibus*, venationibus, et omnibus aliis commoditatibus."

Oct. 12, The above two charters of King Robert Bruce are recited *verbatim*, and confirmed in a charter granted by James I.
1424.

Dec. 28, A charter of confirmation was granted by James IV., in the following terms.
1505. "Sciates nos quondam chartam donationis et concessionis factum per quand nobilissimum nostrum progenitorem regem Robertum Bruce, cujus animæ propitiatur Deus altissimus et Beatæ Mariæ ac venerabili in Christo, Patri et religiosi viris Abbati et conventui monasterii nostri di Kinloss et successoribus suis, de tota piscaria aquæ di Findhorn, in liberum, puram, et perpetuam elemosynam di mandato nostro visam, et sub hac forma Robertus, &c. Sciates nos divinæ caritatis intuitu, &c., dedisse Deo et Bætæ Mariæ et Abbati et Monachis Monasterii de Kinloss *totam piscarium aquæ de Findhorn* tenend, &c. Datum apud Aberdeen. Anno regni nostro quarto, quam quidam cartam, &c., nos, &c., ratificavimus, &c., excepta piscaria de lie Sluy Pule; et reservatis tribus lastis Salmonum de piscariis dictæ aquæ nobis et successoribus nostris per diet: Abbatem et conventum annuatem persolvend una cum orationum suffragiis devotarum dictorum Abbatis et Conventus et successorum suorum. In cujus rei, &c."

In the year 1469 the burgh of Forres got a renewal of their corporation charter. This charter proceeds upon the recital that the original charter and records had been lost in the trouble of the times.

In this charter they contrived to obtain, along with the subjects they formerly held, a grant of the salmon-fishings in the Findhorn, both in the fresh and salt water.

"A Dunduff, usque ad lie de Findhorn."

This part of the grant must have been obtained surreptitiously, as the Crown, as already shown, had been previously divested of these fishings.

The grant last mentioned caused disputes and lawsuits betwixt the burgh and the convent, and appears to have led to the said additional charter of confirmation being obtained by the convent on the 28th Dec. 1505.

Shortly after that date, in February 1505 (the year then began in March 28th), the burgh entered into a contract with the abbot and convent, by which

they disclaimed their pretended right to the fishings under the charter, and took from the convent a feu-right of part of them, *to be holden* of the convent for payment of a feu-duty.

By this contract the community of Forres, together with Alexander Urquhart of Burdsyards, and William Wiseman, who had claimed some interest in the fishings “finally renuncis quit claims and overgives all right, title, and claim of right that the burgesses and community of Forres, Alexander Urquhart and William Wiseman, had, has, and claimit to have, in times bygone, in or to the said fishings of the Water of Findhorn, by and within the sheriffdom of Forres, by reason of takks, assedations, heritage, or any other ways, before the day of the date thereof.

“On the other part the said abbot and convent sall set, and for the tenor hereof, for them and their successoris heritably setts in feu farm to the said burgesses and community of Forres, and to their successors, and to the said William Wiseman and their heirs, All and Haill the fishings of the fresh water of the Findhorn, by and within the said sheriffdom runnand down frae the Sluy Pool to the entering of the Burn of Masset, in the sea under the lands of the West Grange of Kinloss, together with all the fishings of the west side of the salt water of Findhorn to the great sea—that is to say, to the said Alexander Urquhart aught-sixtene parts of the fishings of the said haill freshe water of Findhorn, and to the said William Wiseman one-sixtene part of the said fresh water fishing, togidder with his part of the salt water fishing on the said *west* side of Findhorn partlike as the said burgesses have of the samen; and to the burgesses and community of Forres all the remanent of the fishings of Findhorn above exprimit, baith in fresh water and salt, excepting and reserving to the said abbot and convent, and their successors, *All and Haill* the fishings of the *east* side of the said salt water of Findhorne, fra the entering of the said Burn of Masset runnand thro’ the West Grange of Kinloss to the bank of Findhorne, enterand in the great sea with ebb and flude, baith to the east and west sides, and within all parts of the said salt water, and on the sand-beds within the same.”

It appears to have been agreed that a lawsuit then going on between March the parties should be terminated by decree in favour of the convent, ², 1505. and the infeftments to be made and the burgh’s charter annulled forty days thereafter.

In another charter granted to the convent by King James IV. in 1512, it is narrated that the said convent had been infefted by King Robert Bruce. “Ab antiquo de tota piscaria aquæ de Findhorn in liberam, puram, et perpetuam eleemosynam, &c. &c., et quod dicti abbas et conventus et predecessores sui

fuerunt in pacifica possessione dictæ piscariæ vigore præfatæ infeudationis ultra memoriam hominum." And this charter, after mentioning the lawsuit, proceeds :—

"Etfinita lite jureque ipsius piscariæ per decretum dictorum consilii nostra dominorum prefatis abbati et conventui tanquam ultimus legitimis possessoribus ejusdem adplegium dimisimus per ipsos et eorum successeres, secundum tenorem præfatæ infeudationis suæ possidendum, et diende nos ipsam infeudationem ratificavimus, approbavimus, et per cartam nostram confirmationes in majora forma sub sigillo nostro magno eis desuper confect. Reservando nobis in eadem nostra carta tres lastas salmonin nobis." The King then proceeds, on the narrative of this reserved duty never having been in use to be claimed, to discharge the abbot and convent thereof in all time coming.

In 1539 another feu-charter was given by the convent to the burgh, partly in implement of that of 1505, and partly under a new arrangement, the object of which seemed to be to regulate the extent to which each party should be entitled to fish, with fair consideration to the interest of the others ; but the whole *property* of the fishing upon the east side of the river remained undiminished in the abbot and the convent. The effect, however, of the said provisions has been to introduce into the subsequent transmissions and conveyances a change in the description of the same, whereby the particular names of the said stells have superseded the whole extent of the fishings reserved by the abbot and convent on the east side of the river Findhorn.

1583. In the year 1583 the abbot conveyed the said fishings (under reversion) to Anthony Bruce (of Waltoun), burgess of Stirling, and the said Anthony Bruce obtained a charter of confirmation of the same under the Great Seal, dated August 23, 1583.

By this charter is granted to him, under the new description, "Omnes et singulas nostras salmonum piscarias de lie stellis et zaris subtus specificat super aequam de Findhorn—viz., lie '*Durstail*,' duas lie Staillis de lie '*Cruik*,' Out-Water-stell, et Monk-stell, lie Muckle-zair, Middle-zair, et Cultyr, cum lie Fishehouses et Corff-houses, tam de zaires quam die stailles et cæteris domibus ibidem ædificatis," &c. &c.

Anthony Bruce's interest, however, under the last-mentioned charter, was only as trustee for Margaret Collace, the abbot's wife, and their heirs ; and his declaration of trust (in a contract made for that purpose) was consigned to a second trustee, "Patrick Dunbar," who, after the abbot's death, conveyed the trust to the widow and her children.

1587. Mr Edward Bruce, one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh (afterwards Com-mendator and Lord of Erection of the Abbey of Kinloss), obtained a charter

under the Great Seal, dated 17th October 1587, proceeding upon a recital of the general Act of Annexation of Kirk-lands to the Crown, and of the Act immediately following—viz., 1587, ch. 30—enabling his Majesty to grant feus of these kirk-lands, whereby his Majesty grants to him, the said Edward Bruce, “Totas et integras salmonum piscationes de lie stell et yairs supra aequa de Findhorn, quæ olim ad monasterium nostrum de Kinloss, tanquam pars patrimonii ejusd. pertinuerunt et nunc in manibus nostris existen. per dissolutionem earund. a dicto manasterio et annexationem dictæ nostro coronæ—viz., piscationum de Monkstell, Outwaterstell, Durstell, Cauldstell, Ourstell, lie Meikle Yair, lie Little Yair, et Culyr or Cvlyair, una cum domibus piscatoriis lie fish-houses, &c., et aliis pertinen. quibuscunque ad dict salmonum piscationis spectan et pertinen. solitis et consuetis.”

And after the reddendo there is the following clause: “Præterea fecimus, constituimus, et ordinamus præfatum Magistrum Edwardum et suos antedict. donotarios et assignatos nostros in et ad quodcunque jus et titulum reversionis promissæ reversionis sui alius cujuscunque regressus conditionis redemptionis, resignationis aut renunciationis per ‘Antonium Bruce, burgensum de Striveling,’ ‘Georgium Dunbar de Alnes,’ Patricium Dunbar de Blairis, seu alium quemcunque feude-firmarium jus aliquodque ad predict. salmonum piscationis habend. seu pretendend. confut. commendatoriis prædicti monasterii sive contractu obligatione reversione aut alio quovis modo existerunt.”

These grants produced a lawsuit betwixt Edward Bruce and Margaret Collace, which was referred to arbitration, and determined by an award of Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston, dated 19th March 1589. By this award Margaret Collace was found “to have right to the town and lands of Findhorn, with the fishing thereof, and their pertinents, all lying within the sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres; and sicklike to the salmon-fishings upon the water of Findhorn, as well as the stells and yairs pertaining to the said abbey, with the woods, akeris, and parks thereof, whilk were set in feu to Anthony Bruce, Bss. of Sg., under reversion contained in the contract made thereupon; to the whilk contract, and reversion therein contained, the same umquhile commendator made and constitute Patrick Dunbar of Blairvie his cessioner and assignee, *as ane under persone*, to the effect he might thereafter transfer the right thereof in the said Margaret and her heirs, whilk the said Patrick has done; and that the said Margaret is just and righteous possessor of the same, and that she has the right and title of the foresaid reversiones and fischings foresaids, notwithstanding of all that the said Mr Edward’s richts and reversiones alledgit in the contrary.” And Edward Bruce was decerned “to transfer to her and her aires aforesaid in competent manner all richt and title whilk he has, or may pretend,

to the said fishings, &c., by the richts and titles acquirit by him by infeftments and disposition of our sovereign lord, made to him thereof," &c. &c.

1589. And the decret afterwards proceeds :—

"And albeit we have decerned the right of the aforesaid fishings to appertain to the said Margaret and her aires forsaid, in manner above specified, nevertheless, for the amitie, love, and friendship to stand betwixt the said Margaret and Mr Edward, and for his help, assistance, and fortification, and supply to be made to the said Margaret and her heirs aforesaid, and for the sum of money underwritten to be paid by the said Edward to her, to be employed in the manner following, &c. &c. We decern the said Margaret to transfer her right and title which she has to the said salmon-fishings called *the Stells* upon the water of Findhorn—viz., 'the Out-Water Stell,' Monkstell, Eves-stell, Durstell, and Caldstell—to the person of the said Mr Edward, his heirs and assignees by alienation."

1608. The said Margaret Collace, therein designated of Muirtown, near Findhorn, in terms of the said award, upon the 16th April 1608, executed a procuratory for resigning *ad remanentiam* "all and sundry my salmon-fishings upon the water of Findhorn called the stells, &c., with their pertinents, together with all right, interest, title, claim of property, and possession whilk I may have, or predecessors or successors had or may have claim, or anyways pretend to have thereto in time coming, into the hands of the said noble lord, '*Edward Bruce of Kinloss,*'" &c. &c. &c.

May 3, 1608. The said abbacy of Kinloss and pertinents thereto belonging, "*totas et integras terras et baronium de Kinloss, &c., terras de Muirtown et acres earundem, &c., villam de Findhorn, cum salmonum piscariis super aqua de Findhorn,*" &c. &c., annexed to the Crown by the General Annexation Act, and afterwards dissolved by Act of Parliament, were by another royal charter, dated May 3, 1608, erected into a temporal lordship, and granted to the said Edward Bruce, then created "Lord Bruce of Kinloss," and to his heirs-male; whom failing, to his heirs whomsoever.

The said fishings of the said five transferable stells and pertinents were continued afterwards, to be conveyed and transmitted by the same terms of description, and by reference to the ancient rights of the said Abbey of Kinloss, with the privileges and pertinents of the same.

20th December 1821-2, William Young, Esq. of Burghead, had a crown charter of the same.

1856. The said five stells were afterwards disposed in several "pro diviso parts," *nine*-twelfths of which parts have come by regular progress to be vested in William Hogarth, as proprietor thereof, *two*-twelfth parts in James Arbuthnot

of Kinmundy as proprietor thereof, and one-twelfth part in James Arbuthnot of Invernettie, also as proprietor of the same.

The original localities of the five transferable stells cannot now be identified ; but the salmon-fishings of the same extend to and comprehend the whole of the salmon-fishings granted to the said abbey under the ancient royal charters and rights thereof, to the said "Edward Lord Bruce," "Thomas, Earl of Elgin," and "Alexander Brodie of Lethen," and their successors, *in so far as not disposed or conveyed away by them to other parties.*

In an action betwixt "Sir William Dunbar of Durn" and "Sir Alexander 1760-65 Grant," Barts., and Captain Duncan Urquhart and Alexander Tulloch, Esq., on the one side, and the said Alexander Brodie of Lethen, lessor, and John Burnet and Alexander Watson, lessees of the salmon-fisheries belonging to the said Alexander Brodie, on the other side, in which actions, by interlocutor of 14th February 1760, it was, *inter alia*, found and declared, that the said Alexander Brodie, under the titles above narrated, had right to the five stells on the east side of the river Findhorn, and that he had the *only* right to fish the said sandbanks on the east side at all times of the tide, and also on the west side during the ebbing of the tide.—Affirmed by the House of Lords on 15th February 1765.

In the year 1776, Lieut.-Colonel Hector Monro of Novar, then proprietor of the lands and barony of Muirtown, which were anciently a part of the lands and pertinents of the said Abbey of Kinloss, presented two memorials to the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, setting forth that he was proprietor of the said lands and barony of Muirtown, and that the same lay adjacent to the said river Findhorn and to the sea-coast, and praying for a grant of the salmon-fisheries *ex adverso* of his said lands. Their Lordships remitted these memorials to the Barons of Exchequer for Scotland, who made an investigation into the subject of the claim of the said Colonel Monro, and into the rights of the others interested, the result of which was that Colonel Monro himself passed from his claim of a grant of salmon-fishing in the mouth of the river, and the Barons, on 27th July 1778, reported that, having regard to the pursuer's predecessors and others interested, no grant could be made to Colonel Monro on the west side within 1170 yards from a pole proposed to have been placed within the mouth of the said river at its centre, and that no grant should be made to him on the east side, within 3975 yards from the said pole.

On or about the 1st of February last, being the commencement of the salmon-fishing season, Hugh Andrew Monro, Esq., the present defender, by himself, his factor, servants, and others, did wrongfully, violently, and illegally, and without any right or title, intrude into, take possession, and usurp the pursuer's 1856.

salmon-fishings, &c. &c., for which a claim of £500 damages is made by William Hogarth, Esq., and others.

LORDSHIP AND BARONY OF KINLOSS.

1608. The general right to the *whole* fishings granted and possessed by the Abbey under the original charter of 1309, as well as the particular feu-right of 1583, of the five transferable stell fishings, with the pertinents, granted to Anthony Bruce, as trustee for Margaret Collace, were now vested in the person of the said Edward, Lord Bruce of Kinloss.

Served
heir,
1611. The said Edward, first Lord Bruce, was succeeded by his son Edward, second Lord Bruce, as his heir in the lordship and barony.

The said Edward, second Lord Bruce, was succeeded by his brother-german, "Thomas, Lord Bruce of Kinloss," afterwards created Earl of Elgin, A.D. 1633. Died 1663.

The said Thomas, Earl of Elgin, sold the said abbey, lands, and estates by contract of date 7th September and 6th October 1643, registered 25th April 1647, to Alexander Brodie of Lethen, second son of David Brodie of Brodie; and this contract was followed by a charter under the Great Seal, of date 26th February 1644, in favour of the said Alexander Brodie, with a new erection of the lands, fishings, and others into a barony, call the Barony of Kinloss.

Another charter also appears, of date 30th July 1647, upon the resignation of Lethen himself, and bears to be warranted by a special act of the Convention of Estates, because his writs had been abstracted and taken away by the rebels.

The rights granted by the said charter descended, and were taken up in regular progress by the heirs and successors of the said Alexander Brodie; and in the year 1751 were held by Alexander Brodie after-mentioned, then of Lethen.

The last-mentioned Alexander Brodie, then of Lethen, obtained a charter of resignation and confirmation under the Great Seal, dated 26th July 1751, whereby his Majesty granted to him and his heirs, "*Totas et integras et omnes et singulas terras baronias, villas tenementa annuos reditis piscationis, molen-dina, &c. &c. 'postea mentionat;'*" after which all lands, fishings, and pertinents are recapitulated.

Margaret Collace or Colless was apparently the daughter of "Elizabeth Bruce" by her second marriage with Robert Colless of Bonnymoon.

Elizabeth Bruce was the daughter of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan, and sister of Edward, first Lord Bruce of Kinloss. Her first husband was Alexander Dundas of Fingask, who was killed at the battle of Pinkie in 1547 (see retour

in county Perth). Her son, "Archibald Douglas Dundas," succeeded his father—see transactions which he enters into with his mother, "Elizabeth Bruce," with consent of her second husband, Robert Colless of Bonnymoon. There are also deeds extant in which she calls "Archibald Dundas, Laird of Fingask," her eldest son; and also mentions another son, "*Robert*," and a third son, "*Thomas*," who were the Dundases of Findhorn and Windyhill in 1557-1580.

There is a charter by "Walter, Abbot of Kinloss," in which he disposes to Sept. 12, "Euphame Dundas" their lands of Strathilly for £2000 Scots, and £5, 10s. 1559. annual rent, to be holden of the abbot and said convent.

Euphame Dundas, it appears, was the abbot's mother, as in the marriage contract of Catharine Reid, her dochter, SHE is called "sister-german" to the said Abbot.

It is curious to find Bruce of Clackmnnan, Dundas of Fingask, and Anthony Bruce of Waltoun, burgess of Stirling, and ancestor of the Comtes de Bruce in France, all interested in Kinloss and the fishings of the Findhorn.

APPENDIX M (p. 302).

SIR GEORGE BRUCE OF CARNOCK, COUNTY FIFE.

Sir George Bruce of Carnock, third son of Sir Edward Bruce by Alison Reid, married Euffame, daughter of Archibald Primrose, ancestor of the Earls of Roseberry, by whom he had three sons—first, George of Carnock; second, Alexander of Alva; third, Robert of Broomhall.

In 1604 Sir George Bruce settled at Culross, which he bought from Sir A. Lindsay, and carried on extensive coalworks there. He was M.P. for Culross, and was knighted by James VI., and appointed one of the commissioners to treat of the Union with England. It is recorded that in 1617 King James visited Culross and descended one of the coal-shafts, of which the workings were carried on under the sea. His majesty was much alarmed, on being drawn up, to find himself on a small island surrounded by the waves, but was reassured by his courteous host pointing to an elegant pinnacle, moored in readiness to carry him ashore. The king afterwards dined with Sir George, and some glasses used on that occasion are still preserved. Some foreign vessels, trading

for coal and salt, having been wrecked on the sunken rocks in the Frith of Forth, Sir George Bruce proposed to erect beacons on those dangerous points, on condition of being reimbursed by a small toll on the foreign vessels on the Forth the following year ; but to this the other coal proprietors objected. Some years later (in 1635) the first beacon-light on the Scottish coast was put up on the Isle of May by Alexander Cunningham of Barns. It burnt 380 tons of Wemyss coal yearly. Vessels paid twopence per ton.

George, son and heir of Sir George, married Mary, daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield, Bart., by whom he had two sons and three daughters—first, Edward ; second, Alexander, in whom his line ended—first and second Earls of Kincardine.

In 1664 Earl Alexander of Kincardine bought from Robert, Earl of Elgin and Ailesbury, the house or abbey of Culross, with six or seven acres of land adjoining, the Earl of Elgin having been in possession of the same for above forty years. The Earl of Kincardine was infest in 1665, and held it until 1680, and after him his countess, Veronica, until 1702, and her son until his death. They were all buried in the chapel adjoining the church of Culross—*ante* 1705. Afterwards “Lady Mary,” eldest daughter of the earl, and her husband, “Cochrane of Ochiltree,” held possession ; and after several generations it was acquired by Sir Robert Preston of Valleyfield, who left it by will to the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.

P. 305.

COPIE of a LETTER to be sent to the EARL OF AILESBUURY by the Tutors
(Guardians) of the young Earl of Kincardine.

1743. “MY LORD,—As Mr Mackie brought your Lops. most obliging Letter to the Countess of Kincardine, concerning your kinsman, the Earl of Kincardine, and his affairs, We, who by his father’s will were left his Guardians here, had well resolved to have acknowledged that great favor by the same hand which brought your Lops., but were deprived of that opportunity by Mr Mackie’s going suddenly off from this place for his attendance in Parlt.

“Altho’ we are very sensible, from the Earl of Ailesbury’s character in the world, that he was incapable of forgetting the son of a person he had once honoured with his friendship, yet it is a great pleasure to us to see so much goodness and condescension as to assure us of it under his own hand. This greatly encourages us in our duty to the young earl, not only in the management of his affairs, but in taking as much care as possibly we can in the

forming of his mind in principles of virtue and the steady love of his country ; but as any notions of this kind he can have here must needs be very general, we comfort ourselves with the prospect that when the boy is capable of following such instruction, your Lop., out of your great goodness, will think fit to call him somewhat nearer to yourself, where he may learn by example, which is oftentimes more prevalent than precepts are ; and as we well know that nothing on earth would have been more pleasing to his father, had he been alive, than to have had his son's education under your Lops. eye and direction, so we assure your Lop. that nothing could be more agreeable to us ; and we hope, in a little time, to bring his affairs into such a situation as he may be able to defray a more liberal education than he can have here. We earnestly entreat that your Lop. would lay your commands upon us with respect to this, or any other affairs which may concern your young kinsman, and we do assure your Lop. that they shall be punctually obeyed, for we are, with the greatest respect and sincerity,—My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and humble servants,

To be signed by “ LADY KINCARDINE,
 “ Mr BRUCE of Kinnaird,
 “ Judge GRAHAM of Airth,
 “ Mr ABERCROMBY, and
 “ JOHN HAMILTON, W.S., Edinburgh,

by whom this scroll is written, and enclosed in a letter to ‘David Bruce of Kinnaird.’

“ Dated 22d JAN. 1743.”

It appears that after this Lord Ailesbury wrote to Lady Kincardine, inquiring about her sons and their guardians ; to which Lady Kincardine replied in the following terms :—

“ Lady Kincardine to Lord Ailesbury, in answer to his last, returns her grateful thanks. 1743.

“ Thomas, aged 3 ; Charles, 10 ; James, 7 ;—at school with Mr Moir, lately tutor at Broomhall, and who, under the auspices of the late Earl of Kincardine, set up school in Alloa. He is firmly fixed in the same principles your Lordship approved of, both in Church and State. Mr Bruce of Kinnaird is come of the same Bruces as your Lordship and this family. He is a man of very good sense, and was much regarded by my Lord. He is stanch in his principles, which he showed by his *actions*, for he was *prisoner* at *Preston*.

“ Mr Graham, being a judge, speaks not much upon *party* ; but I know he went up to London to plead for the prisoners at Preston upon his own charges. Mr John Hamilton, brother of Wishaw, and of Councillor Hamilton, is a near relative, and always knew the affairs of the family—so busy that he has no time to know his own principles, but I believe if he have any side, it is ours.

“ Mr Abercromby is a man of great learning and good parts, and of a strong sense of honour and virtue ; true, he has been brought up as a *Whig* by his father, who is yet alive, but he was a great friend of my Lord's ; and being both full of humanity, they shunned everything wherein they might disagree. He has never endeavoured to alter the children's education from the way their father ordered it. Sir John Bruce, of Balcaskie, tho' he is a near relative, we never had any intimacy with ; but it is noised about that he has become a keen patriot, &c. . . . I writ to him once ; he has deceived me, but never shall do so again. I do assure your Lordship, I would rather see my children sunk in the utmost difficulties, than that my son should ever be the slave of a base ministry !

“ I hope your good desire shall come to pass, that he shall go on in ‘ the glorious steps ’ of his forefathers. The child has an honest heart, and a sweet disposition to work upon, and knows not what it is to be covetous or selfish ; for he distributes all the little money he gets amongst the poor,” &c. &c. &c.

And so it is said this letter of the patriotic Countess lost for her son the succession to the Ailesbury titles and estates. Soon after, the troublous times of the '45 commenced ; and in 1747 Lord Ailesbury died, leaving his estates to the youngest son of his sister, Lady Cardigan, although he had several daughters, the eldest of whom, Lady Mary, married the Duke of Chandos, and left a daughter, through whom the present Duke of Buckingham claims the title of “ Lord of Kinloss.” It does not appear that any of his daughters left *sons*. His own son, “ Robert,” married, and died s. p.

His second daughter, Elizabeth, married Benjamin Bathurst, without succession. Another daughter, “ Mary,” by his second marriage, married the Duke of Richmond, but left no heirs. Elizabeth, married to George, Earl of Cardigan, was his only full sister, and having several sons, he resigned his titles in favour of the youngest.

APPENDIX N (p. 299).

GENEALOGY OF MARIE DE HORNE, PRINCESS OF SALM, AND ELIZABETH DE HORNE, PRINCESS OF STOLBERG, AS DESCENDED FROM THE BRUCES, EARLS OF AYLESBURY IN ENGLAND; ELGIN, AND LORDS BRUCE, ETC., OF THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND.

I. Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan had large possessions in lands holden of the Crown, was a free baron, and his armorial bearing was or, a saltier, and chief gules, which hath continued to be the arms of the family ever since, and is same carried by the Bruces, lords of Annandale, which denotes their descent from that illustrious house.

He got a charter, under the Great Seal, from King David Bruce,—“*Dilecto consanguines suo ‘Roberto de Bruce,’*”—of the castle, manor, and barony of Clackmannan, with a great many other lands in the same county. The charter, which is still preserved in the archives of the family, is dated 9th December 1359. He got other two charters, under the Great Seal, from the same King David, of several other lands in the counties of Clackmannan and Perth; the first is dated in the year 1365, and the other in 1368, in both which he is designated the King’s beloved cousin, which sufficiently proves his connection with the royal family. The charters are recorded in the public archives of the nation, No. 95 and No. 190 of King David’s Book.

This Sir Robert married Isabella, daughter of Sir Robert Stewart, ancestor of the Stewarts of Rosyth, who were free barons, and a considerable branch of the illustrious house of Stewart, which is instructed by the ‘*History of the Royal Family,*’ page 188, etc. By her he had five sons and one daughter. But we shall here mention only his oldest son, Sir Robert, who carried on the line of the family.

II. Sir Robert Bruce, second Baron of Clackmannan, got a charter under the Great Seal from King Robert II. of several lands and baronies, too numerous to be here inserted; which charter is still preserved among the archives of the house of Clackmannan, and is dated 12th August 1393.

He married a daughter of Sir John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, a most ancient and noble family. This Sir John was ancestor of the Earl and Viscounts of Dundee, who were heritable standard-bearers to the kings of Scotland, which is attested by all our historians.

Sir Robert died anno 1405, leaving issue by his said lady, a son.

III. Sir David Bruce, third Baron of Clackmannan, who succeeded him, and

is designed David de Bruce de Clackmannan, filius et hæres quondem Domini Roberti, etc., anno 1406," in the chartulary of Cambuskenneth, page 86, and other public records.

He married Jean, daughter of Sir John Stewart, Lord of Innermeath and Lorn, another considerable branch of the illustrious house of Stewart. By her he had a son and successor.

IV. Sir John Bruce, fourth Baron of Clackmannan, who made a great figure in the reigns of Kings James I. and II., which is fully instructed from our histories, the chartularies of Cambuskenneth, and other authentic vouchers. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir David Stewart of Rosyth, a branch of the most ancient family of Stewart already mentioned. By her he had a son and heir,

V. Sir David Bruce, fifth Baron of Clackmannan, who got a charter under the Great Seal from King James III. of several lands and baronies, and is therein designed "*Filius et hæres quondam Johannis Bruce de Clackmannan,*" etc. The charter, which is recorded in the public archives of the nation, lib. vii., No. 213, is dated anno 1473. He afterwards had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by King James IV., with whom he was in great favour. He married Marian, daughter of Sir Robert Herries of Terregles, of whom the most noble families of the Lords Herries and Earls of Nithsdale are descended, which is instructed by all our historians. By her he had a son,

VI. Sir David Bruce, sixth Baron of Clackmannan, who succeeded him, and got a charter under the Great Seal from King James IV., wherein he is designed "*David Bruce de Clackmannan, miles, filius et hæres quondam Davidis Bruce de Clackmannan, milites,*" etc. The charter, which is in the General Register, lib. xiii., No. 243, is dated 3d of February 1506. He was a man of great parts, and possessed of an immense estate, which is instructed by many charters under the Great Seal, of different lands and baronies, all recorded in the public archives of the nation, between the years 1530 and 1540. He married Jean, daughter of Sir Patrick Blackadder of Tulliallan, a considerable free baron, whose family flourished with lustre in Scotland for many centuries, and whose armorial bearing, according to Mr Nisbet's '*System of Heraldry,*' vol. i. p. 379, was—quarterly, 1st and 4th, or, three crescents gules; 2d and 3d, gules, on a cheveron argent, three roses of the first. By this lady he had several children, of whom we shall here mention only two, viz. :—

1st. Sir John of Clackmannan.

2d. Sir Edward Bruce of Blairhall, to whom and his issue we confine this narration.

VII. Sir Edward Bruce, second son of Sir David, 6th Baron of Clackmannan,

was proprietor of the lands and barony of Blairhall, which was afterwards his chief title. He was also possessed of the lands of Bargadie and Shires Miln, which is instructed by a charter under the Great Seal from King James V., recorded in the public register, lib. xxix., No. 63, and dated anno 1541. He was now a considerable free baron, and his armorial bearing was the same with Bruce of Clackmannan, with a proper mark of cadoney for a second son, according to the said Mr Nisbet, vol. i. p. 144. He married Alison, sister-german of Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, and daughter of William Reid of Aikenhead, Esq., an ancient free baron in the county of Clackmannan, whose armorial bearing was, argent, an eagle displayed sable, membered and armed or; and on his breast an escutcheon, gules, relative to the name; according to Workman and Nisbet's Heraldry. By her he had issue, three sons, viz. :—

1st. Robert Bruce of Blairhall, whose male line is now extinct.

2d. Edward, Lord Kinloss, of whom more hereafter.

3d. Sir George Bruce of Carnock, of whom the Earls of Kincardine and the present Earl of Elgin are descended in a direct male line.

We now return to

VIII. Edward, second son of Sir Edward Bruce of Blairhall, and grandson of Sir David, sixth Baron of Clackmannan. He was a man of great parts, learning, and integrity, and highly esteemed by King James VI., who employed him in all his negotiations of the greatest importance, particularly to the Court of England, which he managed with such dexterity, prudence, and fidelity, that it is acknowledged by Bishop Spotiswood, and other historians, that he greatly contributed to this King James's peaceable and easy accession to the English crown.

King James, before he left Scotland, began to reward his faithful services, and raised him to the dignity of the peerage by the title of Lord Bruce of Kinloss, the honours being to him and his heirs for ever, by patent recorded in the general register, and dated 22d February 1603.

He accompanied his majesty to England, and soon thereafter was made Master of the Rolls for life, was constituted a Privy Councillor for both kingdoms, and had many other favours bestowed upon him, according to Mr Colins's 'Peerage of England,' vol. v. p. 469.

He married Magdalene, daughter of Alexander Clark of Balbirnie, Esq., who had large possessions of lands in the county of Fife, holding of the king, which is instructed by charters under the Great Seal in the public register; and being a considerable free baron, his armorial bearing was—quarterly, 1st, sable, a mollett or; 2d and 3d, or, three bendlets, sable; 4th, ermine, two bars sable; according to Ponts. 'MS. System of Heraldry.'

By the said lady he had several children :—1. Edward, who succeeded him, and was second Lord Bruce of Kinloss, but died without issue.

IX. 2. Thomas, who succeeded his brother, was third Lord Bruce of Kinloss, and carried on the line of the family.

This worthy lord was a man of singular merit, and in great favour with King Charles I., who was pleased further to dignify him with the title of Earl of Elgin, by patent to him and his heirs-male for ever.—Recorded in the public archives of the nation, and dated 22d June 1633.

He was afterwards created a peer of England by the title of Lord Bruce of Whorlton, in the county of York, according to Sir William Dugdale, vol. ii., by patent, dated 1st August 1642.

He married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Chichester of Raleigh, of the kingdom of England, Knight, by whom he had a son, Robert, his heir, and dying anno 1663, was succeeded by the said

X. Robert, second Earl of Elgin, &c., who, having given great proofs of his loyalty in ye troublesome reign of King Charles I., was highly esteemed and much in favour with his son, King Charles II., who was pleased to create him Baron Bruce of Skelton, Viscount Bruce of Amphill, and Earl of Aylesbury of the kingdom of England, 18th March 1665, according to the aforementioned Mr Collins's 'Peerage of England,' vol. v., &c.

He married Lady Diana Gray, daughter of Henry, Earl of Stamford, by whom he had eight sons and nine daughters; but we shall here mention only his son Thomas, who carried on the line of the family.

Earl Robert died in Oct. 1685, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

XI. Thomas, third Earl of Elgin and second Earl of Aylesbury, who married, first, Lady Elizabeth, only surviving daughter of Henry, Lord Beauchamp, son of William, Marquis of Hertford, by whom he had four sons and three daughters, according to the 'Peerage of England,' to which we refer.

This noble lord appears to have been strongly attached to the Stewart family, and never came into the Revolution; but soon after his lady's death, in 1698, he retired to Brussels, where he married Charlotte, Countess of Sanu, of the ancient and noble house of Argenteau, in the duchy of Brabant, by whom he had a daughter,

XII. Lady Charlotte Maria Bruce, who was married to Maximilian, Count de Horne, one of the princes of the empire, and Knight of the Golden Fleece, by whom she had several children, particularly the two princesses—Mary and Elizabeth—whose mother, the Lady Maria Bruce, is the twelfth generation in a direct line from Sir Robert Bruce, first baron of Clackmannan, cousin of David Bruce, king of Scotland, as is above deduced.

CERTIFICATE.*

The birth brief is to be attested in the following manner, viz. :—

By two gentlemen who have carefully read and examined all the vouchers, and four or six peers, and with the following docquet :—

“*Nos nobiles, Scotiæ regni proceres, et generosi in fra scripti, hanc prosapiam antiquissimæ noblissimæ et illustrissimæ familiæ de Bruce ex chartis autographis aliisque monimentis authenticis supra citatis vere bene et recte deductam esse attestamur. Et in majorem hujus rei fidem chirographis nostris et sigillis firmavimus apud Edinburgham,*” &c.

It is also attested by the Lord Provost and Town Council of Edinburgh, who declare that they have carefully examined the documents and vouchers of the above genealogy, and do certify that the same are all genuine and authentic. In testimony whereof their city seal is appended by the Town Clerk, by order of Council, &c., at Edinburgh. Their docquet is also in Latin.

* This certificate appears to have been given in anno domini mil. sept. cent sexagesimo quinto—when these princesses were in London, and one of them about to make a brilliant alliance, prevented by her premature death.

Rob. Douglas.

Sigillum
Domini Roberti Douglas.

Locus
Sigilli.

Selkirk.

Sigillum
Dunbari Comitis
de Selkirk, &c.

Locus
Sigilli.

Roths.

Sigillum
Johannis Comitis
de Roths,

Locus
Sigilli.

James Stuart,
Lord Provost of
Edinburgh.

Locus
Sigilli.

Sutherland.

Sigillum
Williolmi Comitis de
Sutherland, &c.

Locus
Sigilli.

Elgin and
Kincardine.

Sigillum
Caroli Comitis de Elgin et
Kincardine, Domini
Bruce de Kinloss, &c., &c.

Locus
Sigilli.

W. M'Farlane.

Sigillum
Walteri M'Farlane de Eodem,
Sui Gentis Principis.

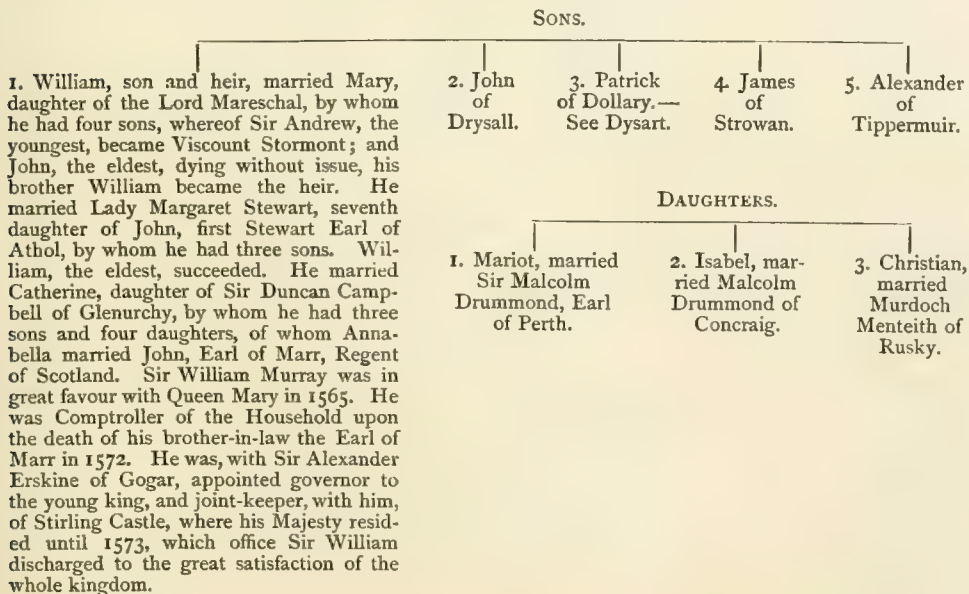
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APPENDIX O (p. 281).

CLACKMANNAN.

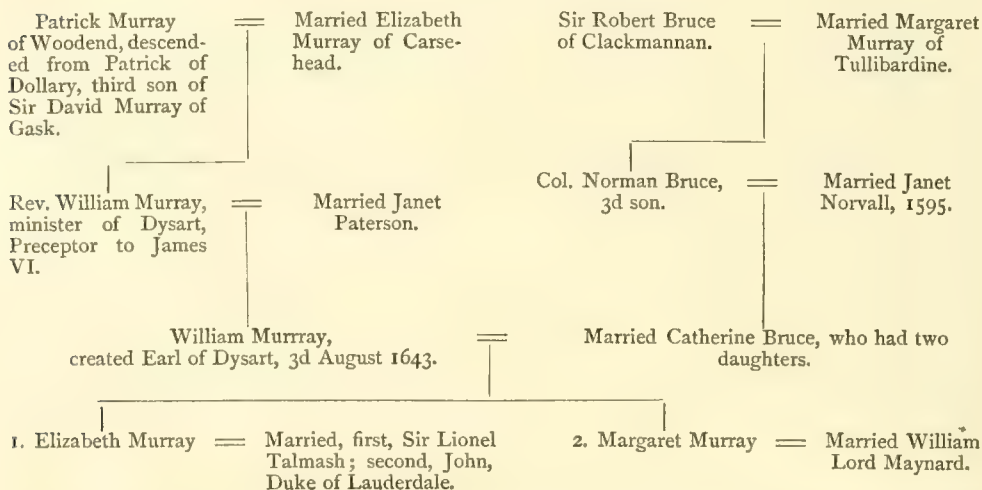
SIR ROBERT BRUCE, eighth Baron of Clackmannan, after the death of his first wife, Janet Livingstone, without issue, married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine by Agnes, his wife, daughter of William Graham, Earl of Montrose. The noble family of Tullibardine descends from Sir Andrew Moray, Regent of Scotland in the reign of David II. His son, Sir William Moray, had a charter in 1335 of the barony of Tullibardine, on the resignation of his grandmother "Adda," daughter of Malyse, Seneschal of Strathearn, of which charter his son Sir Walter had a confirmation from David II. in 1361.

Sir David Murray, designed of Gask, having married Isabel, second daughter of Sir John Stewart of Innermeath and Lorn, relict of Sir William Oliphant, founded and endowed the collegiate church of Tullibardine, where he and his wife were buried. He died circa 1446, leaving five sons and three daughters.



Sir William Murray married Agnes Graham, third daughter of William, second Earl of Montrose, and left by her, at his death in 1583, three sons and one daughter—1. Sir John, his heir, Master of the Household, &c. &c., created Lord Murray of Tullibardine in 1604, and Earl of Tullibardine in 1606. His grandson, Sir William, became, in right of his mother, Earl of Athol. 2. Sir William of Pitcauley. 3. Mungo of Dunock.

Margaret, his daughter, married Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan. There is an instrument of seizen to Margaret Murray, daughter of Lord Tullibardine, of *two parts* of the lands of Clackmannan.



The third year of Charles II.'s reign, Elizabeth obtained letters patent, by which the Dysart honours were conferred on her and her heirs—her eldest son during her life to be "Lord Huntingtower."

It thus appears that William Murray, first Earl of Dysart, who was brought up with James VI., and commonly called his "whipping boy," being sometimes chastised for his prince's offences, descended from noble ancestors.

APPENDIX P (p. 313 to 320).

AIRTH OR ERTHE IN WALLACE'S DAY.

Wallace him bown'd, when he thought time should be,
 Off St Johnstone, and with him took fifty.
 To Stirling Bridge, as then he could not pass,
 For strong power of English men *thar* was.
 To *Airth Ferry* they passèd privily,
 And buskèd them in a dern stead thereby.
 A cruel captain in Airth dwelt there,
 In England born, and heght "Thomlyn of Ware ;"
 An hundred men were at his leading still,
 To bruick that land they had both power and will.
 A Scotch fisher, which they had ta'en before
 Contrare his will, gart he be to them sworn ;
 In their service they held him, day and night.
 Before the sun Wallace gart Jop him dight,
 And sent him forth the passage for to spy.
 On that fisher he happen'd suddenly—
 All him alone, bot a boy that was there.
 Jop speired him soon, "Of what nation art thou?"
 "A Scot," he said, "but Southern gart me vow
 In their service, against my will full sore.
 Bot for my life that I remainèd there,
 For to seek fish I came on the north side.
 Be you a Scot? I would fain with you bide."
 Then Jop him brought in presence to Wallace;
 The Scots were blyth when they have seen this case,
 For with his boat they might well passage have.
 To the south land with full glad hearts they sought,
 Syne brake the boat when they were landed there,
 Service of it Sotheran might get no more.
 Syne thro' the moss they passed with full good speed
 To the Torwood, this man with them they lead.
 The widow there brought tidings to Wallace
 Of his true eme,* that dwelt at Dunipace ;
 Thomlyn of Ware in prison him had set
 For more treasure than he before could get.
 Wallace said, "Dame, he shall well loosèd be
 By morn at noon, or more therefore shall dee."
 She got them meat, and in quiet they bade
 While it was night, syne ready soon they made.
 Toward Airth-hold right suddenly they drew.
 A strength there was—that well the fisher knew—

* Uncle.

Of drawdykes, and full of water wan.
 Wisely thereof has warnèd them this man.
 On the back side he led them privilie
 From the water as wont to come was he.
 Over a small bridge good Wallace entered in,
 Into the hall himself thought to begin ;
 From the supper as they were bown to rise
 He salust them, upon an awful wise !
 With shearing swords sharply about them dang
 Fiel on the floor were fellèd, thaim amang.
 With Thomlyn of Ware, Wallace himself hath met,
 Through head and swyze allthrough the cost him clave.
 The *worthy* Scot fast sticket all the lave,
 Keepit the doors, and dolefully them dight,
 To scape away the Sotheran had no might.
 Some windows sought, for to have broken out,
 But all for nought, full fey was made that rout.
 About the fire bruschet the blood so red,
 An hundred men were slain unto that sted.
 When Wallace sought where his uncle should be,
 In a dark cave he was set dolefully,
 Where water stood, and he in irons strang.
 Wallace full soon he up the braces dang
 Off that mirk hole, brought him with strength, and list
 Bot noise he heard, of nothing else he wist.
 So blyth before in world he had not been
 As then, with sight when he had Wallace seen.
 In the dyke out the dead bodies they cæst,
 Graithed the place, as that them likèd best,
 Made good cheer, and wise watches set
 While near the day they sleep withouten let.
 When they had light, spulzied the place in hy,
 Fand gaining gear, and gold and jewelry.
 Over all that day in quiet held them still,
 What Sotheran came receivèd with good will ;
 Women and bairns put in the prison's cave,
 So they might make no warning to the lave.
 Steven of Ireland, and Kerlie, that were wight,
 Keepit the post upon the second night.
 Before the sun the worthy Scots they rose,
 Tursèd good gear, and to the Torwood goes,
 Remainèd there whilst night was come on hand,
 Syne bownèd them in quiet thro' the land.
 The widow soon, frae they had passed doubt,
 A servant sent, and let the women out,
 To pass from Airth where that them likèd best—
 Now speak I o' them that went into the west.

It appears that the "De Erths" resumed possession of their extensive estates, for in 1426 we find them still powerful, William de Erth being then sent to England as one of the hostages for the king ; and before the year 1440 his lands became divided between his three co-heiresses.

SIR REGINALD MORE.

Sir Reginald More is witness, together with Sir Robert de Bruce, Lord of 1327.
Lydlysdale (son nat. of King Robert), to a charter of William de Lindesay, in
the Glasgow Chartulary.

Sir Reginald More of Abercorn, Lord High Chamberlain to King David II., 1329-30.
dates his public accounts from Clackmannan. Ann.

Sir Reginald dates from Scone, which proves that King David and his queen
did not leave Scotland until shortly before the battle of Dupplin, if then. reg. I.
Dec. 14, 1331.

Sir Reginald acquired his large estates in the Lothians and in the county
of Stirling by marriage with the daughter of Sir John Graham of Abercorn,
Erthbeg, Torwood, the Dene, &c. Her sister Isobel was the first wife of Walter
the Great Steward. He had also the lands of Skaithmuir, on the Carron, and
was father to Sir William More of Bothkennar, whose daughter and heiress,
"Christian," married Sir William Lindesay of the Byres, who thereafter adopted
the three molets of the Mores in their bearings; but the old family estates of
Cowdams, Camseskane, &c., passed to the male representative of the family,
ancestor of the Mures of Caldwell. Skaithmuir also was held by one of the
name in 1488, when he married a daughter of Sir John Bruce of Stanehouse
and Airth.

Friday, in the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin.—Convention by the 1329.
abbot with Sir Reginald More, Chamberlain of Scotland. Sir Reginald has a
particle of Kynnaired from the abbey, bounded, beginning on the west, at a
ditch made between the lands of the abbot of Newbattle and the canons of
Holyrood, and the lands of Kynnaired, and thence, in a line by a certain great
stone lying in a furrow, to the land of Bothkennar on the south, to the lands of
the canons of Holyrood, and thence ascending towards the west by the corner
of the eastern gable of the *Great Hall** ("magne sale") newly erected by Sir
Reginald, even to the said ditch; for which, in exchange, the chamberlain gave
the abbey a particle of land held by him in feu of Holyrood, lying adjacent to
the lands of the abbey of Newbattle on the west, bounded and marched by
stones.

Sir Adam More of Rowallan, father of Elizabeth More, the first wife of
King Robert II., from whom the royal race of Stewart descend, was nephew of
Sir Reginald, as appears by a charter, of date 1393, from Robert III. of certain
lands to Sir Adam More, jun. (the queen's brother), and the heirs of his body;

* Was this Quarroll, now Carronhall?

failing whom, to Sir Reginald More of Abercorn and Godfrey More of Caldwell, his uncle and cousin, and their heirs (Robertson's House of Stewart, in his 'History of Renfrewshire,' p. 470)—probably a confirmation charter, as Sir Reginald died *ante* 1367, leaving two sons, William and Gilchrist, and a daughter Alicia, who married, first, Sir William de Herch of Terreglis; secondly, Sir John Stewart of Ralston, son of Walter, High Steward, by Isobel Grahame, and half-brother of Robert II., for which a dispensation was obtained, and is given by Andrew Steuart, 'History of the House of Steuart,' p. 431. Sir Reginald was reputed the richest subject in Scotland. Such of his estates as did not go to the Lindsays with "Christian," daughter of his son Sir William, went to the heir-male "Godfrey," probably son of Gilchrist, and founded the family of Polkelly, who by marriage acquired Caldwell.

The Mores of Rowallan obtained that estate in the reign of Alexander III. by marriage with the daughter of Sir Walter Cumyn, and thereafter quartered the three sheaves of the Cumyns.—See *Cumyns of Rowallane*.

THE ELPHINSTONES.

1362. David II. confirmed a charter granted by Alexander de Elfynton of the whole lands of Kythumbre or Kinchinbar (now Kittymuir), in the barony of Stanehou, to Alexander, son of Sir Adam More, in exchange for lands in Erth-beg.—'Origines Parochiales.'

Nisbet says, In the thirty-third of King David II. Alexander Elphinstone exchanged his lands of Kythumbre with Alexander, son of Sir Adam More, for the lands of Arth-beg, in the county of Stirling, which he called Elphinstone, after his own name.

1399. Sir William Elphinstone, his successor, gets a charter from Sir William Lindsay of the Byres of lands held by him (probably Bothkennar and Quarroll).

This Elphinstone line ended in his son Alexander, slain at Piperden, A.D. 1437.

- 1436-7. Sir Alexander Elphinstone, killed at Piperden, left an only daughter, "Janet," who married "Gilbert," son of Sir Adam Johnstone of that Ilk, who got with her the lands of Elphinstone in Lothian; but Airth-beg, by arbitration, came to Sir Henry Elphinstone, her father's brother, of whom the present peer. John, his grandson, got a charter under the Great Seal, erecting all his lands into a barony, 1508.

1513. He was killed at Flodden, where he was one of those who personated King James IV.

His son was created Lord Elphinstone.

1515.

Alexander, "The Master," afterwards fourth Lord Elphinstone, had married "Jean," eldest daughter of the sixth Lord Livingstone (niece of Dame Janet, Lady Airth), whereby the young couple were second cousins.—See p. 323.

1579.

Alexander, fourth Lord Elphinstone, left by this marriage four sons and five daughters—

1st, Alexander, fifth Lord in 1648, but died in 1649, leaving an only daughter, *Lillias*, who married "Alexander," *sixth Lord*.

2d, James, father of "Alexander," who succeeded his uncle.

3d, John, of Wortle, in Aberdeenshire.

4th, Michael, of Quarroll, in Stirlingshire, with whose line and the Bruces there were several intermarriages. To him there is a monument in Larbert Churchyard: "Michael Elphinstone, youngest son to Alexander, Lord Elphinstone, who died in Durhame, and was buried there upone the 1st November 1640, which was the first of this family, whose mother was *Dame Jaine* Livingstone, daughter to the Earl of Linlithgow. His youngest sonne, 'John,' interred heer, gifted to this kirk two communion cuppes." Under the date 1680 are the initials *M.E. M.B.*, with the Elphinstone and Bruce arms, and the mottoes, "Cause Causit," "Do well, and doubt not."

There is another slab, a good deal defaced, inscribed to

N. MICHAEL ELPHINSTOWNE DVCEM KILSYTHEVS CAES,
15th August 1645,

the date of the battle of Tippermuir, when Argyle, Lindsay of Balcarras, &c., fled in different directions.

The daughters of Alexander, fourth Lord Elphinstone, married,—

1. Agnes, or Anne = John, twelfth Earl of Sutherland.

2. Jean = Arthur, ninth Lord Forbes.

1600.

3. Margaret = Sir John Bruce of Airth.

1601.

4. Christian = Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromartie.

5. Helen = Sir William Cockburn; 2dly, Henry Rollo of Woodside.

Birrel, in his Diary, mentions that Lent began on the 5th of February that year, but was *stayed* by reason of the banquet and marriage of the Earl of Sutherland and Master of Forbes with two daughters of the Master of Elphinstone.

1600.

"Agnes le Brois," Lady of Pierston, was the third wife of Sir William Stirling of Keir, who died A.D. 1471.

In 1474 Agnes married, secondly, David Blair of Adamton.

July 14,
1492. The Lords of Council ordain that Sir William Stirling, as heir to Sir William Stirling, his father, should warrant to "Agnes the Brois," Lady of Pierston, and her bairns, certain sums on the lands of Kennoway, in Fife, &c. &c.

John Stirling, son of Agnes, is her procurator. William of Kennoway, and Lewis, or Lucas, are also mentioned, and a daughter, *Catherine*, who married John Beton, fourth Laird of Balfour.

It was her son, *Lucas* Stirling, who fought with Squire Meldrum, and took the Peel of Linlithgow.—See *Pitscottie*.

Her second husband died before 1492, when she is called Agnes le Brois, a daughter of Erth, spouse of umquhile David Blair.

Nov. 23,
1503. Her case is again before the Lords of Council, and again in 1513.—See *Stirlings of Keir*.

Sir William Stirling, or *Striveline*, as it was then written, was the first of that family who acquired Keir from the Leslies and Haldanes. He was the son of Lucas Stirling of Ratherne, was knighted in 1460, and died in 1471. The first wife of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan must have been his granddaughter.

June 13,
1479. Edward Brois is a witness to the execution, at Dunbar, of a summons of treason against John of Ellem of Butterden, for withholding the Castle of Dunbar from the king.

Nov. 6,
1481. The quhilk day, the said Commissaries of Parliament chargit Johne the Brois of Erth, Constable Depute in that parte, to call Alexander, Duke of Albany, Erle of Marche, &c., Andro Hume, and others, to compere the said day in our souverane Lordis Parliament, to answer to their crimes of treason.—Acta Parl. II. 136.

Dec. 10,
1482. In the action and caus persewit be Johne the Bruse of the Stanehouis againis Robert, Lord Fleming, and Andro Oliphant, his bailzie, for the vexation and inquietatioun of the said Johne, in the peceable bruicking of xii. merks' worth of the lands of Dunbullis, &c. &c.

"Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. xi., No. 28.

"Carta confirmationis ad sustensationem unius capellani secularis imperpetuum celebraturo in Capella seu insula situata ab ausbeati parto ecclesie parochiales de Erth, et edificata per quondam Alexandrum Brois, avum Roberti Brois de Stanehouis, super cartam dicto capellano factam per dictam Robertam Brois de data 11 die Octob. 1485—testibus Alexandro Brois, Luca Brois, Edwardo Brois, Roberto Brois, avunculis dicti Roberti Brois de Stanehouis, et Thoma Basate de Quarrell de uno domo sine tenemento orto et crofta terre ad fuiem de la Blacrag extendem—annuaturn ad ferinam 20 solidm.; item, de terris de Erthbeg 45 solidos annui redditus; item, de una bovata terre de Polknafe 26 sol. 8 denis. annui redditus; item, de tenemento et

orto in villa de Erth, nunc inhabitat per Joannem Grant 13 solidos et quatuor denarios annui redditus; item, de terris de Salterfeld, 20 solidos annui redditus; item, de tenemento Willelmi Carnis, in villa de Blakness 14 solidos annui redditus. Tenen. in puram et perpetuam elimosinam.—Apud Edinr., 14 Nov. 1485."

BRUCES OF AIRTH.

Ex Acta Dominorum Auditorum, p. 120.—17th January 1488.

"In pres. of the Chancellare and Lordis of Consale—

"Robert Brois of Arthe has drawin himself, his landis, and guidis lawborgh, that William Mentieth, son of the Lard of Kers, sal be harmles and scathles of him, and all that he may lat bot fraud and guile, bot as law will, under the pain of law. The said Robert Brois of Arth has likewise becomen lawborgh that William Mentieth of Kers, and Archibald his brother, sal be harmles, and scathles, &c., . . . under the pain of the law aforsaid. The Erle of Bothuile and Robert Brois aforsaid, has drawin thaim lawborgh that William Mentieth of Kers, William his son, and Archibald his brother, sal be scathles, &c., of Alexander Brois and all that he may lat, &c. . . . The said Robert Brois has becomen likewise borgh for Edward the Brois and Lucas Brois, &c., that the Lard of Kers, his son and brother aforsaid, sal be scathles of thaim, &c.

"William Mentieth of Kers has drawin him, his landis, and gudes lawborgh, that the said Lard of Arthe, Edward and Lucas Brois, sal be harmles and scathles of him, &c.

"George Lauder of Halton, son and apparend heir to Alexander Lauder of Halton, has becomin borgh that Robert the Brois of Arthe, Edward and Lucas the Brois, sal be scathles, &c.

"William Mentieth of Ratho has becomin and drawin his landis, &c.

"Adam Crichtoun, son and apparend air to James Crichtoun of Ruthven, has becomin lawborgh," &c.

Ex. Acta Dominorum Concilii, p. 101.—28th January 1488.

"In pres. of the Lordis of Consale—

"William Mentieth of the Kers, Archibald of Mentieth his brother, Alexander of Mentieth for thaim, their kyn and frendis on the ta pairt—and Robert the Brois of Arthe, Alexander Brois, Lucas Brois, Robert Brois, for thaim, thair brether, emes, and frendis on the other pairt—ar bundin and obligst to stand and abide at the deliverance and ordinance of thir lordis

underwritten, tuiching the making amendis for the slauchter (all acclonis) of umqu^{ll}. John the Brois of Arthe, unkindness and displissor done to the said William, Archibald, and Alexander, and thair frendis, to the said Robert, Alexander, Lucas, and Robert, thair kyn and frendis, and tuiching the making of amité, luff, and tendirnes to be haid betwixt the said pairties, thair kyn and frendis, in time to cum,—that is to say, reverend faideris in God, ‘Robert, Bishop of Glasgow,’ ‘William, Bishop of Aberdeen;’ noble and mighty lordis, ‘Colin, Erle of Ergile, Chancellor of Scotland,’ ‘Archibald, Erle of Angus,’ ‘Patrick, Erle of Bothuile;’ venerable faideris in God, ‘John, Prior of St Andre,’ ‘Henri, Abbot of Cambuskenneth,’ and Sir William Knolles, Commandour of Torphichen; and thir lordis has taken on thaim to deliver in the said materis betwix this and the Fest of Whitsunday nixt to cum, or viii daies thairefter, and that either of the said pairties spealy assour utheris to the try, under the seles,” &c. &c.

“At Edinburgh, the xviii day of October, the zere of God 1^m. cccc. 88 zeris. In the pres. of the Lordis of our Souverane Lordis Consale underwritten,—that is to say, reverend faideris in God, ‘Robert, Bischop of Glasgow,’ ‘William, Bischop of Aberdeen;’ ane venerable faider, ‘John, Prior of Sanct Andre,’ Privy Sele, and Maister Alexander Inglis, Archdeacon of Sanct Andre; noble and michté lordis, ‘Patrick, Erle of Bothuile,’ and ‘Lord Hales,’ ‘William, Lord of Sanct John’s, Gret Maister of Household to our Sovrane Lord, and Robert, Lord Lile.’ It is appointed, aggreit, accordit, and finally endit, betwix William Mentieth of the Cars, Kt., Archibald of Mentieth, and Alexander his brether, with uthers their kyn and frendis on the ta pairt—and Robert Brois of Arthe, Schir Alexander Brois, and Louk the Brois, his emmis (uncles) and utheris, thair kyn and frendis on the t’other pairt—anent the ded and slauchter of umqu^{ll}. John the Brois, faider to the said Robert, and for amendis, kynbute, and frendship to besstand betwix the said pairties in tyme to cum, in manner as follows: In the first place, the said Archibald Mentieth, and so mony as are now present in this toun, that were gmittaris of the said slauchter, sall, upon Thursday, the xx day of the said moneth now instant, cum to the mercat-cross of Edinbro’ in their lyning claites, and their swerdis in their handis, and ask the said Robert and his frendis forgevance of the deth of the said Johne, as the maner is usit therof, and to remit to thaim the rancour of thair hartis; and sall, for the saule of the said Johne, seek, and gar seek, the four head pilgrimage of Scotland, and thare say mess for the saule; and further, the said Robert the Bruce sall, within xx daies nixt to cum, ent. ane prest to signe in the kirk of Airth for the space of twa zeres, the said Robert paying the ta half of his fee, and the said Archibald of Mentieth the t’other half. The

quhilkis two zeres being past, the said Robert sall gar ane prest sign in the samyn kirk for the said saule."

"The Lordis of Consale decrettes and delivers that

"Robert of Crichton sall restore, content, and pay to Robert Brois of Arthe March the gudis underwritten, or the avail of thaim,—that is to say, aucht salt nolt,^{26,} price the piece, 24s.; twa nolt, price of y^e baith, 30s.; twa hors, p. of thaim, 7^{1491.} merks; vi dozane of foullis, p. of the dozane, 6s.; sax bolls of bere, p. of the boll, 20s.; twenty-twa bolls of meal in bread, p. xx.s.; 5 bolls of malt in ale, p. 5 merks; 5 barrells, price of piece, 18d.; ane brazen mortar, price 13s. or 14s., and pewter charger, p. ij.s.; twa boxes, price of thaim, x.s.; a silver belt, price v.s.; four beddis, price of thaim, 40s.; ane gret discompt burd, p. 30s.; ane pair of scales, p. 3s.; twa blankets, p. 8s., &c. &c. &c.; quhilkis gudis above written were spulziet and taken be the said Robert Crichton and his complices out of the place of Arthe, as was sufficiently proffit before the Lordis, and ordains our Soverane Lordis ch. be direct to distreng the said Robert, his landis and guides therefor."

From the protocol-book of Alexander Young, notary public, preserved among the records of the burgh of the Canongate, Edinburgh:—

"Personally appeared an honorable man, Lucas Brois, with his servant, 'John Jan. 11, Crosbie,' which Lucas and John, from their certain knowledge, and to declare^{1488-9.} the truth, as they asserted, swore on the holy evangelists of God that he, Lucas, captured Gilbert Makmillane, in the battle-field fought near Stirling, on the Feast of St Barnabas last elapsed, before the date of the present instrument; and that he, Lucas, found no goods on the said Gilbert at that time, because he had on no clothes except his doublet and breeches, and that he detained the said Gilbert with him for two days after the said battle, and then let him go, leaving security (ad plegium); and that they, Lucas and John, did not take the said oath through entreaty, nor for a price, hatred or favour, but to declare the truth; and this they swore on their souls, as they would answer to the Great Judge on the day of judgment; upon which oath and declaration the said Gilbert asked an instrument.

"These things were done in the burgh of Edinburgh at nine hours before noon, before honorable men: S. John Gordon of Lochinwere, Alexander Stewart of Grenau, Andrew Geddes, Barnard Gordon, George Langmuir, and Peter Gordon, with divers other witnesses." (Translation.)

This document is written in Latin. It shows that Lucas Brois was present at the battle of Sauchie on the 11th June 1488.

Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. xiii., No. 125:—

"Carta Alexandro Brois de Brighame milite et heredibus suis masculis de

corpore suo, legitime procreandis; quibus deficientibus Edwardi Brois fratri suo germano et heredibus suis masculis, de corpore suo legitime procreatis sui procreandis; quibus deficientibus Roberto Brois de Stanehou filio fratris dicti Alexandri et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis sui procreandis; quibus deficientibus Roberto Brois etiam fratri germano dicti Alexandri et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis sui procreandis quibus deficientibus veris legitimis et propinquioribus heredibus masculus dicti Alexandri cognomen et arma de Brois portandibus, et gerescentibus quibuscunque de terris et baronia de Luthris Monypenny. Tenen. de rege pro servitia debita et consuetar.—Dat. apud Glasgow 1 mo die Julij 1495.”

Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. xiii., No. 424 :—

“Carta Alexandri Brois de Bergeame, et Agneta Stewart ejus sponsa de Terres de Erleshall et Pruskeum in baronia de Luthris. Super resig. dicti Alexandri.—Apud Striveling, 28 Martii 1497.”

P. 323.

CONFIRMATION CHARTER by KING JAMES IV. of a Charter of Feu-farm by KING JAMES II., with the consent of his beloved Consort, QUEEN MARY (of Gueldres), to ALEXANDER of BRUSE and JONET his Spouse, and their Heirs, of the Lands of Leithbertschelis and Stanehouse, in the Sheriffdom of Striveling. Charter of JAMES II., dated 26th December 1451; Confirmation by JAMES IV., 29th June 1489.

“Jacobus Dei gracia Rex Scotorum, omnibus probis hominibus suis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem :—Sciatis nos quondam cartam factam et concessam per quondam nobilissimum progenitorem nostrum bone memorie Jacobum Secundum, Scotorum regem illustrissimum cuius anime propicietur Deus cum consensu et assensu. serenissime progenitricis nostre Marie Regina Scotie sue consorte quondam Alessandro Bruse suo dilecta familiaris armigeri nostri Roberti Bruse de Stanehouse, de terris de Lethbertschelis et Staneleiche cum pertinentiis de mandato nostro visam, lectam inspectam et diligentur examinatum, sanam, integram, non rasam non cancellatam nec in aliqua sui parte suspectam adplenum intellexisse sub hac forma.”

The charter of James II. is then recapitulated, and is printed at length in the Minutes of Evidence in the Montrose Peerage case, p. 117, from Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. xii., No. 140.

These charters prove that "Alexander Bruse," who got the *first* from James II., 26th December 1451, was the son of "*Sir Robert Bruce of Arthe*, who forfeited, with his father-in-law, Sir Alexander Livingstone, in 1449; and that *Robert de Bruse*, who got the *second* from James IV., was the grandson of Sir Alexander, having served heir to his *father*, *Sir John*, in 1483, for Stanehouse, and to his grandfather, *Sir Alexander*, for Airth, &c., in 1489.

Amongst the witnesses to the charter of James II. are the names of "Willelmo, Comite de Douglas et de Avandale, Domino Galwedie," "Willelmo, Domino Creichton, Cancellario," &c. &c. Amongst those to the charter of James IV. are the Bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld, and Aberdeen; Colino, Comite de Ergile, Domino Campbell et Lorne; Willelmo, Comite de Eroll, Domino Hay; Johanne, Domino Glammys; Andrea, Domino Gray; Laurence, Domino Oliphant, &c. &c.

It is asserted that "Andreas de Methven" de eodem married "Isabel, 1505. daughter of Robert Brus of Airth" (Douglas quotes from a MS. history of the family, but does not say in whose possession). She is named as the mother of *John* and *Andrew* Methven, and the grandmother of *Paul*, son of *John*, who, being zealous Protestants, withdrew early in Queen Mary's reign to England; and Paul, being particularly favoured by Queen Elizabeth, became a prebend of the Cathedral of Wells, and the founder of the family of the Methvens of Corsham in Wilts.

Andrew's posterity remained in Scotland, and fell into the lower ranks.

John de Methven is particularly mentioned in a charter in the public archives from King James V. to Mr Edward Bruce, of some lands about Clackmannan, 24th April 1537.

Instrument of resignation by Robert Bruce of Erth, knight, and John Montgomery, of the lands of Baldorane, in the earldom of Levinax and shire of Dumbarton, into the hands of George Colquhoun of Glen, their superior, who then resigns in the hands of Matthew, Earl of Levinax, *his* superior, in favour of Sir Robert and Euphemia. These things were done in the chamber of the said Earl of Levinax, within the palace of our sovereign lord the king, within the Monastery of Holyrood, near Edinburgh, at 8 hours A.M. on the 25th day of April 1508.

Precept by Matthew, Earl of Levinax, for infefting Robert Bruce of Erth, knight, and Euphemia Montgomery, his spouse, in the lands of Baldorane, in terms of his charter made in the above resignation, confirmed by King James IV. of the same, dated the penult day of February, ann. R. 22.

Charter by Thomas Dunlop of Auchinskaith, and Marion Lindsay, his spouse, to Sir Robert Bruce of Artht, knight, and Lady Euphemia Montgomery, his

spouse, of the lands of Dunloppesland in the shire of Striveling and barony of Artht.—Dated at Glasgow, 9th October 1511. Witness—James Montgomery, brother-german of “*Hugh*,” Earl of Eglinton.

Ratification of the above charter by Marion Lyndesay, before Mr Martin Reid, canon and official of Glasgow.—9th October 1511.

Precept directed by John Hepburne of Westfortoun to Mr Thomas Bruce, Larbertscheilles, and James Bruce, Mungowells, for infesting Robert Bruce of Erth, and Jonet Forrester, his spouse, in the lands of Erthchalmerlane.—Dated at Striveling, 9th September 1523.

Do. do. to Robert Brus and Jonet Forrester and their heirs-male, whom failing, to the heirs-male of Robert.—1st November 1524.

Charter of Sale by John Hepburne of six oxgates of land to Robert Bruce of Arth and Jonet Forrester, in the town and territory of Arth.—Dated at Edinburgh, 26th May 1527. Witnesses—Robert Bruce of Bynning, Mr Thomas Bruce of Scheilles, James Bruce, &c. &c.

June 14, 1526. “Robertus Brus, one of the Lords of the Articles.”—*Projudicibus*, 26. II. 301.

July 11, 1526. Robert Brus of Erth, and *Mr Thomas Brus* and JAMES *Brus* of Mungowells, his brothers, received the king’s respite for art and part of the stoutrief of certain mangonels and artillery coming from the castle of Stirling to the king’s majesty, at his burgh of Edinburgh, for the defence of his person; and of the art and part of the stoutrief of the king’s letters from his officers, and the laying violent hands upon them.

Amongst the Airth papers there is a licence by the Regent Morton in the king’s name, permitting “Alexander Brus of Airth,” “Alexander Mure of Skaithmuir,” and “Thomas Brus of Larbertscheilles,” and their tenants, “to remain and byd at hame fra our raid and army ordanit to convene and meet our said cousing and regent at Dumfries upon the tent day of October 1577, for persute and invasion of the thevis, outlawes, and perturbaris of the peace and quietness of our realme.—Dated at Haliruidhous, 19th October 1577.”

These three are cousins, the sons of Robert of Airth, of Mr Thomas of Lethbertscheilles, progenitor of the Comtes de Bruce in France, and of their sister, who married “Mure of Skaithmuir.”

July, 1595. “In the month of July it fortunit a gentleman callit Forrester, ane of the baillies of the toun of Stirling, to be violently murtherit and slain by the clannit men of Levingstone and Bruce of the Kerse. The cause of his slaughter wes this:—Twa gentlemen, the ane callit Forrester, the other Bruce, hapnit baith to loove ae woman, and as the ane pressit to prevail abuve the uther, the factions of thir twa drew frendis to parties and factions, and so, at a meeting Bruce was hurt, and the rest of the Bruces, understanding this uther Forrester (albeit he was na way a medler in that quarrel), to be on his voyage fra Edinbro’ to

Stirling, they belayed all his wayis for his return, and thus wranguslie, on his jurnay, slew him with shots and strais; and because he was a special servand to the Earl of Marr, it was concludit that he should be buried with solemnité in Stirling, altho' he was slain in his passage near Edinbro', and from that place he was cariet to Linlithgow. The Earl of Marr came with many of his frendis, in fear of war, with displayit banners, upon the 12th day of that month, from Lithgow to Stirling, and cariet the corps thro' the lands of Livingstone and Bruce; and causit make the pictur of the defunct on a fair cammess, paintit with the nombre of shots and wounds, to appear the mair horrible and ruthful to the beholders. In this way they completed his burial; and by reason this form is rare, and was never usit in Scotland before, I here insert the same for the noveltie thereof, and *that*, the rather, because I suppose some certayne revenge will ensue therefrom."—*Historie of King James Sext.*, p. 346.

December 3, 1595, Proclamation—

"That nane accompany the Erl of Marr and Lord Livingstone.

"It is stated that it is understood to the king's majestie and lordis of the council, that there is a gret nowmer of his heines' leiges of all estatis of personis, quhilk are warnit and requirit be John, Earl of Marr, Lord Erskine, Alexander Forrester of Garden, and uthers of the kyn of umquhile David Forrester, burgess in Stirling on the ain pairt, and John Levingstone of Dunipace, Bruce of Airth, and uthers of thair colleges on the uther pairt, to be present at a dyet appointed to be holden within the Tolbooth of Edinbro' upon the 20th day of December, for the slaughter of the said umquhile David, amangst quilk personis there being deidlie fued and contraversie presently standing, at least amang the greater nowmer of them, it is to be fearit that upon the first occasion of their meeting, some great inconvenient sall fall out, to the brek of his heines' peax."

December 1595, p. 352, Criminal Trials—

"Charge againis persones under deidlie fued to appear before the king and council at Hali-ruid-house, and that they keep their ludgings efter thair coming, quwill they be speciallie sent for, &c. &c. They are to say, Alexander, Lord Levingstone; Schir Alexander Bruce, elder, of Airth; Alexander Colquhoun of Luss; Mr George Lauder of Bass; James, Lord Borthwick; Prestoun of Craig-miller, &c. &c."

Afterwards it appears that some discord occurred betwixt the "clannit men of Levingstone and Bruce," as the following letter found amongst the papers of Mr Robert Bruce of Kinnaird appears to have been prepared by him for his mother, Dame Janet Livingstone, Lady Airth, to send to her nephew, Lord Livingstone.

There is no date, but her eldest son William, who died vit. pat., ante 1597, must have been the delinquent.

SCROLL of a LETTER—LADY AIRTH to LORD LEVINGSTONE.

"Forasmekle as the Lard of Kerss, my son-in-law, hes, at my desyr, oft and sindre times insistit with your lordship for the taking away of thir . . . * lyk to fall out betwix your lordship and me, be reason of the hurt and skayth done be my son *William*, to Thomas Jurdan, servand to the Lard of Playne, upon accident, in the quhilk cause quhatsoever the Lard of Kerss has spoken and promisit in my name, I am willing to perform; and giff your lordship think yourself thereby interestit in honour or uderwayis, or giff I, or any of my sons or frendis, hes hurt or prejunit your lordship, or oney of your name or dependaries in oney sort, satisfaction sall be made, at your lordship's sight, according to the fact, your lordship causing your frendis and dependaries to do the lyk to me and my frendis giff they have offendit to us.

"As to the particular tuiching the hurting of Thomas Jurden, servand to the Lard of Playne, I am content, for my pairt, that reasonable and discreet friendis be chosen for baith our pairts, and the matter to be referrit unto thaim by submission, and your lordship to be the oversman. And as to my dewtie and friendship to your lordship, your house and friendis in all things, I am content, and sall, God willing, keep sic friendship to your lordship, your friendis and house, as I have done beffoir. Your lordship and your friendis doand your mutual dewtie and friendship to me and my frendis in lyk manner."

Pass to Major Alexander Bruce, Baron of Airth, to return home from the Low Countries:—

"Sir William Davidson, knight and baronett, ane off ye gentelmen of his Maj. of Great Britain's most honorable Privy Chamber in Ordinary, Conservator and Resident for his Maj. most ancient kingdom of Scotland, in the 17 provinces, his Maj. sole Commissioner for England and Ireland in the city of Amsterdam, &c.

"Whereas the bearer hereoff, Major Alexander Bruce, Baron of Airth, within his Maj. kingdom of Scotland, after many years being employed in the service of the states of the united provinces, and now lately licentiated from the said service upon refusing a new oath requyred of all Scots and English officers continued now in their employment, *Is now*, out of his duty and allegiance to our gracious lawful soveraigne lord and king, my master, willing to repair for Scotland and England, to attend his Majestie's further pleasure: these are therefore to desire you to suffer and permitt him, with his goods, servants, and equipage, to pass quietly and peacably into any place of Scotland and England,

* Illegible.

and thereafter to any place where his Majesty may happen to be, without any lett or molestation.

“Given under my hand and seal of my conservatore office, at Amsterdam, the 9th day of May 1665, in the seventeenth year of his Majestie’s reign.

(Signed) “WILLIAM DAVIDSON.

“To all admirals, governors, comanders of shippes, and to all others whom this may concern.”

But it appears that he died within the year, and his son Alexander having predeceased him, his daughter “Jeane” became Lady of Airth.

Jeane Bruce, Lady of Airth, married, first, John Hamilton of Grange; secondly, 1674, Richard Elphinstone of Calder Hall, great-grandson of William Elphinstone, younger, son of the second Lord Elphinstone.

Their son and heir, Charles Elphinstone, having been killed near Torwood by William Bruce of Auchinbowie, Elizabeth Elphinstone, his only sister, succeeded, and the following indictment was in her name:—

“William Bruce of Auchinbowie, you are indicted and accused at the instance of Elizabeth Elphinstone, sister-german to the deceast Charles Elphinstone of Airth, for herself, and in name and behalf of the remanent kin and relations of the said Charles, and William Dundas, her husband, for his interest, and Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, her Majestie’s advocate for her Highness’s interest . . . of murder—you having conceavid a cruell hatred and malice against the said deceast Charles Elphinstone of Airth, who was only a youth under minority, and had never given the least ground or occasion of offence to you. Yet, being in company with the said Charles, at the house of William Lord Forrester at the Torwoodhead, upon the penult day of April 1699 years; and seeming *there* to be in entire friendship with the said Charles, and when they were coming away from the house; yet, after the said Charles had ridden a considerable pairt of the way with you, the said William, always dissembling your intended villany and prejudice, until you came to a change-house near the end of the Torwood, you, the said William Bruce, did at the same house utter many opprobrious words and insolent expressions against the said Charles, of deliberate design to quarrel with him, but the said Charles always *steefled* any meddling with you; and you, the said William, did at last arrive at that height of insolence, that you drew your sword, and therewith gave the said Charles Elphinstone a thrust and mortal wound in the left side of his body, whereof he languished until the next morning, and then depairted this lyffe.”

Printed paper amongst the Blair writts, dated on the back, 1709.

“Warrant by Sir David Dalrymple, her Majesty’s advocate, to apprehend

the person of Captain William Bruce of Auchenbowie, eldest lawll. son to William Bruce of Newtoun, accused by a subscriv'd information of the crime of murder, committed by him upon the person of Charles Elphinstone of Airth, and to commit him prisoner to the Tolbooth of Edinbro', therein to remain until he be tried for the said crime.—Att Edinbro', 19 July 1709."

It appears, from a "memorial anent Captain Bruce, his killing the Laird of Airth," dated 14th October 1709, that the captain absconded on the slaughter, and was "denounced fugitive" on the 22d September 1699, but had lately returned in the hopes of procuring partial assize, and in the intention of pleading successfully the general indemnity, with what success we know not.

The LIVINGSTONES of KILSYTH and KALENDAR, as descended from the
EARLS of LENNOX.

1152. I. Alwyn, son of Arkyll, was created "Earl of Levenax" by Malcolm IV.

II. Alwyn, his son and heir, an infant, was in ward to David, Earl of Huntingdon. "Eo tempore quo, David Comes, frater Reges Willielmo, habuit et possedit Comitatum de Levenax." Alwyn married "Eva," daughter of Gilchrist of Mentieth, by whom he had eight sons and a daughter, *Eva*, who, on the day of St Lawrence 1216, got from her brother Maldoven, third earl, the barony of Kilsyth, which she conveyed to her husband "Malcolm," son of Duncan, Thane of Kalendar, from which alliance came the family of Kalendar, merged in the Livingstones in the fourteenth century.

On the 26th August, ann. reg. 25, King Alexander confirmed to the said Malcolm "the lands of Glentarvin, Monybrock, Kilsyth, and Glaswell, which he had by gift of the Earl of Lennox, together with the lands of *Calynter*, in free warren." Eva's younger brothers were also provided with lands in the earldom; whilst Maldoven, the earl, marrying Elizabeth, daughter of Walter, son of Alan, Lord High Steward, by Beatrix, his wife, daughter of Gilchrist, Earl of Angus, had a son, *Malcolm*, who died vit. pat., and a daughter, *Ada*, married to Malcolm Drummond, ancestor of the family of Perth. Malcolm, grandson of Maldoven, was the fourth earl. He died between 1290 and 1292, leaving an only son, Malcolm, fifth earl, the friend of Robert the Bruce. He lived to a great age, and was killed at Hallidon in defence of the rights of King David II. It is believed that his wife was a sister of the Earl of Marr.

VI. Donald, his son, succeeded. He died in 1373, leaving an only daughter, Margaret, who married Walter of Faslane, son of Alan, of the Stewart race. To him King Robert II. granted a charter, in which he is styled, "Dominus et

Comes de Levenax." In 1385 the earl and countess resigned in favour of their son "*Duncan*," who, having no son, settled his honours and estates on his eldest daughter *Isabel*, who married "*Murdoch, Duke of Albany*," Regent of Scotland during the captivity of his nephew, James I. Earl Duncan was beheaded, along with Murdoch and his two sons, in 1425: he left three daughters—1. *Isabella, Ducissa de Albany et Comitissa de Levenax*; 2. *Elizabeth*, wife of Sir John Stewart of Darnley, Lord D'Aubigny, &c.; and, 3. *Margaret*, wife of Sir Robert Mentieth of Rusky.*

Sir Alexander Livingstone was of James I.'s council on his return from his 1424. captivity in 1424, when, on the 12th March of that year, Murdoch Stewart, Earl of Albany, and all his party, were arrested by order of the king in Parliament at Perth, and thrown into different prisons.

Walter Stewart, Albany's eldest son, was tried for robbery, "*de robboria*," May 24, and in one day condemned and executed. The following day, Albany him- at Stir- self, his son Alexander, and the Earl of Lennox (then in his eightieth year), ling. were found guilty, of what crimes it is not known, but probably of the usurpation of the government during the absence of the king, and the little desire they had ever shown for his liberation. They also were executed on the "*Heading-hill*," before Stirling Castle. "*Forresters*," "*Somervilles*," and "*Livingstones*" were with the king; also the Earls of Douglas, March, and Angus, although they too had been arrested at Perth, but afterwards released.

After the murder of James I. at Perth, and the execution of his assassins, the 1436. queen, "*Jane Beaufort*," took refuge with her young son in Edinburgh Castle, of which Sir William Crichton was governor. The young king (six years of age) was crowned at Holyrood. The queen was appointed his guardian; and "*Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas and Duke of Touraine*," was made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom (his mother, the Princess Margaret, had been the sister of the late king); but Archibald, fifth earl, "died at Restalrig of the hot-fever," 26th June 1439.

Meanwhile the queen, finding that her son had become a prisoner in the 1438. hands of Crichton, carried him off by stratagem to Leith, and thence, by water, to Stirling Castle, her jointure-house, of which Livingstone of Kalendar was governor.

The Lieut.-General would take no active part against Crichton, and Livingstone, having raised his vassals, laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh in person, an Act having been passed by which it was made treason for any subject to hold their castles or fortalices against lawful authority.

* Elizabeth's descendants afterwards succeeded to the principal dignity, which, coming through his grandfather to James VI., was absorbed in the crown.

The proceedings of this period are involved in obscurity ; but it is known that *Crichton*, finding himself unable to contend against the power of the queen and the Baron of Kalendar, and his advances towards forming a coalition with Douglas having been treated with supreme contempt, agreed to deliver up the castle into the hands of Sir Alexander Livingstone.

Soon after, Crichton was made Chancellor in place of Cameron (one of the Douglas faction), whilst to Livingstone was committed the guardianship of the young king's person, and the chief management of the government.

1440. No lieutenant-governor was appointed after the death of the great Douglas. His sons were minors ; and the young lord, with all his father's wealth and power and pride, without his prudence and experience, soon brought upon himself and his brother a cruel fate. Being invited by Crichton, with every appearance of good faith, to visit the young king in Edinburgh Castle, where he was again immured under Crichton's care, they were, after a hurried form of trial, condemned and executed, for what crimes we know not, but it is believed they were accused of having designs upon the crown. The young king was made to preside at this mock trial, but he was as much as ever a prisoner in the hands of Crichton ; and although, it is said, he clung to his knees, entreating him to spare the lives of these youths, to whom he had become attached, he could not prevail. The queen—who seems to have remained in Stirling Castle, almost a prisoner also, whilst her son was carried off from an early hunting-party by Crichton—to free herself from this bondage, espoused, unknown to the reigning faction, Sir James Stewart, third son of Sir John Stewart, Lord of Lorn, who was in strict alliance with the Douglasses. This marriage, on its being first made known, was received with apparent approval ; but soon after, Sir James was suddenly arrested, with his brother, Sir William Stewart, and they were cast into a dungeon in Stirling Castle. An old MS. affirms that "*Livingstone* put them in *pittis* and *bolli*t thaim," whatever that may mean ; and the queen herself, with little courtesy and some violence, was imprisoned in her apartment under a strict guard, and all communication cut off with her husband and his party. This was probably the act of Sir Alexander Livingstone's eldest son, who had been for some time lieut.-governor of Stirling Castle. He was, we are told, with the young king, riding out of Stirling in the early morn, when Crichton with a strong party surrounded them, and, taking the bridle-rein of the young king, besought him on bended knee to leave that fortress, and permit himself to be rescued by his faithful subjects, and restored to his true rights as a sovereign. Saying this, he conducted his willing victim, amidst the applauses of his vassals, to Linlithgow, where an armed escort was in waiting to conduct him to Edinburgh Castle.

Sir Alexander Livingstone was at Perth. His son, the lieut.-governor, saw that resistance was hopeless; and on his return, Sir Alexander, considering a reconciliation with Crichton the best means in his power of insuring the safety of his ward, sent him a message deploring the misunderstanding that existed, and his willingness to submit all differences regarding the custody of the royal person to mutual friends.

Leighton, Bishop of Aberdeen, and Winchester, Bishop of Moray, being then in Edinburgh, the rival lords met with them in the church of St Giles, where a solemn reconciliation took place, the charge of the youthful monarch being once more intrusted to Livingstone, whilst the Chancellor received an increase of authority in the State, and the advancement of his personal friends to offices of trust and emolument.

Soon after, a convention was held in Stirling, when the queen-mother resigned into the hands of Sir Alexander Livingstone "the keeping of the person of the king, her dearest son, until he should reach his majority," at the same time surrendering *in loan* to Sir Alexander her castle of Stirling as the residence of the king; and, for the due maintenance of his household and dignity, conveyed to him her annual allowance of 4000 merks, granted by the Parliament upon the death of the king, her husband.

The same deed declares that the queen had remitted to Sir Alexander Livingstone and his accomplices all rancour of mind which she had erroneously conceived against them for the imprisonment of her person, being convinced that their conduct "had been actuated by none other motives than those of truth, loyalty, and a zealous anxiety for the safety of their sovereign lord the king;" and it concludes by a stipulation that, in the event of the king's death, the castle shall be redelivered to the queen, and that the Lord Livingstone and his friends shall not be annoyed or "*brought nearer to the death*" for any part that they may have acted in these important transactions.*

It was natural that Sir Alexander Livingstone, on being appointed governor to the young king, should bring his friends into power. His eldest son, "Sir James," became, in his father's place, Captain-General of Stirling Castle, where the king resided.

Robert Callendar was Captain of Dumbarton Castle.

John Livingstone of Doune, in Mentieth, and Robert Livingstone of Lithgow, Comptroller of the Exchequer.

James Bruce, Bishop of Dunkeld in 1441, and Lord Chancellor in 1444,† who

* This voucher bears date July 7, 1445.

† Sir William Crichton ceased to be Chancellor for a time in 1444, but was restored in 1447, and so continued till his death.

was a connection of Lord Livingstone's (being a brother of the house of Clackmannan), was preferred to the See of Glasgow, but died before he was enthroned, A.D. 1447.

"Mr William Turnbull, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow" (who nobly endowed the university thereof), "Sir William Crichton," "Sir James, Lord Hamilton," nephew of the Lord of Kallendar, James Livingstone, his son and heir, James Dundas of that ilk, son-in-law of the said lord, Alexander Ogilvie of Innerquharrity, and Alexander Nairn of Sandford, comptroller, with some others, formed a committee, called in the record, "the King's Daily Council," invested with power to administer the government during the intervals of Parliament.

1447. On the death of "Alexander, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles," Lord Kallendar, besides being governor of the king, became great-justiciary also.

1449. Lord Kallendar, together with the Lord Montgomerie, the Lord Hamilton, the Bishop of Dunkeld, the Treasurer, the Abbot of Melrose, and Dr John Methven, the register, went as a commission to England to prolong the truce between the two nations, which they effected at a meeting held in the vestibule of the cathedral of Durham; but whilst Lord Kallendar was absent, his enemies, of whom William, eighth Earl of Douglas, was the chief, set themselves to possess the king against him, and prevailed upon him to call a Parliament, which met in Edinburgh, for the express purpose to destroy Lord Kallendar and his party.

Sept. 23. Articles of treason were exhibited against him; Sir James, his eldest son; Alexander, his second son; James de Dundas of that ilk, his son-in-law; and Duncan Dundas, his brother; Robert Brus of Airth, also his son-in-law; John Livingstone, Captain of Doune Castle; Robert Kallendar, Captain of Dumbarton; and Robert Livingstone, Comptroller of the Exchequer; but what was the matter laid in the indictment is dark and uncertain at this distance of time, but it is supposed from the preamble to have been some attempt to remove the king from the place where the Estates had fixed his residence, without asking their leave and consent. From whatever cause, and upon whatever evidence, they were all condemned, and sentence passed as in case of treason. The Lord Kallendar, and Alexander his son, a great favourite of the king, James Dundas of that ilk, and Duncan his brother, threw themselves upon the king's mercy, and were sent, without further trial, to Dumbarton Castle, whose governor was Sir Robert Semple; but a severe revenge was taken upon the rest of the party, for James, the Lord Kallendar's eldest son, Robert Bruce of Airth, and Robert Livingstone of the house of Drumray, suffered together, on the castle-hill, on the moat thereof, where executions usually took place, on the 19th January 1449-50.—See Black Acts of Parliament.

After the attainder of the Lord Kalendar and his friends, parts of their ^{1450.} estates were vested in the Crown, and parts given to those who had been most zealous in their prosecution, and to other rising favourites.

The Earl of Douglas and Avondale, who had been at the head of the prosecution, got for his reward half the lands of Dundas and the lands of Echline, &c.—Char. under Gt. Seal, 10th February 1449-50. And while the earl was minister, no glimpse of favour was ever shown to Lord Kalendar or his relatives, who remained in the cold prison of Dumbarton Castle; but as soon as Lord Douglas fell, by an unpremeditated blow from the dagger of his sovereign in Stirling Castle, then Lord Kalendar and his friends were restored to favour, ^{Feb. 13,} and their attainder taken off. ^{1451-52.}

Sir Alexander, his son and heir, was created Lord Levingstone and made Master of the Household. So also the attainder was taken off the Laird of Airth, and his son, Sir Alexander Bruce, was restored to his estates, getting at ^{Dec. 26,} the same time a charter (still extant)* of the Stanehouse and Lethbertschellis ^{1451.} to him, and “Jonet Levingstone” his wife, daughter of Alexander, first Lord Livingstone, and to their heirs, which charter was confirmed and rehearsed in a charter by James IV. to Sir Alexander’s grandson, “Robert Bruce of Stane- ^{June 29,} house and Airth.” The Act attainting James Dundas of Dundas was also ^{1489.} reversed, and all was restored to him that remained in the Crown; but although the Earl of Douglas was dead, no attainder stood against him and his estates, that of Dundas, amongst others, devolving upon James Douglas, his brother, ninth earl; and on the attainder of this last-mentioned earl the estates were restored, but not, it would appear, to the head of the Dundas family.—From an old MS.

The queen-mother, “*Jane Beaufort*,” in her lone retreat at Dunbar, had probably learnt to estimate the motives of the different parties who had contended for the custody of her son, and to believe, in truth, that the Livingstones “had been actuated by none other motives than those of truth, loyalty, and a zealous anxiety for the safety of their sovereign lord the king.” Loyalty to the house of Stewart appears to have been with them an inheritance, and the guardianship of its youthful members their privilege and reward, as long as life and fortune were left to them.

Bishop Lesly tells us that, on the birth of Queen Mary in December 1522, and the death of her father, James V., eight days after, “certain lords was appointit to remain *contiownallye* with the queen-dowager in company; albeit, she wald admit nane of them, saffing the Lord Livingstone, to make residens with her at Linlithgow, quhill the queen was transportit to Striveling in August of the same year.

* Scep. 600.

When Queen Mary went to France Lord Livingstone went with her, A.D. 1547, and died there in 1550, leaving his daughter "Mary"* as one of her Maries. Lady Fleming, a half-sister of King James V., and Lord Erskine, who were also with the young queen, returned home on Lord Livingstone's death.

The Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of King James VI., born at Dunfermline, 19th August 1596 (or, as some say, in the old palace of Falkland), was reared and educated by the Lady Livingstone, in the house of Callendar, near Falkirk, where Louise Gordon, afterwards the wife of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, was educated along with her, under the superintendence of Dame Genevieve, her mother, wife of John Gordon, Lord of Glenluce and Dean of Salisbury. When the young princess was presented at her father's court, the king and queen returned grateful thanks to the Lord and Lady Livingstone (now Earl and Countess of Linlithgow) for the care they had bestowed upon her. Alexander, seventh Lord Livingstone, had been created Earl of Linlithgow, Lord Livingstone and Callendar, at the baptism of Prince Charles, 25th December 1600. The charter of the barony of Callendar, 13th March 1600, makes honourable mention of the great care and fidelity bestowed upon the education of the king's *children*, and the expense incurred in maintaining them and their servants by the Lord Livingstone and his lady (the Lady Eleanora Hay, only daughter of Andrew, the seventh Earl of Errol).

By this it would appear that Prince Henry also, and perhaps Prince Charles, had been for a time under their care. Thus, in the Princess Elizabeth, who married in 1613 Frederick V., the Elector Palatine of the Rhine, and was mother of the Electress Sophie, mother of George I., the Livingstones fostered the house of Hanover, but their allegiance was ever with the Stewarts,—with and for whom, as long as either house existed, they fought and fell.

The second son of the first Earl of Linlithgow had been created Earl of Callendar.

In 1693 the third Earl of Callendar, an only son, became also heir of his uncle, and in 1695 was Earl of Linlithgow and Callendar. In the troubles of 1715 his honours and estates were attainted. That year his only son died; and in his daughter, the Lady Ann Livingstone, his name was lost. His wife, the Lady Margaret Hay, had been the second daughter of John, twelfth Earl of Errol. Lady Anne Livingstone, her only surviving child, married "William, fourth Earl of Kilmarnock," who fell a victim to his loyalty, 18th August 1746, and their eldest son succeeded to his grandmother's elder sister, "The Countess of Errol," in 1758, the Livingstone and Kilmarnock titles being all forfeited.

* Who afterwards married John Semple.

For a time the Livingstone name still existed in the person of Sir Thomas Livingstone of Bedlormie and Westquarter, the undoubted heir-male of the family, who might have recovered some of the honours, but having no heirs-male did not contend for them.

The MENTIETHS of KERSE or CARSE, and ALVETH or ALVA.

Of the Mentieths of Kersc Nisbet says:—"The first was Sir John Mentieth, descended from the ancient earls of the same surname." Sir John married Marian Stirling, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Stirling of Calder in Clydesdale, and with her got the lands of Kersc and Alva, for which the family carried "the buckles of the name of Stirling;" but it appears to me more likely that they carried "the buckles of Bonkyl," from having been *Stewarts* before they became Earls of Mentieth, and took the *name* along with the title of Mentieth on the death of Walter Cumyn in 1258."—See p. 403.

Sir John *Stirling* appears to have been twice married, and to have had a daughter by each marriage, one of whom inherited his English, the other his Scotch, estates.

From 1342 until 1370 he was summoned to the Parliament of England as Sir John de Strivelin. He was connected with Northumberland, and rose to great importance by adhering to the English side during the reign of David II. He directed the siege of Lochleven for Baliol in 1335; and that same year was appointed sheriff of Edinburgh and keeper of the Castle, with power of receiving in King Edward's name all men coming to his allegiance. He married, first, Barbara, sister and co-heir of Adam de Swinburne. Christian, their daughter and heiress, married Sir John Middleton of Belsay Castle, county Northumberland; and Sir Harris Nicholas says, if this statement be correct, the barony is vested in her descendants—"Christina, uxor Johannes Middleton, Milites."—Bentham Baronetage, vol. i. Appendix No. I.

Secondly, Sir John Strivelin married "Mary of Lorne."

Charter, dated "Perth, 8th September, Nativity of St Mary, by John of Argyre, Lord of Lorne, to 'Mary,' his father's sister, wife of John Strivelyn, and his heirs, of the lands of . . . all lying in Lorne."

Charter of King David II., after narrating that "Marjory of Strivelyn, daughter and heir of the late John of Strivelyn, Sheriff of Clackmannan and Lord of the Carse of Stirling and of Alveth," had resigned all lands, offices, and rents pertaining to her by hereditary right, throughout the whole kingdom, into the hands of Robert the Steward of Scotland, then King-Lieutenant, in his

absence, who had infeft " John of Mentieth, *then* spouse of the said Marjory," therein, to be held by John and Marjory, and their heirs, &c. &c. This appears to have been Marjory's second marriage, as the king " receives and restores to the said John of Mentieth and Marjory to the same state and possession of lands, offices, and rents as she had in her pure widowhood." Dated at Edinburgh, 25th January, ann. reg. 28 (1357).—Alva Charter-Chest.

1382. Charter of King Robert II. to William of Mentieth, son and heir of Marjory of Strivelyn, daughter and heir of the deceased John of Strivelyn, knight of the baronies of West Kerse and Alveth, within the sheriffdom of Stirling, or wherever else within the kingdom ; and also of the offices of Sheriff and Forester of Clackmannan, which had been resigned by Marjory, in the Parliament held at Scone on the 22d October 1382, to be held by the said William of Mentieth and Elizabeth his wife. At Perth, ann. reg. 12.—Original in Kerse Charter-Chest.

Charter by Robert, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and Mentieth, Governor of Scotland, to William, son and heir of William of Mentieth of Wester Kerse, knight, and his heirs, of the baronies of Wester Kerse and Alveth, and of the offices of Sheriff and Forester of Clackmannan, which had been resigned by William of Menteith, the father, to be held in free barony for services used and wont, &c. &c. Dated at Perth, 16th May 1411.—Original in Kerse Charter-Chest.

The lineal descendant of Sir John Mentieth and Marjory Stirling in 1631 was Sir William Mentieth, who at that date sold his estate to Sir William Livingstone of Kilsyth ; and by him it was resold to Sir Thomas Hope, the king's advocate, who held it in 1638-39. It is now in the possession of the Earl of Zetland.

" In 1471 Sir John the Brus of Stanehous, eldest son of Sir Alexander Brus of Airth, married Elizabeth Mentieth, daughter of Sir William Mentieth of Carse. Sir John was slaughtered by the Mentieths in 1483. Sir William Menteith of Carse married Dame Helen Bruse of Airth, his cousin, on the making of amité, luff, and tendirnes betwixt the parties in 1488-89. They had a daughter, who married Viscount Stormont."

1623. Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, son and heir of Mr Robert Bruce, married Margaret Mentieth, daughter of Sir William Mentieth of Carse, and Kinnaird and Halls of Airth were settled on them and their heirs.

APPENDIX Q (p. 361, 362).

KINNAIRD.

LETTER—Sir JOHN BRUCE of Kincavill to Mr ROBERT BRUCE.

“AIRTH, 25th August 1600.*

“BROTHER,—My verie luvng dewtie remembrit. Becaus I resevit na advertisement fra you, nather of the esteat of your awin persone, nor of the esteat of your affairis betwixt his Matie. and you, nor nathing concerning your awin particularies, nor the particularis of the hous of Arthe, in thir respectis I lukit assuridlie that schortlie you should have reparit in this quarter. Quharupon I, and the rest of your frendis here, fra day to day, thir aught dayis bygane, hes attendit; but now, seeing that nather yourself, nor na advertisement fra you, are likely to cum, I thought I had negleckit my dewtie too lang, that nather came nor send to you to understand the premises. Thairfor hes taine occasion to discharge that pairt of dewtie to visit you at least in thir presentis, seeing the beginning of our harvist will not permit me to cum myselff, for I am persuadit this this piece of cross quhairwith it hath plesit God to visit you now, will nocht trubill you, nor put you mukle by dyatt, baith in respect it is his inestimable dealing towartis you, and that ye are better preparit, and can receave thir visitationis in better pairt nor common men. For certainlie I luk that this sall be but ane preparative for a greater, for the Lord deals with you as the guid doctor of medecin doss with his patients, quha beginnis gentlie and softlie with opposemes to prepare the persone for the bitter and sour medecin to cum. Swa I think ye sall de weill to provyd for the warst, and the Lord grant you the assistance of His Spirit to that effect; for, as the bitterest medesinzer brings best health, swa the hairshist and mest grievous crosses brings in the end greatest honour and tranquillitie baith to the body and saul. As tuiching the particularies of your worldlie turnis, I have written thaim at lengthe to your bed-fellow. Thair are sindrie thingis concerning the affairis of the hous of Arthe that lyis over unperfyttit; that dependis upon your cuming here. Swa, hoping athir for your awin presence or advertisement, I leave off to trubill you with ma wordis. Of Airth the 25th of August 1600.—Zour verie luvng brother, reddie to employ all he hes to your weil,

“BRUCE of Kinkavill.

“To the Ryt. Honnble. his luvng brother,
Mr ROBERT BRUCE, Minister of Crystis Evangell at Edinbro’.”

* The year of their father's death.

His Majesty KING CHARLES II., his Letter to ALEXANDER BRUCE of Kinnaird.

“CHARLES REX.

“Whereas we understand that Captain Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, brother to Alexander Bruce, now of Kinnaird, having been a captain in the Earl of Mar’s Regiment of Horse, was by us called, in the year 1650, to be one of the captains of our Life Guard, in which office he continued till the fight of Worcester, where, doing all that became a gentleman and a good soldier, he received those wounds which were the cause of his death soon after ; and now, being informed that the said Alexander Bruce fought manfully in those wars, and received many wounds in our service, and that, after his brother’s death, he had his estate confiscated by the English usurpers, and all his goods and movables seized upon ; and likewise being informed that the said Alexander Bruce is under divers processes of horning, captions, acts of warding, and arrestments for several sums of money wherein he stands bound as principal or cautioner for the deceased Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, and for David Bruce, now of Clackmannan, and for William Bruce of Newtoun, whereof they are bound to relieve him, which he would be the better able to take course with, and to procure his own relief and satisfaction to the creditors, if he had, for some competent time, freedom to his person for settling his affairs, and considering that his freedom from the execution of the law against his person, for these debts, may and will tend to the greater benefit of his creditors in general, and to his own better subsistence, than his restraint and imprisonment by them can produce : Therefore wee, of our princely bounty and goodness, do hereby give and grant our royal protection to the said Alexander Bruce from all hornings, captions, acts of warding, arrestments, and execution of the law against his person, of any debt for which he stands bound for the deceast Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, David Bruce, now of Clackmannan, and William Bruce of Newtoun ; or stands bound as principal with them, whereof they are bound to relieve him during the space of one year, to commence from the date hereof, commanding hereby all judges, magistrates, messengers-at-arms, and all others, our officers of justice whatsoever, no way to stop, trouble, or molest the said Alexander Bruce in his person for any of the debts above mentioned during the space foresaid, as they shall answer to the contrary.

“ Given at our Court of White Hall, the 3d day of February 1682-83, and of our reign ye thirty-fifth year. By his Majesty’s command.

(Signed)

“MORRAY.”

APPENDIX R (p. 363).

THE HAYS OF LOCHLOY, &c.

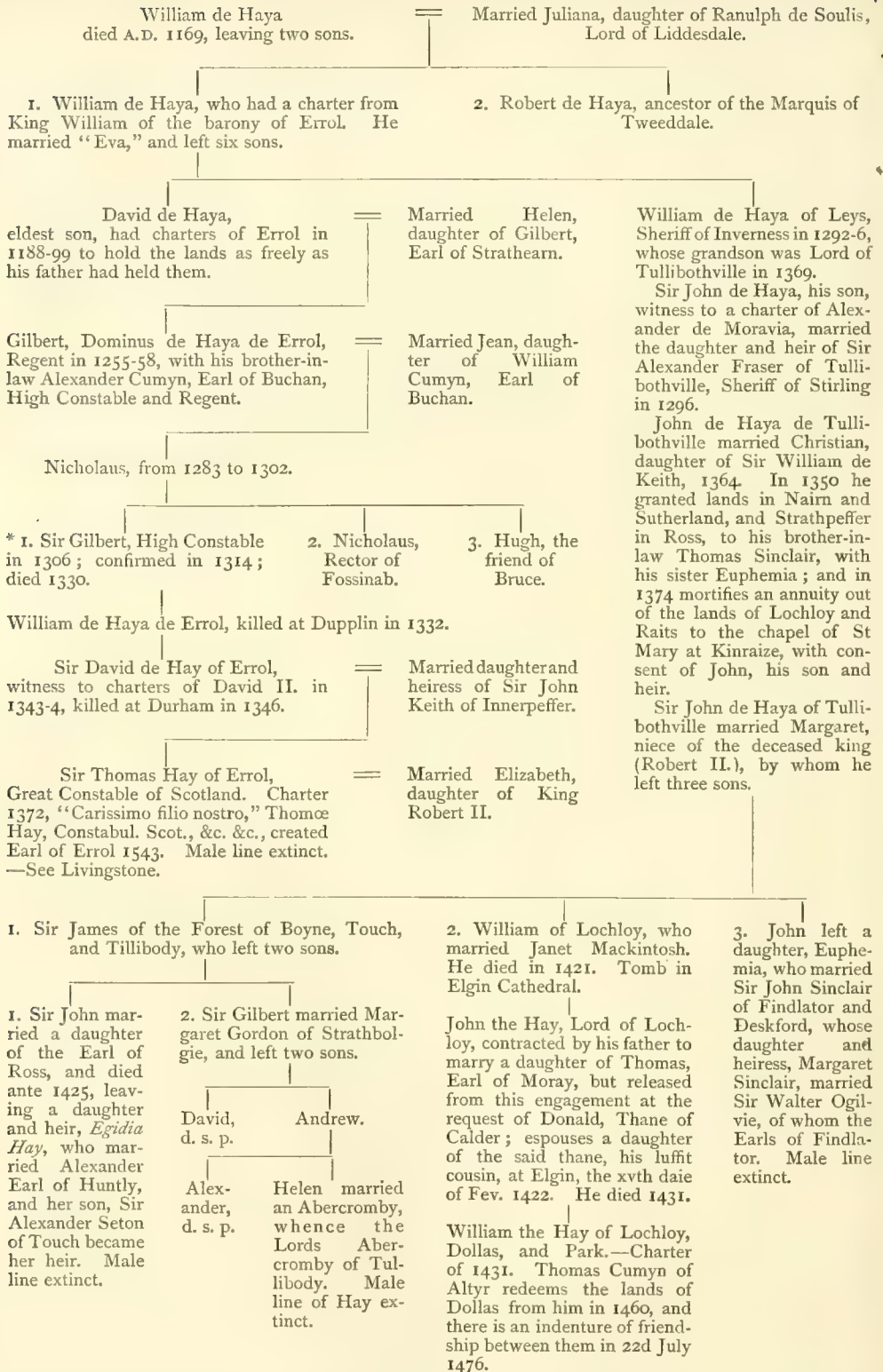
ALEXANDER BRUCE of Kinnaird (grandson of Mr Robert), who, as the foregoing letter testifies, was, with his elder brother, "Colonel Robert," at the battle of Worcester, married, in 1667, Helena, third daughter of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan by Elizabeth Haliburton of Pitcur. Their marriage contract, signed by her mother *Elizabeth*, and her brother Sir Henry Bruce (her father being then dead), settles the estates, *for the first time*, upon an elder daughter of the marriage, failing an heir-male, on condition of her marrying a gentleman of the name of Bruce, or who should assume the name and arms of Bruce of Kinnaird.

Of this marriage there were two daughters — 1. Helen, who became her father's heir; and, 2. Jean, who married her cousin, Henry Bruce, third son of her uncle, Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan, and was mother of "Harry Bruce," last Baron of Clackmannan, who died in 1772.

Helen Bruce, "Ladye of Kinnaird," married, 9th September 1687, David Hay, eldest son of Mr John Hay, lineally descended from the Hays of Lochloy, being the great-grandson of Sir Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, Director in Chancery and Clerk Register in 1582.

Two parts of Eister Kennet, Craigtown, and Kennet Paus, were sold in 1631 to Robert Bruce, fiar of Clackmannan, and Robert Bruce of Kennet.

James Stuart of Rossyth purchased the whole of Craigtown for 24,000 merks, 1639. the other parties having already paid 16,000. Afterwards we find Mr John Hay and his son designed of Woodcockdell in Linlithgow, and Brigmarke in Kirkcudbright. Several genealogies of the Hay family have been published. They all derive from William de Haya, who married Juliana de Soulis, and died in 1169-70.



* Half of the haill lands of the Earls of Buchan were given by King Robert Bruce to Sir Gilbert de Haya, whose grandmother was Jean, daughter of William Cumyn, Earl of Buchan; whilst the other half was given to Margaret Cumyn and John de Ros. By this gift the Earls of Errol still hold Slaines, &c. &c.—See p. 427.

John the Hay of Lochloy succeeded in 1480.

William, his eldest son, had charters from 1509 to 1511. = Married Katharine Urquhart of Cromartie.

John Hay of Lochloy—died in 1563.

= Isobel Dunbar—died in 1554.

1. John Hay, Lord of Park, his son, appt. of Lochloy in 1551, married Jonet Sutherland of Duffus, who died in 1557; John in 1598.

2. David, of Tynefield, witness in 1571 to his nephew's marriage contract.

3. Alexander, of Tynefield, in 1577, married, 1st, daughter of Innes of Innes; 2d, A. Hepburn.

4. George, died ante 1606, leaving a son, Sir Alexander Hay of Forstersait, who married Catherine Skene. Chart. 1603-30.

5. Patrick. 6. John.

Alexander Hay of Warriston, his son, left a daughter, Janet, 1625.

John Hay, eldest son, died vit. pat., having married, in 1571, Margaret, daughter of Hugh Rose of Kilravock, and left three sons.

George Hay died vit. pat., leaving three sons,—1. David; 2. Alexander of *Easter Kennet*; 3. James.*

Mr Alexander Hay of Kinnudie married Elizabeth Monro; left a son, Walter.

John Hay of Lochloy succeeded his grandfather in 1598. Died s. p. in 1600.

David Hay succeeded his brother John in 1600; was brought up by Sir Alexander Hay, Clerk Register, and Sir Alexander Hay of Forstersait.

= Married Marie Rose of Kilravock, who, dying 2d February 1672, aged 88 years, "left 110 descendants then in lyff."

Robert Hay of Strowie and Park.

John Hay of Lochloy died 1640, leaving a son and heir.

= Married, 1629, Jean Cumyn, daughter of James Cumyn, Baron of Altyre, by Margaret Fraser, sister of Simon, Lord Lovat.

William, 2d son.

Hugh Hay of Brightmony, Tutor of Park, died 20th January 1664.

Sir John Hay, a minor.

Colonel William Hay of Lochloy and Park in 1704, &c. &c.

* Sir Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, Director in Chancery and Clerk Register. = Married Mariot Farquhar. Charter 1582. 3 Sons.

1. Mr John Hay. = Mariot Drummond.

2. Daniel Hay.

3. Sir Alexander Hay of Whiteburg in 1600. Died 1616. Alexander Hay of Moncton, 1646. Alexander Hay of Moncton, 1683.

1. Mr Alexander Hay, one of the Clerks of Session, left daughters, Margaret, Anna, and Ellen, provided for out of Easter Kennet, &c. One of them married Sir J. Gibson.

2. Mr David Hay of Easter Kennet, Craigtown, and Kennet Paus, sold to Bruce, fiar of Clackmannan, and Bruce of Wester Kennet, in 1638, for 16,000 merks.

1. John Hay of Woodcockdell and Brigmarke, in Kirkcudbright.

2. James Hay of Carriber.

John Hay.

David Hay, younger of Woodcockdell. = Married, 1687, Helen Bruce, eldest daughter of Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird.

Andrew Hay of Carriber.

David Bruce of Kinnaird.—See Bruces of Kinnaird, p. 363.

In the churchyard of Auldearn, county Nairn, there is a stone bearing the following inscription:—

“This is the sepulchre of Johne Hay of Lochloy, wha depairtit this lyff in the zeir of God 1563, and of Isobel Dunbar, his spouse, wha diet in the zeir of God 1554, and also of Johne of Lochloy, Lard of Park, his sone, wha diet in the zeir of God 1598, and of Jonet Sutherland his spouse, wha diet in the moneth of Januar, in the zeir of God 1559, parents of Master Alexander Hay of Kinnudie.”

This is followed by a long Latin epitaph, in which the virtues and talents of various other members of the family are commemorated, it begins thus:—

“Doctus Johannes Hay, pius et sapie [ens]
Davidicum fratris nomen davidicæ vitæ
 Sanctus erat vita, morte beatus erat.
 Natus *Alexander* doctus fuit, arte magister
 Laudibus hic clarus corruit, ante diem
 Hunc Trinæ exornant charites septemque camænæ
 Multiplice mentis munere condecorant
 His pius, his prudens, gravis hic fuit, atque disertus,
 Ennius ingenio, Tullius eloquio,” &c. &c.

Young David Hay of Lochloy, who succeeded his brother John in 1600, appears to have been more indebted to Sir Alexander Hay of “Forestersait, and Sir Alexander Hay, Clerk Register, than to any other of his relatives for his education and settlement in life, as appears in a document which he left to that effect:—

“Be it kind to all men by thir presentis, me David Hay of Lochloy, forasmekill as in my minoritie, in the year of God 1600, and being under the government of Walter and Alexander Hay of Kinnudie, my curators, transportit fra the countrie of Murray to Lowthian, for my education, at the schullis there, whairin remaining until the year of God 1603, at quhilk time, the plague of pestilence raging in the countrie, and I left desolat, till by Godis pleasure the umquhill Sir Alexander Hay, Clerk of Register, at the earnest entreaty of Sir Alexander Hay of Forestersait, knight,* causit transport me fra Edinburgh to the place of Quhittingham, where I remainit, and wes luffinglie enterteynnit be the space of ane yeir and sumthing mair, till in the yeir of God 1604, I having cum to Kelso, to the said Sir Alexander Hay of Forestersait, quhae thairfra being under jurnay towards London, transportit me with hors and abulyementis effeiring to my rank, with him, to the said citie of London, to the effect

* Sir Alexander Hay of *Forester* or *Foster*-seat, knight, succeeded his father, George Hay, in 1606. Foresterseat once belonged, with the barony of Kilmalemnock to Sir Gilbert Hay of Lochloy and Park. It now belongs to the Duke of Richmond, and is in the parish of St Andrews near Elgin.

that I might see and understand guid manners and fashiones, quhan, fra the 1st September till the 4th of March thairafter, and until the time of my marriage, he disbursit all the charges upon me. Of the quhilk monies disbursit upon me the said Sir Alexander never ressaivit but aucht scoir pundis, being thocht meetest by lawyeris that I should be servit heir to my brother quha wes infest in the landis, to the effect that I might eschew to be heir to my guid sire, quha gave privilege of my haille landis and woodis to my friendis of the house," &c. &c.

APPENDIX S (p. 377).

FAMILY OF DUNDAS.

Two years after his return from Abyssinia, James Bruce married secondly, on the 20th of May 1776, *Mary Dundas*, daughter of Thomas Dundas of Fingask by Lady Janet Maitland, daughter of the sixth Earl of Lauderdale.

Mrs Bruce died on the 10th of February 1785, aged 31 years, leaving one son, "James," and one daughter, "Janet Maitland," an elder son, "David," having died in infancy.

The monument raised by Mr Bruce to their memory, and where his own remains were deposited in April 1794, adjoins the churchyard of Larbert.

The Dundases of that Ilk trace their descent from *Helias*, son of *Uchtred*, son of *Cospatrick*, Earl of Dunbar and March; and although the branch of the family now holding the lands of Dundas claims to be the chief, there is no doubt that the Dundases of Fingask descend from the elder brother, who forfeited in 1449, with Sir Robert Bruce of Arthe, and their mutual father-in-law, "Sir Alexander Livingstone."*

When the forfeiture was reversed, James de Dundas had restored to him such of the estates as were still in the power of the crown—namely, Fingask, Tulliallan, &c. On the forfeiture of James, Earl of Douglas, 8th June 1455, "*Dundas*," the former seat of the family (whether by purchase or gift from the crown is not clearly known), became the property of Sir Archibald Dundas, second son of the late proprietor; whilst at the same time the lands of Dumbarny, also forfeited by the Earl of Douglas, were added to the Perthshire estates of the *elder* brother, which were already more valuable than that which gave its name to the family.

* See in "Lords of the Isles" another account of this forfeiture.

The Dundas family being so nearly connected with the Bruces, by *many* alliances, during the course of upwards of 400 *years*, we shall set forth all that we have gathered from family papers of their history.

Circa
1124.

The first charter of the lands of Dundas, by Waldeve, son of Cospatrick, to Helias, son of Uchtred, of the tenor following :—"Waldus filius Cospatricij, etc. etc. etc., confirmasse Helio, filio Huctredi Dundas, pro servitio dimidij milibus Illum et heredes suos, tenendem de me, et heredibus meis, etc. etc. Helias istam Terram habeat et teneat tam quiete et tam libere, et tam honorifice, ut nullus Miles de Barone teneat in tota terra Regis Scotiæ. His testibus 'Johannes,' filio 'Orm,' 'Walduo, filio Baldwin,' 'Roberto de Sancto Michael,' 'Helia, de Hadestandina,' 'Wilhelmo de Copland,' 'Wilhelmo de Hellebet,' 'Aldano, Dapifero," Gerardo, Milite, Johanne de Graggin.

To this charter there is no date, but as *Waldeve* and *Uchtred* were the sons of Cospatrick, it was evidently from Waldeve to his nephew,—

I. *Helias*, who thereafter took his designation from the lands, and became "*Helias de Dundas*." From the names of the witnesses attached it must have been granted about the year 1124. On the 12th July 1145, Waldeve the son of Cospatrick died.

The date of this charter is further proved by a charter from the same Waldus, son of Cospatricij, to the Abbey of Dunfermling, of the Church of Inverkeithing, wherein this *Helio de Dundas* is a witness, and with him are "*Duncanus Comes*," "*Robertus Avenel*," and "*Johannes Graggin*," witnesses; and *all* the above persons are witnesses in charters granted by King David to the said Abbacy, whence it is evident that the said Helias de Dundas was contemporary with the aforesaid persons.

II. Serle de Dundas succeeded his father Helias, as appears by an MS. of some transactions in the reign of William the Lion, in the hand of Baillie of Castle Cary (William reigned from 1165-1214).

1225.

III. Helias, son of Serle. He held some lands in Dumeny of the Mowbrays of Barnbogle, which they held from the Earl of Roseberry. This Helias is witness to a charter by Alexander II. to "*Scott of Balwearie*," and is mentioned in an enrolment of court by Roger de Mowbray in 1229.—See Sir James Dalrymple's Collection (p. 381).

IV. Radulphus, son of Helias, succeeded his father, circa 1240. He is witness to a charter, chartulary of Kelso, together with *Walter*, son of "*Alan Senescallus*," Justiciarius Scotiæ, 26th May 1240. He swore allegiance to Edward I. in 1296.—Prynne's Collections, vol. iii. p. 658.

V. Saer de Dundas succeeded his father, and died ante 1300.

VI. Sir Hugh de Dundas fought with Wallace, and died in King Robert's reign.

VII. Sir George de Dundas, a steady friend of the Bruces, as his predecessors had been, was killed at Dupplin in 1332.—See Abercromby, vol. i. p. 529; vol. ii. p. 10.

VIII. James de Dundas, son of Sir George, had a long dispute with the 1333. Abbot of Dunfermline about the possession of some islands in the Firth opposite Queensferry, and was excommunicated by the said Abbot, but absolved upon a compromise the same year. He died ante 1364, leaving a son, Sir John.—Chartulary of Dunfermline.

IX. Sir John de Dundas had from David II. a new investiture of the lands 1364. and barony of *Fingask*—"David, D. G., Sciates, &c. Confirmasse dilecto et fidele nostro Johanne de Dundas filio et hered. Jacobi de Dundas, totam et integram Baronium de Fingask fuerunt dicti Johannes hæreditarie," etc. etc. Dated 18th February 1364.—See Copy at length in the Appendix to Nisbet, p. 273.

X. Sir John left, besides his son and heir, "*James*," three daughters—

1st. Agnetta, married Sir Adam Forrester of Corstorphine, Lord-keeper of the Great Seal in the reigns of Robert II. and III.

2d. Euphame, married Sir Alexander Livingstone of Kallendar.

3d. Margaret, married David Stewart of Craigiehall, son and heir of Sir John Stewart of Rosyth.

XI. James de Dundas, son and heir of Sir John, had on his own resignation 1378. a new grant under the Great Seal from Robert II. of the Lands and Barony of *Fingask*, to himself and his legitimate heirs, whom failing, to Adam Forrester of Corstorphine, and Agnes his wife, and their heirs. James de Dundas married *Christian Stewart*, daughter of Sir John Stewart of Innermeath and Lorn, by the sister of Robert, Duke of Albany, Governor of Scotland during the minority of James I. Christian was thus first and second cousin of the king. By her he had—1, James, his heir; 2, Archibald of Liston; 3, Duncan (who forfeited in 1449 with James his brother), and two daughters; 1, Elizabeth, married Philip Mowbray of Barnbogle; 2, Christian, married Sir John Sandilands of Calder, ancestor of Lord Torphichen. Their united arms are still to be seen in two places in the Church of Calder, which they built.

James de Dundas had charters of the lands of Dundas from Alexander Dec. 13, Seton, the superior. 1399.

From Archibald, Earl of Douglas, of Dumbarny in county Perth, and of Dec. 30, Blairmuick in Lanark. 1406.

He had a licence from the Regent, Duke of Albany, to construct a castle or 1416. fortalice at Dundas.

He resigns the lands of Dundas to Sir John Seton, his superior, for a new Nov., charter in favour of himself, and his son and heir "*James*" as fiar, reserving to 1423.

himself, and to Christian Stewart his wife, the liferent thereof, and allotting the house of Dundas as a jointure house to his said wife. He also had, at the same date, a new charter from Murdoch, Duke of Albany (Regent in the absence of James I.), of Fingask, in the same terms; and on the king's return he obtained confirmations of all these charters under the Great Seal.

Nov.,
1425.

He lived in great favour with James I., and died 30th October 1430. In several of the charters he is called "*The King's faithful shieldbearer.*" In none of them is there any mention of his having any other wife than Christian Stewart, nor of any sons but those *three* named in the documents herein quoted, from 1442 to 1473—viz., "*James, his son and heir;*" Archibald, afterwards Sir Archibald of Linton; and Duncan, who shared the fortunes of his eldest brother.

Nov. 30,
1430. XII. James de Dundas succeeded on the death of his father *James*, for vouching of which there is a special retour—"Served and retoured," *tanquam legitimas et propinquas.* "*Hæres quandom Jacobi Dundas decedem sui Patris.*"—Dated 10th April 1431.

By the charter of resignation of Sir John Seton of Seton, dated 29th November 1423, he was, during the life of his father, styled "*Fiar*" of all and hail the lands of *Dundas*, with the pertinents thereof; whilst the lands of Fingask, &c. &c., in Perthshire certainly came to him on the death of his father in 1430.

There is also a special retour of "James de Dundas" in the lands of *Dumbarny*, held of the Earl of Douglas, dated 6th November 1437.

1439. He is a witness to a charter of confirmation by James II. to the Priory of the Charter-House of Perth, called "*Domus Vallis Virtutes.*"

1419. There is a charter in the hands of Lockhart of Lee to David Stewart and Margaret Dundas his spouse, of the lands of Braidwood in Lanark, to which "James Dundas," her brother, is a witness (see Rosyth).

In 1431 James de Dundas married a lady of his own blood and kindred, "Euffame," daughter of Sir Alexander Levingstone of Kallendar. This alliance linked and tied him in a firm and fast friendship with his father-in-law, the Lord Kallendar, both before and after he became the prime-minister. In the minority of James II., when he, Alexander Levingstone, was appointed governor to the young king, he naturally brought his friends with him into power. His eldest son, Sir James Levingstone, became captain-general of Stirling Castle, where the king resided, and was keeper of the royal person.

Robert Callander was captain of Dumbarton Castle, John Levingstone of Doune, in Menteith, and Robert Levingstone of Lithgow, comptroller.

1445. James Dundas of that Ilk, his son-in-law, was one of the king's council, who

were invested with power as a Committee to administer the government during the intervals of Parliament.*

On the death of Alexander, Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles, Lord Kallendar became Great Justiciary, as well as governor of the king, together with the Lord Montgomerie, the Lord Hamilton, the Bishop of Dunkeld (the treasurer), the Abbot of Melrose, and Dr John Methven (the register). He went on a commission to England to prolong the truce betwixt the two nations, which purpose they effected at a meeting held in the vestibule of Durham Cathedral. But whilst Lord Kallendar was absent, his enemies, of whom the Earl of Douglas was the chief, set themselves to possess the king against him, and prevailed with him to call a Parliament, which met in Edinburgh, for the express purpose to destroy Lord Kallendar and his party.

Articles of high treason were exhibited against *him*, "Alexander Levingstone, his eldest son," "Sir James, his 2d son," "James Dundas of that ilk, his son-in-law," and "Duncan Dundas, his brother," "Robert Bruce of Arthe," also his son-in-law, "John Levingstone, captain of Doune Castle," "Robert Kallendar, captain of Dumbarton," and Robert Levingstone, comptroller of the Exchequer; but what was the matter laid in the indictment is dark and uncertain at this distance of time, but is supposed from the preamble to have been some attempt to remove the king from the place where the Estates had fixed his residence, without asking their leave and consent. From whatever cause, and upon whatever evidence, they were all condemned, and sentence passed, as in case of treason.

The Lord of Kallendar, Sir Alexander (afterwards Lord Levingstone, and a great favourite of the king), James de Dundas, and Duncan his brother, threw themselves on the king's mercy, upon which they were sent without further trial to the castle of Dumbarton, whose governor was Sir Robert Semple, but a severe revenge was taken on the rest of the party. James, the Lord Kallendar, 2d son, Sir Robert Bruce of Arthe, and Robert Levingstone, of the house of Drumray, suffered together on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, or the moat thereof, where executions usually took place, on the 19th January 1449-50.—(See Black Acts of Parliament.)

* This Committee, called in the Record "*The King's Daily Council*," consisted of "James Bruce, Bishop of Dunkeld, Lord Chancellor," who was a relation of Lord Levingstone's, being a brother of the house of Clackmannan, by which means he was preferred to the See of Glasgow; "Mr Henry Turnbull, Lord of Provance, Lord Privy Seal, and afterwards Bishop of Glasgow (who so nobly endowed the University there); Mr John Ronaldson, Dean of Dunkeld, promoted to be bishop thereof; Sir William Crichton; Sir James Lord Hamilton, who was nephew to the Lord Kallendar; James of Levingstone, son and heir; and James Dundas of that ilk, son-in-law of the said lord; Alexander Ogilvie of Inverquhar; and Alexander Nairn of Sanctfort, Comptroller. This voucher bears date the 7th July 1445.

- After the attainder of the Lord Kallendar and his friends, parts of their estates were vested in the Crown, and parts were given to those who had been most zealous in their prosecution, as well as to other rising favourites. The Earl of Douglas and Avondale, who had been at the head of the prosecution, got for his reward *half the lands of Dundas and the lands of Echline*, on the attainder of James de Dundas.—Charter under Great Seal, 10th February 1449-50. And whilst the Earl of Douglas was prime minister, no glimpse of favour was ever shown to the Earl of Kallendar and his friends, who remained unheeded in their cold prison at Dumbarton; but as soon as Lord Douglas fell by an unpremeditated blow from the dagger of his sovereign in the castle of Stirling (13th February 1451-52), Lord Kallendar and his friends were restored to favour, and their attainder taken off. Sir Alexander Levingstone, his son and heir, was created Lord Levingstone, and appointed Master of the Household. So also the attainder was taken off the Laird of Airth, and Alexander Bruce, Sir Robert's son, was restored to his estates, getting at the same time a charter of "Stanehouse and Lethbertschielles" to him and Jonet Levingstone his spouse, daughter of Alexander, 1st Lord Levingstone.—(See Bruces of Airth.) The Act attaining "James Dundas of Dundas" was also reversed, and all was restored to him that remained in the Crown; but although the Earl of Douglas was dead, no *attainder* stood against him, and his estates, that of Dundas amongst others, devolved on his brother, James de Douglas. The point at issue is, Why, on the attainder of this last-mentioned earl, the estates of *Dundas* and *Echline* were not restored to the elder branch of the Dundas family? James de Dundas, soon after his restoration to his barony of Fingask and his other Perthshire estates, retired to that county, and was no more heard of at Court or in public life, and so was not in the way of further promotion. It is, indeed, doubtful whether he did not die before 1455, when Dumbarny *was* restored to his house, on the attainder of James, Earl of Douglas; but the lands of *Dundas* and *Echline* went to "*Sir Archibald of Linton, his younger brother.*" In attempting to assert themselves the *elder* branch, *his* descendants have nearly lost the identity of their founder. That "Sir Archibald" and Duncan were the younger brothers of James is vouched by a charter, in the charter-chest at Newliston, by James de Dundas, in favours of "Archibald de Dundas and Duncan de Dundas," his brothers-german:—
- Sept. 2, 1442. "Confirmesse dilectus fratribus meis germanis, Archibaldo de Dundas, et Duncano de Dundas, Viginti-quatuor Marcas annui Redditus," &c. &c.; also a confirmation of the same by George, Lord Seton, 26th April 1499; also a copy of a notarial discharge of an annuity by Duncan de Dundas to his brother Sir Archibald, 22d December 1472; and another of the same, 2d July 1473.

This Sir Archibald acquired the estate of Dundas by singular articles, and *not* as heir to his brother "James," who forfeited. It appears that one-half of Dundas he purchased, and the other half was bestowed upon him by the Crown, probably as a reward for his deserting the Earl of Douglas when he lay before Abercorn, which he did in company with Lord Hamilton and all his party. It is to be remarked that Sir Archibald was till then of the Earl of Douglas's party, that which was opposed to the Levingstones and his brothers, and that he was one of the earl's friends included in a safe-conduct to go with him to England in 1453. He was probably the godson of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, being the first Dundas of that name.

Sir Archibald Dundas, settling himself at Dundas, now came to designate himself "*de eodem*" et "*Dominus ejusdem*," and was the first of the present family so called (October 9, 1455, in an original writ in the Panmure Charter-chest, he signs as a witness). There is a charter of the Middletown of Barnton, by Nicholas, Lord Borthwick, to Archibald Dundas of Liston, afterwards "Sir Archibald Dundas of Dundas."

To return to James Dundas, now designated of Fingask. He died circa 1455, leaving by Euphame Levingstone, his wife, "*Alexander*," his son and heir, and a younger son "*Duncan*" (sometimes taken for his uncle "*Duncan*," although it is stated that his mother was a Levingstone, and that Sir David Guthrie was his brother-in-law). This Duncan was a commissioner and plenipotentiary in divers treaties with England, and designated by Rymer, "*Lyon, King at Arms*," and founded the families of Philipstoun and Breastmiln, &c. Sir James also left 3 daughters—1st, married Sir David Guthrie of that Ilk; 2d, Margaret, married Alexander Cockburn of Langton; 3d, Janet, married Robert Bruce of Pitlithy, second son of Sir William Bruce of Erleshall.—(Public Records, lib. viii. chap. 260.)

XIII. Alexander, son and heir of James de Dundas by Euphame Levingstone, succeeded his father in the Perthshire estates of Fingask, &c. 1455.

1. He married "Isabel," daughter of Laurence, Lord Oliphant, who died without succession.—(Carta penes Laurentium Oliphant de Gask, anno 1455. Diplimat Erroliana, penes Comitissam de Errol, No. 19; Errol i., 21st June 1455. Two seals appended.)

2. He married "Helen," one of the two daughters and co-heirs of Walter Arnot of that Ilk, son and heir of Sir John Arnot, brother of the Bishop of Galloway. (The other sister, Dame Elizabeth Arnot, married—1. Colville of Ochiltree; 2. Lord Semple.)

With Helen Arnot, Alexander Dundas got the lands of Knightspottie, in the barony of Abernethy and shire of Perth (*sold in 1584*). By her he left

Alexander, his son and heir, besides other sons, and two daughters—1. Christian, married Sir John Fotheringham; 2. Euphame, married Reid of Akynheid, brother of the Bishop of Orkney.—(See Kinloss.)

This Alexander de Dundas is not found in any deed or record after 1513, and it is said that he fell at Flodden, along with four brothers.

1513. XIV. Alexander de Dundas, who succeeded his father, acquired large possessions in land, and made an honourable alliance in marriage with Elizabeth Bruce, daughter of Sir David Bruce of Clackmannan (by Dame Janet, his wife, daughter of Sir Patrick Blaccadder of Tulliallan, by Margaret, daughter and co-heir of James Edmonstone of that Ilk, heiress of Boyne and Tulliallan). Elizabeth Bruce was sister to the Baron of Clackmannan, and to Edward Bruce of Sheriffmilne and Blairhall, ancestor of the Earls of Elgin, Ailesbury, and Kincardine.

1542. Alexander had a charter from the prioress of Elcho of the lands of Caldicots or Caldcoats, confirmed by charter under the Great Seal of James V. to Alexander Dundas of Fingask, son and heir of Alexander of Fingask. He was killed at the battle of Pinkie; and in 1550, Elizabeth, his relict, signs deeds, "with the consent of her second husband, Robert Colless or Collace of Bonymoon," concerning transactions with her son, Archibald de Dundas, Laird of Fingask, in which also are mentioned her second son, Robert, and third son, Thomas, of whom were the Dundases of Findhorn and Windyhill, in Moray, in 1557-80.—(See Kinloss.)

Alexander de Dundas left also two daughters:—

1. Nicolas, married Alexander Colville, Lord Commendator of Culross. Their eldest son succeeded his uncle, who was created Lord Colville of Culross in 1609. Their second son, Mr Alexander Colville of Blair, was Justice-Depute to the house of Argyll, in the justiciary of Scotland. Their three daughters married, 1. Grizell Colville, Sir John Preston of Valleyfield; 2. Jean Colville, Robert Bruce of Blairhall, and had Thomas Bruce of Blairhall, and Sir William Bruce of Kinross, Bart.; 3. Christian Colville, the Earl of Kincardine; whilst "*Mary*," second daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield by Grizell Colville, married Sir George Bruce of Carnock, and had Edward and Alexander Bruce, successively Earls of Kincardine.

2. Margaret, second daughter of Alexander Dundas of Fingask, married, 1. William Ker of Ancrum; 2. Sir George Douglas of Mordington, son of George Douglas of Parkhead, mother to James Douglas of Torthorwald (who married the heir-general of Lord Carlyle), and uncle to James Douglas, created Lord Torthorwald in 1609. Margaret left a son, Sir George Douglas, who was in great favour with Charles I., to whom he was lord of the bedchamber in 1632, and was sent ambassador and plenipotentiary extraordinary to Denmark and Sweden,

where he died in 1635, leaving an only sister, Martha Douglas, who married Sir James Lockhart of Lee.

XV. Archibald Douglas Dundas succeeded his father Alexander (see re- 1547. tour, Co. Perth, also deeds signed by his mother 1550). His lady was Bessie 1554. Colville, daughter of Robert Colville of Cleish. Her mother was "Frances," only daughter and sole heiress of Patrick Colquhoun of Piemont, and of Bessie Colville his wife, daughter and at length sole heir of Sir William Colville Lord Ochiltree,—then one of the greatest families in Scotland. Her fortune was £1000, of which the discharge is still extant, to Robert Colville of Cleish, her brother. "William, Commendator of Culross; Sir James Colville of Easter Wemyss; Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, and John Brown of Fordell, cautioners. The penult day of August 1554."

The children of Archibald Douglas Dundas and Bessie Colville were, 1. William, son and heir-apparent, who was contracted in marriage to Margaret Carnegie, sister to David, first Earl of Southesk; and the estates were resigned Jan. 28, by his father Archibald, and settled upon them and their heirs-male; failing 1582. whom, on his *own heirs*.

XVI. William Dundas of Fingask takes a new charter from the Crown of the 1588. lands of Caldicoats to heirs *whatsoever*, also of Fingask and his other estates; but dying without leaving heirs, the estates in course of succession fell to his brother, Archibald Dundas.

Archibald Dundas of Fingask, in virtue of the investiture to heirs-male, is served heir to his grandfather, Alexander Dundas of Fingask, who died at the faith and peace of Queen Mary. He is found in the inquest to be "Legitimus et propinquior hæres quondam Alexandri Dundas de Fingask, avi sui." Being thus in possession of the family estates, he married "*Jean Carnegie*," half-sister of his brother's lady. Her mother was Euphame Wemyss, daughter of Sir David Wemyss of that Ilk, progenitor of the present Earl of Wemyss. Jean Carnegie was widow of James Carmichael of Balmedy; by her he had two sons and *six daughters*. 1. Sir John was his eldest son and heir. 2. Robert, whose son was "*Lawrence Dundas*," Professor of Humanity in Edinburgh College, who died a bachelor, left his fortune (which was considerable) to his cousin, the heir of Fingask. The daughters married—

1. Nicholas = James Kinross of Kippenross, settled there since the days of King Robert; 2. Alex. Fairlie of Braid, and had one daughter Elizabeth = Sir James Lockhart of Lee.

2. Euphame = Robert, called "Baron Fergusson," in Athol. Her father signs 1622.

3. Margaret = David, son of William Bruce of Nether Fingask and Rait.—*See Bruce of Rait.*

4. Jean = Dr Alexander Ramsay of the house of Banff.

5. Catharine = Mr David Williamson. Her brother signs in 1624.

6. *Helen, died unmarried.*

Archibald Dundas married, 2d, Giles Mercer, widow of Alexander Blair of Balthyock, but by her had no issue. He died betwixt 1622 and 1624, and was succeeded by Sir John, his eldest son.

1624. John Dundas of Fingask had succeeded his father. He was knighted at the
June 18, coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood. He married, 1st, Dame Nicolas Mon-
1633. creiffe, daughter of Sir William Moncreiffe of that Ilk, by Anne his wife, daughter of Sir William Murray of Abercairney.

2d, Margaret, daughter of *Sir George Dundas* of that Ilk, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick, by Dame Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Bartholomew Hume of Simprum, son of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn. By this lady he had a son and heir aged seven years when his father died in 1678, who came to be designated "*John Dundas of Baldovic*," for Sir John Dundas, after his second marriage, parted with his estate of Fingask, which had been transmitted to him through a series of very worthy ancestors; and in lieu thereof he acquired other lands in the county of Forfar—first purchasing Ballindarg, which he afterwards exchanged for Baldovic.

It was in the year 1650 that Sir John sold the barony of Fingask to Mr M'Gill of Ford. The house, remaining uninhabited for a long time after the sale, was allowed to go to ruin. The charter-chest of the family, left in it, was decayed by rain, and the writings scattered. Part of these were recovered in the ground storey of the house; and others, very old and curious, were from time to time picked up by different persons living in the neighbourhood. The retour of Alexander, No. 12, is said to be wanting, but various deeds prove his marriages, and his possession of Fingask and several other properties, transmitted through him to his *sons' sons* down to the present day. Can the successors of Sir Archibald Dundas of 1455 produce *his* retour? and if so, can they tell why he did not succeed to the larger family estates of Fingask, etc., in Perthshire? If his elder brother "*James*," as they pretend, left no son and heir? In 1678, on the death of Sir John Dundas, his son John, ætat. 7, was left to the guardianship of his mother's family.

1678. XVII. There is a summons in existence at the instance of David, Viscount Stormont, charging "*John Dundas of Baldovic*" to enter himself heir to umquhile Sir John Dundas of Fingask, his father.

This summons did not pass the signet until 1698.

John Dundas married Magdelaine, daughter of Thomas Allardice of that ilk, an ancient family in the Mearns. There is a charter in their possession from William the Lyon to Waltero, filio Walteri Scoti, of the lands from which they derive their name.

John Dundas left an only son "*Thomas*."

XVIII. Thomas Dundas married Bethia, daughter of John Baillie of Castle Cary in the county of Stirling, by whom he had two sons, "*Thomas his heir*," and "*Lawrence*," who married in 1738 Margaret Bruce, only daughter of General Alexander Bruce of Kennet, by the Honourable Mary Balfour of Burleigh.

In 1762 Sir Lawrence was created a baronet. Sir Thomas Dundas, his son, was created Baron Dundas of Aske in 1794; and Lawrence, the son of Thomas, born in 1766, was created Earl of Zetland in 1838. He had married in 1794 "Harriot, daughter of General Hale, by whom he left Thomas, the present Earl; Lady Margaret, who married Henry W. Yeoman; Lady Harriot, who married Colonel Henry Lane; Lady Charlotte Jane; and the Honourable John Charles, born in 1808, married in 1843 Margaret Matilda Talbot, daughter of James Talbot of Maryville, County Wexford, whose sons are the apparent heirs, the present Earl having married Miss Williamson without succession. Thomas Dundas bought Lethen and Torwood in 1720 from the Lords Forrester, heirs of General Baillie, in Stirlingshire, and afterwards the lands of Quarrole, part of the barony of Elphinstone, changing the name to Carronhall.

Lethen was re-sold to the Carron Company in 1793.

Sir Lawrence, his second son, became, by his own unassisted energies, one of the richest and most influential men in the kingdom. His first beginning is said to have been from *the port of Airth*, now no longer in existence, whence he exported grain from the Carse, and received return cargoes of wine, &c. He afterwards bought "*Kerse*," long the property of the Mentieths; and in 1777 laid the first stone of the Port of Grangemouth; in 1765, traders went from Carronshore to London, and to the Baltic for wood.

XIX. Thomas, eldest son of Thomas de Dundas, married, first, Anne, daughter of the Honourable James Graham of Airth, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty for Scotland, but by her had no issue; secondly, he married the Lady Janet Maitland, daughter of Charles, 6th Earl of Lauderdale, by Elizabeth, daughter of James, Earl of Findlater. By the Lady Janet he had two sons, "*Thomas, his heir*," and 2, Charles, Lord Amesbury, born 5th August 1751. He married Anne Whitley of Barton Court, County Berks, and Aston Hall, County Flint. Charles Dundas was M.P. for the County of Berks for a long period of years, until 16th May 1832, when he retired, being then the

father of the House of Commons, and was created "*Baron Amesbury*." Dying the 7th of July following, leaving an only daughter, the title became extinct. "Janet Whitley Dundas," his daughter and heiress, married her cousin, "James Deans," who, by royal permission, took the name and arms of Whitley Dundas. Having entered the navy in 1790, he attained the rank of Admiral of the White, commanded the British fleet at Sebastopol, was for some time a Lord of the Admiralty, and created a G.C.B.

Sir James Whitley Dundas died in 1862. By Janet his wife he had two sons and three daughters.—1. Charles, who predeceased his father, leaving one son, "Charles Amesbury," his grandfather's heir, Charles having married his second cousin, Janet Jardine; 2. James, Rector of Kintbury, County Berks. 1. Anne, who married John Archer Houblon, Esq., of Hallingbury in Essex, &c. &c.; 2. Sophia, who married Captain Crawford, R.N., and left one son and one daughter; 3. Janet, who married Henry Robartes.

Admiral Sir James Dundas married, secondly, the Lady Emily Moreton, fourth daughter of the late Earl of Ducie, without issue.

Thomas Dundas of Carronhall had also by the Lady Janet four daughters—

1. Bethia, who married George Haldane of Gleneagles, and left one daughter, who married Charles Dallas of Lleonyston, County Montgomery.

2. Margaret Bruce, who married Alexander Gibson of Durie; and her sons became successively "Sir John" and "Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael of Skirling, Baronets."

3. Mary, who married James Bruce of Kinnaird, the Abyssinian traveller, by whom she left one son, James, and one daughter, Janet Maitland, who married John Jardine, Advocate.

4. Janet, who married Dr. Deans, and their son "James" married his cousin Janet Whitley Dundas, and became, as above stated, Admiral Sir James Deans Dundas.

XX. Thomas Dundas succeeded his father in Carronhall and Torwood. He married Lady Eleanor Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander, eighth Earl of Home, by whom he had his son and heir "Thomas," and six daughters—

1. Clementina, who married Thomas Bruce Williamson of Arnot.

2. Janet, who married Sir Thomas Carmichael, her cousin (see last page).

3. Eleanor, and, 4. Anne Primrose, died unmarried.

5. Charlotte, who married Hart Davis. 6. Elizabeth Harford Battersby.

General Thomas Dundas was Governor of Guadaloupe, and commanded the troops against the French.

He died there of yellow fever, 3d June 1794, aged 43 years. A monument was erected to his memory by the principal inhabitants and his brother officers,

which was afterwards destroyed by the French. A monumental slab has since been placed by the inhabitants in Trinity Church, Trinidad, and a handsome monument in St Paul's by the British Government. He was succeeded by his only son, Thomas, born in 1792.

XXI. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Dundas joined the 52d Regiment in 1808, ætat. 16, carried the colours of that regiment at the battle of Corunna, afterwards served in the 1st Royal Dragoons and the 15th Hussars throughout the whole of the Peninsular war; was at the battles of Vimeira, Roleia, Vittoria, Orthez, and Toulouse, besides many smaller engagements. Colonel Dundas died 24th May 1860, and was succeeded by his only surviving son.

XXII. Joseph Dundas, the present representative of the family.

APPENDIX T.

REFERENCES TO INDEX OF GREAT SEAL, SIGNET LIBRARY.

- Carta Conf., Roberto Brus de Stanhous terr. de Lethbertschielles et Stanleich.—26 Junii 1489.
12, 140.
1489. Agneti, Elena, Joneta et Marge. filiabus quond. Alexr. Broise de Erleshall milites, molendini di.—12th Oct.
- Carta Appt., Willmo. Broise, filio et herede quond. Alexr. Broise de Erleshall milites terr. de Drum-
14, 253.
1506. loth.—13th Nov. 1504.
- Carta, 15, Willmo. Broise de Erleshall et Margt. Meldrum suæ sposæ terr. de Wallacecragy,
197. Forfar.—10th Feby 1539.
- Carta Conf., Alexander Brus appt. de Arth et Joneta Livingstone ejus conjugii, de dual bovates
26, 415. terr. de Arth.—Striveling, 1 Julij 1547.
- Carta, 30, Niniani Brus appt. de Kinnaird terr. di Livilands.—Stirling, 9th Septr. 1552.
100. 1547.
- Carta Conf., Alexander Brus de Airth de ared. terris de Carnock, Striveling, 12 Junii 1557.
31, 4; 31, 15.
1552. Idem et Jonetta Livingstone ejus conjugii terr. de le Hill of Airth et Baronia de Calder in warrant.—Edinr. et Striveling, 12 Oct. 1561.
- Carta Conf., Do. et do. æ Roberto Brus eorum filio secundo genito terr. de Grange de Both-
31, 459. kennar.—27th Octr. 1561.
- Carta Conf., Alexander Bruce de Airth ared. 100 merks de terr. de Carnock.—Striveling, 12th
31, 487.
1561. Junii 1557.
- Carta Conf., Petro Bruce filio et herede Willmo. Bruce de Erleshall, et Agneti Scrymgeour ejus
31, 538. sposæ, et Alexr. Bruce eorum filio et herede et Eufamia Leslie ejus conjugii. Baronum
1561. de Leuchars, etc., Brigeam, etc.—Berwick et Fife, 21 March 1572.
- Carta Conf., Alexandro Bruce de Airth terr. de Roishill et Powknaif.—Striveling, 18 Jan. 1580.
32, 314.
- Carta Conf., Roberto Bruce, fratri germano Alexr. Bruce de Airth, et Helena Drummond ejus
33, 99. sposæ terr. de Mydill-Balrig, Fife.—5th Feby. 1585.
1572.
- Carta, 35, Dno. Alexandro Bruce de Airth, Joneta Livingstone ejus sp. et Joanni Bruce, eorum
349. filio 3^o. genito terr. de Craiglour.—Striveling, 1 Febr. 1587.
- Carta, 36, 84. Willmo. Bruce appt. de Erleshall, Baroniæ de Leuchars Monypenny, etc., in Baronium
Carta Conf., de Erleshall.—Fife, 22d Mar. 1588.
36, 526.
- Carta Conf., Thomæ de Lathbertscheilles et Roberto Bruce ejus filio et herede terr. de Lathbert-
37, 139. scheilles et Westertown of Bothkennar.—Striveling, 9 Junii 1589.
- Carta, 37,
332.

SPECIAL RETOURS—STIRLINGSHERE.

NOTE.—Terms used in these Retours, &c.—*Avus*, grandfather. *Abavus*, grandfather's grandfather. *Tritavus*, grandfather's grandfather's grandfather. *Patruces*, father's brother's son. *Patruses*, father's brother. *Comarchus* is equivalent to laird.

August 29, Joannes Bruce de Airth, hæres Dni Roberto Brus de Airth milites *Abavi*, in terris de
1598. No. Quhyttis quarter, etc. (11, 139).
16.

Joannes Bruce de Airth, hæres Dni Alexr. Bruce de Airth milites *Avi*. Joannes Bruce June 18, 1601.
de Airth hæres Alexr. Bruce de Stanehouse, *Tritavi* (11, 139).

Idem id. Dni Roberto Bruce milite *Abavi*.

Gen. Reg.

No. 76.

Magister Robertus Bruce de Kynnaired, Minister verba Dei propinquier agnatus (*i. c.* consanguineus ex parte patris)—

Tutela, June

3, 1600. Nos.

3 and 4.

Willmo. Bruce, Stanehouse.

Patricio Bruce, Newtoun (11, 137).

Filio legitimo Willmo. Bruce juniores de Airth, fratris germani dicto Mag. Roberti Stirlingshire.
(11, 137).

Thomas Bruce de Larbertschielles hæres Robert Bruce de Larbertschielles patris in Maii 28,
terris de Larbertschielles, etc. 1603. No.

Jacobus Bruce de Powfoullis hæres Archd. Bruce patris, in terris vocat Powfoullis, etc. Nov. 19,
(iii. 38). 1603. No.

40.

Do. do. Andrea Bruce de Powfoullis avi, in terris vocat Lugdaill (iii. 51).

Dmi Joannes Bruce de Airth Miles, hæres Dmi Alexr. Bruce de Airth avi, in Monti Maii 10,
de Airth (iv. 234). 1609. No.

65.

Do. do. in parte terr. de Larbertschielles (iv. 83).

Marjoria Bruce hæres por. Roberti Bruce portii de Halls de Airth, filii patruī, Castle- March 20,
town de Kilsyth (vii. 238). 1616. No.

35.

Susannæ Bruce, do. do. (vii. 239).

Julij 17,

1629. Nos.

98, 103, 104,

131, 132.

Alexander Bruce hæres ex conquista Joannes Bruce filio leg. quond. Dni Joannis

Bruce de Airth milites, fratris immediate junioris. Feb. 19,

1631. No.

Johannes Bruce de Airth, hæres Dmi Alexr. Bruce de Airth milites avi in 5 bovates de Airth, et bovata Terræ de Airth vocata Abbishauch in Baronía de Kerss et regalitie June 18,

1601 (27).

Alexander Dominus Elphinston hæres Roberti Domini Elphinstone patris, in quarta Jan. 19, 1619.

parte terrarum de Airth-beg nunc vocatum "*Elphinstone*" in Baronis de Polmais-Cunningham per annexationem.

Alexander Lord Elphinstone, heir of Alexander Lord Elphinstone, his father, in the Maii 20,
lands, lordship, and barony of Elphinstone, comprehending the advocation of the 1655.

Parish Kirks of Airth, Logy, and Strathgull, and the Tiends, service-boat of Elphinstone, the lands of Halls of Airth, the superiority of the lands of Powfoullis, the quarter of Airth Beg, the lands of Quarrel, the lands of Bannockburn, with advocation of the Chapel of Sanct Ninian, and ane oxgate of land in the Hill of Airth, called Roishill, and many other lands.

Johannes Dominus Elphinstone hæres Masculum Alexandri Domini Elphinstone, March 29,
fratris germani, in the above lands and others. 1670.

Johannes Dominus Elphinstone hæres Alexandri Dominus Elphinstone pro avi in 8 Oct. 4, 1682.
bovates terrarum de Bothkennar, etc.

Jeanna Bruce hæres Alexandre Bruce de Airth, patris in terris et Baronía de Airth. Feb. 13,

1666.

Carolus Elphinstone de Airth hæres Richardi Elphinstone de Airth patris in terris et Sept. 27,
Baronía de Airth, et terris dominicalibus ejusdem.—Same as above. 1683.

Elizabetha Elphinstone de Airth, spousa Gulielmo Dundas Mercarios Edinburgensis Aug. 16,
hæres Carolus Elphinstone de Airth, fratris germani in terris et Baronía de Airth et 1699.

terris dominicalibus ejusdem cum curre fortalicio et manerici loco de Airth, and other lands.

AIRTH WRITS.

Amongst the Airth Writs we find—

- March 23, 1452. Charter by Archibald, Abbot of Holyrood, and his Convent, to "Alexandro de Broyse de Stanehouse" and his heirs, of five oxgates of Erth in the Barony of Kerse and Shire of Stirling, to hold of them in feu for 5 merks yearly. Dated at the Monastery, 23d March 1452. The seal of Sir Alexander is appended—a saltyre, and on a chief *two* stars.—Signed "S. Alexandro Broys."
- Jan. 8, 1456. Charter by King James II. to Alexander Broise of Stanehouse, of three oxgates of Erth on the north of the Peel, &c., to hold to Alexander and Jonet his spouse, in feu-farm, for £4, 2s. yearly. Dated at Stirling, 8th Jany. 1456.
1464. Do. do. by the Abbot of Holyrood, of 6 oxgates of Erth, and confirmed under Great Seal.
- Oct. 8, 1488. Precept by Archibald, Abbot of Holyrood, commanding that Robert Brus should be infest as heir of the deceased John Brus, his father, in the six oxgates of Erth. Dated at Holyrood, 8th Octr. 1488.
- March 4, 1513. Precept of Clare Constat, by George, Abbot of Holyrood, for infesting Robert Bruce as heir to the deceased Robert Bruys of Erth, senr., his father, in six oxgates of Erth.
- July 1, 1547. Charter by Queen Mary, with the consent of the Regent Arran, to Alexander Bruce, son and heir-apparent of Robert Bruce of Arth, and Jonet Levingstone his spouse, of part of Erth, on Robert's resignation; reserving his liferent and a reasonable terce to Marjory Bruce (Clackmannan), his *then* spouse (nunc ejus conjugii), if she should survive.
- May 14, 1548. Charter by Robert Bruce of Airth, to Alexander Bruce, his son and heir-apparent, and Jonet Levingstone his spouse, of the Mill of Airth, reserving Robert's liferent, and a terce to "Mariote Bruce," spouse mee moderne, at Airth, 14th May 1548—Witnesses, Mr Thomas Bruys, James Bruys, &c.
- March 8, 1552. Precept of Clare Constat by Robt., Commendator of Holyrood, for infesting Alexander Brus, son of the deceased Robert Bruce of Erth, his father, in the lands of Erth, held of Holyrood. Dated 8th March 1552.
- August 1561. Charter by John de Sandilands of Calder to Alexander Bruce of Arth and Jonet Levingstone, his spouse, of the lands of Hill of Airth. Conf. of the same by Queen Mary. Dated at Dundas, 21st August 1561.
- Oct. 12, 1580. Sasine in favour of Alexander Bruce of Arth of the six oxgates called *Royshall*, dated 12th December 1580. Witnesses, *John Bruce* and *Robert*, brother to the said Laird of Arthe, and William and Mr Robert, his sons.
- May 1, 1581. Another sasine of *Rosehill* in favour of Alexander Bruce of Arth, dated 1st May 1581. Witnesses, Robert Bruce of Inches; Mr Robert Bruce, son to the said Alexander; George Bruce, son to David Bruce of Kinnaird.
- June 5, 1592. Charter by King James VI. to Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., and Lady Jane Levingstone, his spouse, of the lands of Halls of Airth, with the coals and coalpits therein, the fishing belonging thereto in the water of Forth, and the "Pow of Arth," to hold in feu farm for payment of £16 Scots, dated at Halierruidhous 5th June 1592.

Charter by Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., "for the good and gratuitous service Oct. 8, made and to be made to him in all time to come, by his beloved brother, Captain James ^{1588.} Bruce," to the said Captain and Jean Hamiltoun, his spouse, of the house in Airth, and the garden adjacent thereto, formerly occupied by the deceased *Malcolm* Bruce, and then by the captain and his wife, and newly built by them, to hold in feu-farm for payment of 5s. Scots. Provided, nevertheless, that if the said Captain James Bruce and his heirs shall not serve me and my heirs, in all time to come, when required by us, then, and in that case, this our present charter, and the sasine thereon, shall be of no force, strength, or effect, to the said persons or their heirs, as if the same had never been granted. At Airth, 8th October 1588.

Precept of Clare Constat by Sir John Bruce of Airth, Kt. (grandson of Sir Alexander), ^{1618.} for infefting Alexander Bruce, son of the deceased Captain James Bruce, in the tenement of Airth. Dated at Airth 20th February 1618. Patrick Bruce, brother of Sir John, baillie.

Disposition of sale by said Alexander Bruce, with consent of Marjory Edmestone, his ^{April 6,} spouse (Katherine Hamiltoun, his mother, being dead), to Dame Jean Flemyng, Lady ^{1621.} Airth, in liferent, and Patrick Bruce, her youngest son, in fee of said tenement. Dated at Newtoun of Bothkennar 6th April 1621.

Charter by Alexander, Lord Levingstoun, and Lady Eleanora Hay, his spouse, to Sir ^{May 19,} Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., in liferent, and William Bruce, his son and apparent heir, ^{1592.} and Jean Flemyng, his spouse, in fee, of two oxgates of Hill of Airth. Dated at Airth and Callendar 19th May 1592. Witnesses, Archibald Bruce of Powfouillis, John Bruce, and Captain James Bruce, brothers of Sir Alexander.

Charter by Henry Hepburne of West Fortoun (in implement of a contract between Dec. Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Alexander Bruce, his fourth son, and said Henry, dated ^{1588.} 24th December 1588) to said Sir Alexander, of fourteen oxgates of Hill of Airth. Dated at Edinburgh 25th December 1588. John Bruce, son of Sir Alexander, a witness.

Precept of Clare Constat by Sir John Bellenden, with consent of his curators, for ^{Feb. 18,} infefting Sir John Bruce, then of Airth, Kt., as heir of the deceased Sir Alexander Bruce, ^{1603.} his grandfather, in the lands of Airth and Caldcottis. Dated "apud burgum meum de vice canonicorum" (at my burgh of the Canongate) 18th February 1603.

Charter of Novodamus by King Charles I. to William, Earl of Stratherne and Men-^{April 14,} tieth, Lord Kinpont and Kilbryde, &c., President of the Privy Council, and Justice-^{1632.} General of Scotland, and Lady Agnes Gray, Countess of Stratherne and Mentieth, his spouse, of the barony of Airth, on the resignation of Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow. Dated 14th April 1632.

Renunciation by Patrick Bruce of Newtoun, son-lawful to umquhile William Bruce, ^{1632.} apparand of Airth, and one of the oyes of umquhile Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., narrates contract whereby Sir Alexander infeft Patrick and William and Alexander, his brothers, in an annual rent of 300 merks from Airth, the death of Alexander, without heirs of his body, the sale of Airth by Sir John Bruce to the Earl of Linlithgow, the sale, *by him*, to the Earl of Mentieth, and in consideration of 4500 merks paid by the latter, Patrick renounces the annual rent. At Edinburgh 12th June 1632.

The barony was apprised from the Earl of Airth (which title was conferred on the 1639. Earl of Strathern on his resignation of *that* title) by Mr Robert Davidson on 18th Sep- 1648.

- tember 1638, who disposed the same to Sir Thomas Hope of Kerse, who disposed the same, on 5th April 1639, to Mr Thomas Hope, his son; and he, on 1st October 1645, disposed the barony to Sir John Hope of Craighall in liferent, and Sir James Hope of Waterhead in fee; and they resigned Airth into the king's hands in favour of Alexander Bruce of Airth, who obtained a crown charter on 24th May 1648.
1666. Retour before Sir William Livingstone of Westquarter, Kt., Sheriff-Depute of Linlithgow, of Jean Bruce, daughter of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., her father, who had died in September 1665, as his heir in the barony of Airth, 13th February 1666.
1675. Disposition (registered in the books of Council, 24th December 1677) by said Dame Jeane Bruce, with consent of Richard Elphinstone, yr. of Calderhall, her husband, to Mr James Elphinstone, Writer to the Signet, of the barony of Airth, reserving the liferent of the granters and the longest liver of them. Dated at Airth 13th March 1675.
1675. Disposition (registered in the books of Council) by the said Mr James Elphinstone to said Richard Elphinstone and Dame Jeane Bruce, and their heirs, of the said barony. Dated 1675.
1678. Decree by the Lords of Council, dated 23d February 1678, in a summons at the instance of the tenants of Airth, and the now deceased Captain Alexander Bruce of Airth, afterwards transferred to Jeane Bruce, his daughter and heir, and the deceased John Hamilton of Grange, her husband, and afterwards wakened against her, and Richard Elphinstone, *then* her husband, reducing a decree in 1653 by the English judges against Captain Bruce, "because he was not then in Scotland, bot in the Low Contreyis, where he and his family dwelt, animo remanendi" (with intention of remaining).
1699. Retour of Elizabeth Elphinstone, spouse of William Dundas,* merchant in Edinburgh, as heirs of Charles Elphinstone, her brother-german, who had died in April, then last in the barony of Airth. Dated 16th April 1699.

BLAIR WRITS.

Amongst the Blair writs we find :—

1417. Charter by Robert, Duke of Albany, to William of Crauford of Manuel, Kt., of the lands of Erthchalmerlane, in the shire of Striveling. Dated at Falkland 24th April 1417, in the twelfth year of his government.
1508. Instrument of resignation by Robert Bruce of Erth, Kt., and John Montgomery, pro-

* Mr William Dundas, son of Dundas of Kincavel, and great-grandson of Sir Walter Dundas of that ilk, having joined the Chevalier St George in 1715, and having been taken prisoner and heavily fined, was obliged, on his subsequent liberation in 1717, to sell Airth, which was then bought by Judge Graham, and the documents above mentioned given over with it.

In 1720 Mr William Dundas bought Blair, near Culross, which he called "New Airth," a name, however, which it did not retain. To Blair other papers belonging to the Bruces of Airth were removed, and by the sister of the last proprietor and present proprietrix I was allowed access to them.

The black marble slab bearing an inscription to "Alexandro Brussio," as given in page 326, was taken from Airth to Blair about twenty years ago. As it appears that the "Alexander" to whom it was dedicated died in 1642, aged 56, it could not have been the last Alexander, nor his son, who predeceased him, but may most probably have been his uncle, born circa 1582.

curator of Euphemia Montgomery, of the lands of Baldorane, in the earldom of Levinax and shire of Dumbarton, in the hands of George Colquhoun of Glen, their superior, in favour of Sir Robert and Euphemia. These things were done in the chamber of the said Earl of Levinax, within the palace of our sovereign lord the king, within the monastery of Holyrood, near Edinburgh, at eight hours A.M., on 25th April 1508.

Precept by Matthew, Earl of Levinax, for infesting Robert Bruce of Erth, Kt., and Euphemia Montgomery, his spouse, in the lands of Baldorane, in terms of his charter, made on the above resignation. Dated 26th April 1508. 1508.

Precept under the Privy Seal of King James IV., commanding the Keeper of the Great Seal to expedite a confirmation of Earl Matthew's charter of Baldorane to Robert Bruce of Erth, Kt., and Euphemia Montgomery, his spouse. Dated at Edinburgh penult Feb., in the twenty-second year of his reign.

Renunciation by Robert Cunynghame, fiar of Polmais Cunynghame, to Robert Bruce, burgess of Striveling, and Margaret Sandilands, his spouse, of a security of 1000 merks over the lands of Auchinbowie. Dated at Edinburgh 25th April 1508. 1508.

Charter by Thomas Dunlop of Auchenskaith, and Marion Lindesay, his spouse, to Sir Robert Bruce of Arth, Kt., and Lady Euphemia Montgomery, his spouse, of the lands of Dunloppesland, in the shire of Stirling and barony of Arth. Dated Glasgow, 9th October 1511. 1511. Witness, James Montgomery, brother-german of Hugh, Earl of Eglintoun.

Precept directed by John Hepburn of Westfortoun for infesting Robert Brus of Erth, and Jonet Forestar, his spouse, in the lands of Erthchalmerlane. Dated at Striveling 9th September 1523. 1523.

Charter of sale by John Hepburn of Westfortoun to Robert Brus of Arth, and Jonet Forestar, his spouse, and their heirs-male, whom failing, the heirs-male of Robert, of three oxgates of his lands of Erthchalmerlane. Dated at Erth 1st November 1524. 1524.

Charter of sale by John Hepburn of Westfortoun to Robert Brus of Arth, and Jonet Forestar, his spouse, of the six oxgates of his lands in the town and territory of Arth, which William Colly, William Henry, and Alexander Richardson then occupied; to hold of the granter blench for payment of a penny. Dated at Edinburgh 26th May 1527. 1527. Witnesses, Robert Bruce of Bynnyng, Master Thomas Bruce of Schelis, James Bruce, &c. &c.

Obligation under form of instrument by Andrew Bruce of Powfoullis, whereby he acknowledges that he has received from Robert Brus of Arth thirty-five merks, the balance for the relaxation of two oxgangs of his lands of Powfoullis. Done in the south aisle of the parish church of Erth 17th August 1531. Witnesses, Mr Thomas Bruce, Lethbertscheles; John Bruce, brother-german of Andrew, &c. 1531.

Instrument of alienation by John Craufford in Bothkennar to *Alexander* Bruce of Arth, and Jonet Levingstone, his spouse, of an oxgate of his lands of Bothkennar. Dated 29th April 1552. 1552.

Sasine given, propriis manibus, by Henry Hepburne, Laird of Fortoun, of six oxgates of Hill of Erth, called Fortounlandis, to Alex. Bruce, Lord of Erth. Dated 6th June 1556. 1556.

Licence by Robert, Lord Elphinstone, to Harie Hepburne of Westfortoun, to sell his land in the Hill of Arth, called Curroris Land, to Alexander Bruce of Arth, and Jonet Levingstone, his spouse, notwithstanding it held ward. Dated at Elphinstoun 23d October 1558. Witnesses, John Bruce, brother-german to the said Alexander, &c. 1558.

- Circa
1560. Reversion by Robert Bruce, son to umquhile Robert Bruce of Auchenbowie, to Edward Bruce, fiar of Kynnaired, of an annual rent of thirty-eight merks from Kynnaired, on payment of three hundred and fifty merks. Without date. 1560 (?)
1562. Instrument of renunciation by John Bruce, son and apparent heir of Robert Bruce of Auchenbowie, of an annual rent of forty merks from the lands of Monrellis, pertaining to Alexander Bruce of Airth. Dated 6th November 1562. Archibald Bruce of Powfoullis a witness.
1566. Tack by "Robert (Stewart), Commendator of the abbaye of Haliecroce, besyde Edinburt., and the convent of the samyn, to Alexander Bruce of Arthe, his heirs and assignees, of the parsonage of the *Kirke of Arthe*, and the third part of the parsonage of the kirk, called the *Falkirk*, excepting as wes reserviet of befoir in umquhile Robert Bruce of Arthe, his faderis tyme." The tack to endure for nineteen years, for payment yearly of sixscore pounds. Dated at the abbaye 5th February 1566.
1579. A similar tack to Alexander Bruce of Arthe, by Adam, Bischope of Orkney and Zetland, and Commendator of the abbay of Halycroce, besyde Edinburgh, and convent of the samyn, for twenty-seven years. Dated at the abbey 25th March 1579.
1602. A similar tack by John, Commendator of the abbey of Halyruidhous and his convent, to John de Brus, then of Airth, for his life, and to his heirs for nineteen years after his death; reserving as wes reservit before in the tack set to umquhile Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., *gudsire* to the saide "*Johnne*." Dated at Edinburgh 8th January 1602.
1567. Reversion by John *Bryce*, in Moordiestoun, to Alexander Bruce of Airth, of an annual rent of sixteen merks from the north syid of his lands of Stenhouse, on payment of two hundred merks. Dated at Airth 29th October 1567. Witness, John Bruce, bruder to the said Alexander, &c.
1569. Charter by Andrew Bruce of Inches to Robert Bruce, his brother-german, and the heirs to be lawfully procreated of his body, whom failing, to return to the granter and his heirs, of the half of his lands of Inches, in the barony of Herbertshire and shire of Stirling. Dated 11th November 1569. ANDROWS BRUCE.
1572. Presentation by Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., to Robert Bruce, *younger*, his lawful son, for all the days of his life, of the chaplainrie of "our ladie ile, foundit and cituate upone the south syde of the kirk of Airth," then vacant by the decease of Sir John Malcolm, the last chaplain. Dated at Airth penult October 1572.
1572. Precept (conform to a chapter of alienation) by John Robesone, burgess of Edinburgh, and Jonet Fodderinghame, his spouse, for infesting Sir Alexander Bruce of Arth, and Jonet Levingstone, his spouse, in liferent, and John Bruce,* their third son, and his heirs and assignees in fee, in the lands of Westbordland, within the barony of Denny and shire of Stirling. Dated 10th January 1572. Witness, John Bruce, brother-german to the said Laird of Airth.
1577. Charter by Robert Bruce, son and heir of the deceased Alexander Bruce, to Robert Bruce, his uncle (meo patruo), and the heirs-male of his body, whom failing, to Robert Bruce, son of Archibald Bruce of Powfoullis, and his heirs whomsoever, of an annual rent of forty merks from four and a half oxgates of Halls of Airth. Dated at Airth 21st July 1577.

* This was Sir John, afterwards of Kincavel.

Charter of sale by Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., to his beloved brother Robert Bruce, his heirs and assignees, of an annual rent of seventy merks from the lands of Munurelles. Dated at Airth 19th July 1577. Andrew Bruce of Newtoun a witness. (This charter cancelled.) 1577.

Warrant by the Regent Morton, in the name of the king, giving licence to our lovit Alexander Bruce of Airth, and his tenants, inhabitantis, and occupiaris of his fourteen-pund land of Arthe, to Alexander More of Skaithmure, and Thomas Bruce of Lairberschielles, to remane and byd at hame, fra our raid and army, ordanit to convene and meet our said cousing and regent at Dumfries upon the tenth day of October instant for persute and invasioun of the thevis and outlawis, perturberis of the peace and quietness of our realme, and to remain, and await on syne for the space of forty days thereafter, according to our proclamation made thairanent." Dated at Halierudhous 19th October 1577.

Sasine given, "propriis manibus," by Sir Alexander Brus of Arthe, Kt., of an annual rent of £40 from the Kirklands and Mains of Airth, to Archibald Bruce of Powfoulis, and Marjory Nepar, his spouse, and their heirs. Dated 24th March 1580. Witnesses, William Bruce, son and heir-apparent of the said Alexander, &c.

Instrument of Sasine to Alexander Bruce of Arthe, and Jonet Levyingstone, his spouse, in liferent, and Mr Robert Bruce, their son, in fee, of an annual rent of twenty merks from the lands of Kinnaird. Dated July 1580. Witnesses, William Bruce, son and heir of said Alexander; Robert Bruce, his brother, &c. Proceeding on charter from Edward Bruce of Kinnaird, dated at Airth 19th May 1580. 1580.

Instrument of renunciation of an annual rent of three hundred merks from the lands of Stanehouse, by Robert Bruce of Baldrig, brother of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., in consideration of three thousand merks paid to him by Mr Robert Bruce, son lawful to the said Sir Alexander. Dated 6th March 1581. 1581.

Charter by Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., with consent of Lady Janet Levingstone, his spouse, to John Strivulling, brother-german of Henry Struiveling of Ardoch, and Margaret Alexander, his wife, of an annual rent of one hundred merks from the lands of Arth. Dated at Arth 28th August 1588. Witnesses, William Bruce, son and heir of Sir Alexander; Robert Bruce, his son; Patrick Bruce, son of Thomas Bruce of Larbertschielles, &c. 1588.

Instrument of resignation by John Bruce of Kincavill, as procurator for Robert, Lord Elphinstone, and Alexander, Master of Elphinstone, his son, of the lands of Hill of Airth, in the hands of King James VI., in favour of John Bruce, eldest lawful son of the deceased William Bruce, apparent of Airth, and grandson of Sir Alexander Bruce of Arthe, Kt., and the heirs-male to be lawfully procreated of his body, whom failing, to Sir John's heirs whomsoever, bearing the name and arms of Bruce, reserving the liferent of Sir Alexander. Done in the palace of Haliruidhous at nine hours before noon on 24th December 1597. 1597.

Gift by Robert, Lord Elphinstone, and Alexander, Master of Elphinstone (in implement of a clause in contract of marriage), to Sir Alexander Bruce, Kt., of Airth, of the ward of the lands of Hill of Airth, called Fortounlands, then in the hands of Lord Elphinstone, through the decease of Alexander Bruce of Bangour, son lawful of Sir Alexander. Dated at Elphinstone 5th September 1597. 1597.

1609. Precept from the Chancery of King James IV., directed to the Sheriff of Stirling, for serving Sir John Bruce of Airth, Kt., heir of William Bruce of Airth, his father. Dated 18th April 1609.
1609. Extract retour of the service before the Sheriff of Stirling, of Sir John Bruce of Airth, Kt., as heir of William Bruce of Airth, his father, in two oxgates of the Hill of Airth, which were then in the hands of Jean Flemyng, the relict of William, lady of the liferent thereof. Dated at Stirling 10th May 1609.
1609. Extract retour of the service before the Sheriff of Stirling, of Sir John Bruce of Airth, Knight, as heir of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, his grandfather, in the lands of Hill of Airth, called *Elphinstoun*, which had been in the hands of Alexander, Lord Elphinstone, the superior, since his grandfather, Sir Alexander's death in 1600. Dated at Stirling 10th May 1609.
1609. Precept of Clare Constat by Alexander, Lord of Elphinstoun, for infefting Alexander Bruce of Bangour, as heir of Alexander Bruce of Bangour, his father, in six oxgates of the Hill of Airth. Dated 10th July 1609.
1617. Sasine thereon, dated 14th June 1617. Witness, Patrick Bruce, brother-german to Sir John Bruce of Airth (1st of Newtoun).
1617. Procuratory by Alexander Bruce of Bangour for resigning his lands of Hill of Airth, in the hands of Alexander, Lord Elphinstone, and Alexander, Master of Elphinstoun, his son, in favour of Sir John Bruce of Airth, Kt., his heirs-male and assignees. Dated at Edinburgh 21st June 1617. Witnesses, Sir James Bruce of Powfouillis, Alexander Bruce of Powknaiff, &c.
1610. Procuratory by Sir John Bruce of Airth for resigning his lands of Hill of Airth, in the hands of the king, in favour of himself and his heirs-male. Dated at the *castell* of Stirling 7th April 1610. Witnesses, Alexander Bruce and George Bruce, sons to Captain James Bruce.
1634. Extract retour before the Sheriff of Stirling, on 29th March 1634, by Sir James Bruce of Powfoulis, Thomas Bruce of Woodsyd, Thomas Bruce of Waltoun, Provost of Stirling, &c., of William Bruce, as heir of the deceased Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, his father (who died in February 1630), in an annual rent of 1200 merks from the barony of Airth.
- Disposition by Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, Baronet, son and heir of Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, narrating contract, dated 6th May 1620, between Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow, and Alexander, Lord Livingstone, his son, and said umquhile Sir William Bruce, whereby, in consideration of 12,000 merks, they disposed to him an annual rent of 1200 merks, from the barony of Airth, under reversion.
- Decree of the Lords of Council, dated 17th December 1622, at the instance of Dame Margaret Elphinstoun—spouse to umquhile Sir John Bruce of Airth—and of Alexander, *John*, and Michael, Jean, Helen, Christian, Marion, Janet, Margaret, Mary, Roberta, and Elizabeth Bruces, their bairns, against umquhile Sir William Bruce and others, decerning the latter to constitute the said Dame Margaret, for the aliment of herself and children, his assignee to 11,000 merks of the said 12,000, and to secure to her and them the other 1000 merks which he was to retain, for relief of his cautionerie for the said umquhile Sir John Bruce, his brother. The assignation in implement of this decree is dated 12th February 1623. "That *John* Bruce was dead, and that his share then belonged

to the said Alexander Bruce," his immediate elder brother, now styllit "Captain Alexander Bruce," and that his other brother and sisters had assigned their shares to him, and that Sir William, now deceased, was the only person who had been infested in said annual rent. The granter (Sir William Bruce) assigns the annual rent to Captain Alexander Bruce. Dated at Edinburgh 14th September 1643.

Sasine, Captain Alexander Bruce, lawful son of umquhile Sir John Bruce of Airth, Knight, of an annual rent of 2545 merks out of the barony of Elphinstoun. On contract of alienation between him and Alexander, Lord Elphinstone, with consent of Alexander, Master of Elphinstone. Dated 10th April 1648.

Thus provided, Alexander Bruce appears to have taken his departure for the Low Countries, leaving his inheritance in the possession of his mother and her ten younger children, under protection of the Lords Levingstone and Elphinstone, in 1620, and to have returned to redeem his inheritance in 1665, in September of which year he died.

POWFOULIS WRITS.

Notarial copy made at Edinburgh on the 26th May 1474, of a retour of the service of John Broise, as heir of his father, the deceased Alexander Broise of Stanehou (who had died about half a year before), in an oxgate of the lands of Polknafe, in Struiveling. Dated 21st May 1474. 1474.

Notarial instrument, whereby Margaret Sandilands, relict of Robert Bruce of Auchenbowy, John Brus and Andrew Brus, sons and executors, testamentar of the deceased Robert, appoint Edward Brus of Kynnards, *patruus* (uncle) of the said John and Andrew, their factor, to receive from Robert Brus, son and heir of the deceased Robert, all movable effects of his said father, intromitted with by him. Done in the house of the said deceased Robert, within the burgh of Struiveling, 10th May 1517. Witnesses, Robert Brus of Erth, Edward Brus and James Brus, his brothers, &c. 1517.

Charter by James Sandilands of Calder, Knight, and Marjory Forestar, his spouse, to Andrew Bruce (son of Robert Bruce of Auchenbowie, and Margaret Sandilands, his spouse), of three oxgates and a half of Powfouillis, in the barony of Erthbissat, on their own resignation, and reserving to the said spouses their liferent. Dated *last* July 1512. 1512.

Charter by James Cunyngham, son and heir of Robert Cunyngham of Polmais, with his consent, to Andrew Bruce (son of Robert Bruce of Auchenbowie, and Margaret Sandelandis, his spouse), of three and a half oxgates of Polfouillis, in the barony of Polmais Cunyngham, on Robert Bruce's resignation. Dated Stirling, 1st October 1512. 1512.

Charter of feu-farm granted by King James V., with consent of the queen, his mother, having the liferent, to his beloved Andrew Bruce, of three oxgates in the town of Powquhouillis, and eleven riggs of the lugedaill, &c., in Bothkennar. Dated Edinburgh, 23d October 1529. 1529.

Precept of Sasine conform to the above charter, directed to David Bruce of Kynnarde. Dated 23d October 1529. 1529.

Instrument whereby Archibald Bow and Elizabeth Motherwall, his spouse, assign to Andrew Bruce of Powfouillis, and Janet Naper, his spouse, two oxgates in Westertoun of Bothkennar. Done in the chapel of St Mary the Virgin, in Garwald, within the parish 1530.

- of Lethbert, on 4th March 1530. Witnesses, Mr Thomas Bruce of Schelis, David Bruce of Kinnaird, &c.
1531. Charter by John Sandelandis, son and heir of Sir James Sandelandis of Calder, with consent of him and Marjory Forester, his mother, to Andrew Bruce, son of the deceased Robert Bruce of Auchenbowie, and Janet Naper, his spouse, of five and a half oxgates of Powfoullis, on his own resignation. Dated at Edinburgh 5th January 1531.
1535. Charter by Thomas Livingstone to Andrew Brus of Powfoullis and Jonet Nepar, his spouse, of two and a half oxgates of Halls of Airth. Dated at Struiveling 2d November 1535.
1541. Charter by David Somervell of Playne to Andrew Bruce of Powfoullis and Jonet Nepar, his spouse, of a tenement in Stirling. Dated at Stirling 16th June 1541.
1551. Sasine dated 11th May 1551, narrating precept by Robert Bruce of Auchenbowie, for infefting Robert Bruce, son of the deceased Andrew Bruce, his brother-german, in four oxgates of Polknafe, &c. Dated at Stirling 15th May 1550.
1572. Letter of reversion by Archibald Bruce, son to umquhile Andrew Bruce of Powfoullis, to Robert Bruce of Auchenbowie, his father-brother, of parts of the Halls of Airth, in payment of three hundred threescore and eighteen merks. Dated 1572. Alexander Bruce of Arth, John Bruce, his brother, witnesses.
1582. Precept of Clare Constat by James Cunningham of Drumquhassill, for infefting Archibald Bruce, now of Baffoullis, as heir of the deceased Andrew Bruce of Baffoullis, his father, in eight and a half oxgates of Baffoullis. Dated at Edinburgh 18th December 1582.
1583. Remission by King James VI. to Archibald Bruce of Powfoullis, and Ninian Bruce, his brother, for art and part of the felonious "foreknowledge, concealment, and execution of the seizure, detention, and captivity of our most noble person, done in the month of August 1582, in and near the place of Ruthven." Dated at Struiveling (under the Great Seal) 24th October 1583.
1603. General service before the Sheriff of Stirling, by John Bruce of Auchenbowie, Archibald Bruce of Wester Kennet, Patrick Bruce of Greene, &c., of James Bruce of Powfoullis, as heir of the deceased Archibald Bruce of Powfoullis, his father. Dated 19th November 1603.
1603. Letter of reversion of Anthony Bruce of Waltoun, for himself, and Alexander Bruce, his son, to Robert Bruce, portioner of Polknaif, of an annual rent of six chalders out of Polknaif, on payment of three hundred merks. Dated at Stirling 17th December 1603.
1608. Charter by James Bruce of Powfoullis, to Margaret Rollox, sister-german of Andrew Rollox of Duncrub, and spouse of James (in implement of their marriage-contract), of the lands of Dalbeth, in Bothkennar, in liferent. Dated at Powfoullis 1st January 1608. Witnesses, Archibald Bruce, his son, &c.
1612. Charter by King James VI. to Sir James Bruce of Powfoullis, Knight, his heirs-male and assignees (on his own resignation), of the lands of Powfoullis, Bothkennar, and the ferry-boat upon the Water of Forth, &c., erected into the barony of Powfoullis. Dated at Edinburgh 19th November 1612.
1617. Charter by *Sir* James Bruce of Powfoullis (in implement of the marriage-contract of Archibald Bruce, his eldest son and heir, and Helen, eldest daughter of Mr Alexander Hamilton of Kinglass, and Elizabeth Forrestar, his spouse) to the said Helen, in liferent, of parts of the barony of Powfoullis. Dated at Edinburgh 12th June 1617.

Charter by Sir William Menteith of Kerse, John Baillie of Leatham, William Bruce of Stenhouse, and Alexander Bruce of Polknaif, and Sir John Bruce of Airth, to Sir James Bruce of Powfoullis, Knight, of the lands of Powfoullis. Dated 21st and 22d October 1618. Witnesses, Mr John Bruce, brother-german of Sir Alexander Bruce of Kincavill, &c. 1618.

Charter by King James VI. to Mr William Livingstone of Easter Grenezairdis, and his future spouse, "Marjory Bruce," eldest lawful daughter of umquhile Robert Bruce of Greensyd, of the part of Hallis of Airth which pertained to her, through the decease of umquhile Robert Bruce, portioner of Hallis of Airth, her father's brother's son, on her own resignation. Dated Edinburgh, 25th August 1619. 1619.

Precept of Clare Constat by Archibald Cunyngham, son and heir of the deceased William Cunyngham of Polmais, for infesting Sir James Bruce of Powfoullis, Knight, as heir of the deceased Archibald Bruce, his father, in two oxgates of Polknaife, and half an oxgate of Hallis of Airth. Stirling, 10th April 1624. 1624.

Charter by Alexander Bruce of Polknaif, with consent of Jonet Bruce, his spouse, and of Thomas Bruce, Provost of the burgh of Struiveling, donator of his escheat, to Robert Bruce of Gardwald, of an annual rent of two hundred merks from Polknaif. Dated at Stirling, 9th February 1628. 1628.

Sasine, Sir James Bruce of Powfoullis, of the lands of the half oxgate of Hallis of Airth. Dated 4th June 1624, on charter by Alexander Bruce of Polknaif, his brother-german. Dated 14th April 1624. 1624.

Letter from Oatlands, 1st August 1632, from Sir James Murray (of Touchadam?) to his loving brother, Alexander Bruce of Polknaife, from which it would appear that the latter had a pension of £13, 6s. 8d. per quarter from the English Exchequer, which was paid very irregularly. "I have heard no word of your son, John Bruce, and I do make all the enquire that I can here." I had a letter from your son, Mr James, from Ireland, &c. 1632.

Retour of the special service before the Sheriff-Depute of Stirling by Robert Bruce of Auchinbowie, Thomas Bruce of Waltoun, &c., of Archibald Bruce of Powfoullis, as heir of the deceased Sir James Bruce, his father (who had died in November 1639), in the barony of Powfoullis. Dated 13th March 1641. 1641.

Sasine, Mr John Bruce of Wrae, as procurator for Anna Bruce, daughter of the deceased Sir John Bruce of Kincavill, his sister, and future spouse of James Bruce of Powfoullis, in liferent of an annual rent of 12 chalders of victual out of Powfoullis. Dated 29th November 1643. Witnesses, Archibald Bruce of Powfoullis, &c., on charter by said James Bruce, dated at Kincavill, 13th November 1643. 1643.

Resignation by the procurator of Archibald Bruce of Powfoullis (by virtue of agreement, dated at Airth, 20th May 1639, between the deceased Sir James Bruce of Powfoullis and the said Archibald, then his heir), of the barony of Powfoullis, in the hands of John Earl of Loudoun, the Chancellor, for the king's charter thereof, to be made in favour of James Bruce, eldest son and heir of the said Archibald, and his heirs. Dated 26th February 1644. 1644.

Charter of novodamus, and sasine thereon, *William* Bruce of Kincavill a witness. 1644.

Charter by Thomas Bruce of Waltoun, and Anna Wyllie, his spouse, to David Clark, &c., and by them to William Bruce, lawful son of Alexander Bruce of Polknaif, of parts of the Halls of Airth. Dated at Culroise, 22d February 1653. 1653.

1653. Extract retour, before the Sheriff of Stirling and Clackmannan, by Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse, Robert Bruce of Auchinbowie, Robert Bruce of Kynnarde, William Bruce of Newtoun, Mr Robert Bruce of Kincavill, William Bruce, son to Alexander Bruce of Polknaif, Robert Bruce, burgess of Stirling, and Mr James Bruce, brother to Thomas Bruce of Waltoun, &c., of *James Bruce* of Powfoullis, as heir of the deceased James Bruce of Powfoullis, his father, who died in September 1650, in the barony of Powfoullis. Dated 28th September 1653.
1667. Sasine, Alexander Bruce of Kynnarde and William Bruce of Newtoun, of an annual rent of £48 furth of Halls of Airth, on bond, dated 9th August 1666, by William Bruce, portioner of Halls of Airth. Sasine dated 15th February 1667.
1673. Bond by James Bruce of Powfoullis to his spouse Janet Bruce, lawful daughter of Sir Henry Bruce of Clackmannan (as they had no marriage-contract), of six chalders meal, four chalders bear, and three chalders oats, furth of the barony of Powfoullis, each year after his death. Dated 20th September 1673.
1691. General service of James Bruce of Powfoullis, as heir of the deceased Michael Bruce, the brother of his grandfather (fratres sui avi). Dated 8th June 1691.
1719. Indenture for five years between John Macfarlane, merchant in Glasgow, and Alexander Bruce, son of James Bruce of Powfoullis, with consent of his said father. Dated 10th October 1719.
1737. Ticket of Alexander Bruce, son to James Bruce of Powfoullis, as a burgess of Glasgow, 16th August 1737.

KINNAIRD WRITS, & C.

1499. Charter by Adam, by divine permission abbot of the monastery of St Mary of Newbotill, and the convent of the same place, the utility and profit of their said monastery being always foreseen and considered, to a noble esquire and their deservedly well-beloved Edward Brus, and his heirs-male, lawfully procreated and to be procreated, and the heirs-male lawfully and lineally descending from them, of the lands of Kynnarde, with all the pertinents, as Alexander of Brus, of pious memory, father of the said Edward, John of Brus, also of pious memory, brother of Edward, Sir Alexander, knight, Lucas, and the said Edward, *all brethren-german*, formerly held and possessed them, for payment of 16 merks yearly. Dated at the Monastery, 6th May 1499.—Newbottle Chart., p. 277.
1499. Precept by the said abbot and convent, commanding Robert of Brus, John Brus, and David Brus, or any one of them, to give sasine of the said lands of Kynnarde to the said Edward Brus. Dated 6th May 1499.—Newbottle Chart., p. 279.
1499. Obligation by the said Edward Brus, “for me and my heirs of the male sex lawfully and lineally descending of my body,” for ever to implement the clauses of the above charter. Dated 6th May 1499.—Newbottle Chart., p. 279.
1545. Charter of resignation by James, abbot of the monastery of Newbotle, and the convent thereof, of the Cistercian order, to *Ninian Bruce*, son and heir-apparent of *David Bruce* of Kynnarde, and his heirs-male underwritten, of the lands of Kynnarde, with the mansion, houses, &c. &c., in the lordship of Newbottle and shire of Stirling; on David’s resignation, to hold to the said *Ninian Bruce*, and the heirs-male of his body; whom failing, to *Edward Bruce*, his brother-german, and his heirs-male; whom failing, to *David Bruce*,

and his heirs-male ; whom failing, to *Patrick* Bruce, his brother-german, and his heirs-male ; whom failing, to *John* Bruce, and his heirs-male, &c. ; whom *all* failing, to John's nearest and lawful heirs whomsoever ; to be held of the abbot and convent for payment of 16 merks, reserving David Bruce's *liferent*. Dated at the Monastery of Newbottle. 15th December 1545.

Sasine thereon in favour of Ninian Bruce, given on the grounds of the said lands at the principal mansion ("locum") thereof. Witnesses, John Bruce, brother-german of Ninian, &c.; James Levingstone, notary. Dated 9th July 1547. 1547.

Confirmation of the above charter by John Thornton, apostolic pronotary, precentor of the church of Moray, and appointed delegate of the Roman Penitentiary in that cause, along with Sir John Sinclair, provost of Roslin. Done at the chapel of St Anthony the Confessor, within the church of St Giles of Edinburgh, on 17th April 1550, said Ninian Bruce being present, proceeding on commission by "*Ranuncius*, cardinal of St Angeli," grand penitentiary. Dated at Rome, at St Peter's, vj non. Aug. Pont. Pape Pauli III., anno 14to. 1550.

Copy retour, before Robert Bruce of Auchinbowie, depute of John Lord Erskine, Sheriff of Striveling, by Alexander Bruce of Airth, younger, Mr John Bruce of Larbertschelis, and others, of *Edward Bruce*, as heir of the deceased Ninian Bruce, his brother, in the said lands of Kynnarde, which had been in the hands of the abbot and convent of Newbottil, "quoad feodum," as to the fee, and in the hands of David Bruce, his father, as to the *liferent*, since Ninian's death a year before. Dated at Striveling, 22d October 1551. 1551.

Precept following thereon by James, abbot of Newbotle, and his convent, for infesting Edward as heir of Ninian in the said lands—David Bruce of Clackmannan, baillie. Dated at the Monastery, 10th May 1553. 1553.

Sasine thereon in favour of Edward as heir of Ninian, reserving the *liferent* of David, their father—David Bruce of Clackmannan, knight, baillie.

Charter of novodamus by Mark, commendator of Newbottil, and his convent, to Alexander Bruce of Arth, knight, his heirs and assignees whomsoever, of the lands of Kynnarde, in the shire of Striveling, and of Garthenery and Garthluscune, in the shire of Lanark, on the resignation of Edward Bruce, lawful son of the *deceased* David Bruce of Kynnarde, and brother-german and heir of the deceased Ninian Bruce, reserving the *liferent* of Kynnarde to the said Edward Bruce, and the *liferent* of Garthenery and Garthluscune to . . . Craufurd, his spouse, to hold of the commendator and convent. Dated at Newbottel, 23d November 1582. Witnesses, Mr Robert Bruce and the said Sir Alexander. 1582.

Sasine thereon. Witnesses, Edward Bruce of Kynnarde ; John Bruce, brother of the said Alexander of Airth, knight ; Patrick Bruce, son of Thomas Bruce of Larbertscheilles. Dated 26th November 1582. Confirmation of the above by King James VI. under the Great Seal. Sanct Androis, 6th August 1585. 1585.

Charter by Alexander Bruce of Airth, knight, to Mr Robert Bruce, his second begotten son ; whom failing, to John Bruce, his brother (Sir John of Kincavill) ; whom failing, to Alexander, his brother (afterwards of Bangour) ; whom failing, to *Robert, jun.*, his brother (afterwards of Garwell), and the heirs-male, in succession, to be lawfully procreated of their bodies ; whom failing, to return to his own heirs-male whomsoever of the said lands of Kynnarde, Garthenery, and Garthluscune ; to hold of the granter, reserving

the liferents of Edward Bruce and . . . Crauforde, his spouse, as above, and Sir Alexander's own liferent. Dated at Edinburgh, 28th November 1582. Robert Bruce, younger of Larbertscheilles, a witness.

Assignment and disposition made by Edward Bruce, of his lyfrent of Kynnaird to the Laird of Kilsyth :—

Dec. 23, 1587. Be it kend till all men be thir present letteris, me, Edwarde Bruce of Kynnarde, haivand reservit to me, during the dayes of my lyftime, be virtue of ane contract endit and clone betwix me on the ane pairt, and ane honorabill man, Sir Alexander Bruce of Airthe, knycht, on the ither pairt—the lyferent and frank tenement of all and haill the fyve pund lands of Kynnarde, with the manor place, orchartis and yairdis, with tenantis, tenendries service of free tenentis thairof with thair pertinentis, lyand in the parochin of St Ninian within the sheriffdom of Struiveling, to be bruicked, joysit and possessit be me, bott (without) any molestation, trouble, or impediment—sa friely as my predecessories bruicket the samen of befor, to have sauld, assignit, and disponit, and by the tenour heiroff, selles, assigns and dispones fra me, simpliciter and for ever, to the right honorabill Sir William Levingstone of Kilsyth, Kt., and his airis, all and haill my lyfrent of the said lands, with manor place, orchardes and yairdis thairof—and all *haifand* upon the said landis, gudis, geir, cornes, cattel, and plenishing underwritten: That is to say, ten drawing pleuch oxen, twelve milke kye, four work horses, and six yowis (ewes), three-score bolls of beer, twelve chalders of oattis, twelve bollis of quheitt (wheat), sax bollis of peas, with divers and sindrie ither gudis and geir, moveable and plenishing, being upon the said landis oneywayes pertening to me. I grant me to have sauld and disponit to the said Sir William, as I, be the tenor heiroff sellis and dispones to him and his foirsaides the samen, with actual and reall deliverance thairoff, &c. &c. &c. In witness quhairroff to thir my letteris of assignation subscrivit with my hand, and by the notaries underwritten in corroboration of the same, my seal is affixit, at Glasgow, the 23d day of December, the year of God I^m V^e fourscore and seven yearis. Before thir witnesses, William Levingstone, fiar of Kilsyth; John Graham, burgess of Glasgow; Thomas Callendar and William Levingstone, his secretaries, &c. &c.

(Signed) EDWARD BRUCE of Kynnaird.

William Levingstone, *witness*.

John Graham, *witness*.

Wm. Hegart, *notary*, &c.

Jan. 29, 1587-88. Be it kend to all men be thir present letteris, me, Sir William Levingstone of Kilsyth, Kt., to be bund and obliet, and be the tenor heirof bindis and oblissis me, my aires, executoris, and assignayes, to my lovit friend *Edward Bruce of Kynnarde* and Elizabeth Levingstone his *future* spouse, in their awin persones allerlie, that forasmekle as the said Edwarde, for certaine greatt, weychtie causis and considerations moving him, hes made me his irrevocable cessioner and assignee in and to the lowne of twa thousande merks quhairintill Alexander Bruce of Arth, Kt., is indettit to him—in the power of me to resaife the same and giff my acquittance thereupon—and als hes sauld and disponit to me his lyfrent of the lands of Kynnarde within the parochin of St Ninians and sheriffdom of Struiveling—with orchardis, yairdis, and manor place thairof, togidder with cornes and cattel, gudis, gear, and plenishing, being thairon, as the particular assignments and dis-

positions made to me thair of propositis. Nevertheless I will and grantis and als consentis that the said Edwarde and Elizabeth Levingstone his spouse, induring their lyftimes in their awin persons allerlie, secluding their aires, and all uthers thair assignees, shall notwithstanding bruick and possess the said lands of Kynnarde, with orchardis, yairdis, manor place, and *fortalice* thair of—guidis, gear, and plenishing thairon, of my tolerance and licence during their lyftimes, and als sall haif the use of the twa thousand merks, gif the same be recoverit and gottin of the said Alexander Bruce of Arthe, Kt., to be laid upon the land to them during their lyftimes, and I do haif the heritable fee thair of, &c. &c. &c. In witness whereof I have subscrivit thir presentis with my hand and seal at Kylsyth, the twentie-nynth day of Januar, the yeir of God I^m V^e fourscore and seven yeirs, befor thir witness, John Graham, Robert Boyd, William Levingstone, fiar of Kylsyth, Thomas Callander, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM LEVINGSTONE of Kylsyth.

Decree of registration by the Lords of Council, on *6th July* 1602, at the instance of “Mr Robert Bruce of Kynnaired, minister of Godis word,” as assignee of umquhile Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., his father, against Patrick Bruce, brother and charged to enter heir to umquhile Edward Bruce *fiar* of Kynnaired,—so that the father David appears to have been still alive.

1. Contract between said Sir Alexander Bruce and Edward Bruce, whereby the latter narrating that his lands of Kynnaired were wadset to various persons, and that he could not redeem them, on account of the yearly farm payable to David Bruce of Kynnaired, his father, and that Sir Alexander had given him great sums of money, he sells to Sir Alexander, “or ony of his sonnes he pleases to name,” the said lands, under reversion to the heirs-male to be begotten of Edward’s body, on their attaining the age of 14 years, on payment of 6000 merks in the parish kirk of Struiveling on a warning of 40 days. Reserving Edward’s liferent, who binds himself “to entertain and uphold the maner-place of Kynnaired, yairdis, growand trees, and otheris trees thairabout, to his ability and power,” and Sir Alexander binds himself to defend Edward in all his honest actions. Dated 1581. Witnesses, John Bruce, brother to Sir Alexander; Thomas Bruce of Lithbertschielles; Robert Bruce, his son, &c. &c.

2. A similar contract for the sale of the lands of Garthenery and Garthluscane, under reversion on payment of 2000 merks. Witnesses same as above. Dated at Airth, 22d November 1581.

Registered renunciation by Edward Bruce of Kynnaired (in consideration of 500 merks) to said Sir Alexander Bruce, of the above rights of reversion. Dated at Airth, 29th October 1588. Witnesses, Archibald Bruce of Powfoullis, &c. Registered in books of Council, 13th November 1588.

Procuratory of resignation by “Maister Robert Bruce,” minister of Christis Evangell, “for resigning his lands of Kynnaired into the hands of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, Kt., his father, in favor of himself and Martha Douglas his future spouse, daughter of George Douglas of Parkhead and Marion Douglas his spouse, and the longest liver of them two in conjunct fee, and the heirs-male lawfully to be gottin betwixt them; which failing, his nearest and lawful heirs-male whomsoever.” Dated at Edinburgh, 20th August 1590.

1623. Charter of alienation of the lands of Kinnaird, Halls of Airth, and orchard land thereof, Grange of Bothkennar, &c., by the said Mr Robert Bruce, in favour of Robert Bruce *his son*, and Margaret Mentieth his future spouse, relative to the contract of marriage passed between them. To be held blench of the said Robert Bruce (who had in the mean time charters of the property and superiorities of the same). Dated 31st October 1623.
1623. Instrument of sasine following thereon in favour of the said Robert Bruce and Margaret Mentieth, dated the 20th, registered at Stirling the 29th days of November 1623.
1643. Charter of alienation of the lands of Kinnaird and Halls of Airth, with the teinds thereof, by Robert Bruce of Kinnaird (son of Mr Robert, who died in 1631), in favour of Robert Bruce, his eldest son, to be holden *de me*. Dated 30th December 1643; registered in Edinburgh, 16th January 1644.
1655. Retour of the special service of Alexander Bruce, as heir to his brother, the said Robert Bruce, in the said whole lands—expede before the Sheriff of Stirling, 3d January 1655. Duly retoured to Chancery, &c. &c.
- Jan. 3, 1666. Contract of marriage betwixt Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird and Helen Bruce, daughter of the deceased Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, and Elizabeth Haliburton his spouse (who signs the contract, along with her son Sir Henry Bruce). The lands are settled on daughters, failing male heirs. Of this marriage there were two daughters, "*Helen and Jean.*"
1676. Alexander Bruce of Kinnaird married secondly, Margaret Elphinstone, daughter of Michael Elphinstone of Quarrole, and widow of George Norval of Boighall, by whom he had no succession.

APPENDIX U.

THE SPICERS.

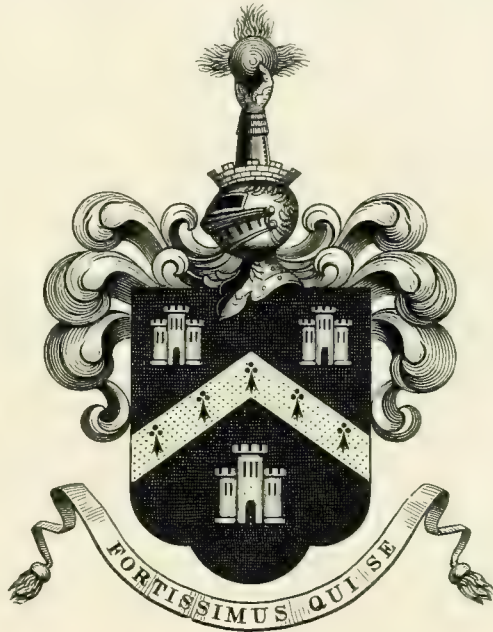
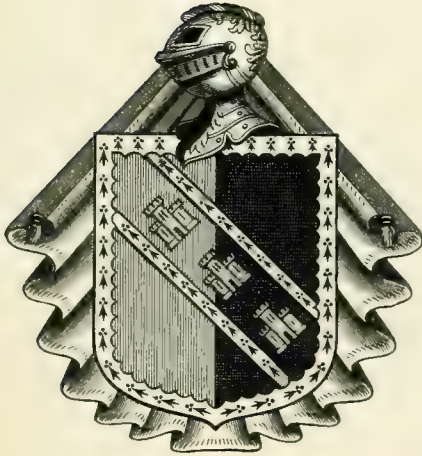
James Bruce of Kinnaird married, in 1798, Elizabeth Spicer.

Some account of the family of the SPICERS, taken from an original manuscript extracted from a chorographical description of the county of Devon, written by Tristram Ridsen, Gent. of Winscot, Devon, A.D. 1714.

Three brothers of this name, who were of an honourable family in Normandy, came over as gentlemen volunteers with William the Conqueror. The first settled in Devonshire, the second in Warwickshire, and the third in Kent. The two former still remain in the said counties. Of the state of which family an abstract is here given from an original MS., written in the thirty-sixth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign (1594), which gives an account of them, from their first being officers and magistrates of the honourable city of Exeter, beginning with the first year of King Edward I., and continued down in the same family to the seventh of Queen Anne, which, to the present year, 1714, is 441 years, of which time there has been twelve mayors of the city of Exeter of this name,

and the particular time of each is hereafter mentioned. 'Tis observable that few families can show such a precedent of the office of mayor of so ancient and honourable a city, continuing for so long a course of years, their estate being also equivalent to their antiquity—they having also bestowed a considerable one on the chamber of Exeter to uphold its grandeur. Their arms are here represented—"Partie per pale, Mars et Saturn; in bende, three turrets of the sonne cotyzed, and a border grayley ermyn." *N.B.*—These were the ancient arms, as in a window of old painted glass in the Exeter town-hall. No. 1.

No. 1.



Abstract from the Manuscript of 1594 as given by TRISTRAM RISDEN, A.D. 1714.

"In the reign of King Edward III. John Spicer was sundry times mayor of the city of Exeter, and in the third year of his mayoralty, being the thirty-first of the said king's reign, anno 1357, he received private letters from the king, and also a commission under the Great Seal of England, dated the 25th of March, and directed thus, 'To our loving the Mayor of our honourable City of Exeter,' for three ships, to be provided and sent unto him, and to be well and thoroughly appointed to the wars, and for the defence of the realm, against the French king, who had then a great fleet and navy on the seas of men-of-war. Which thing this mayor with all celerity performed; and in the year then following, he also being mayor, the prince, called the Black Prince, came from out of France, and brought with him prisoner, King John of France, whom he had taken a little while before at Poitiers. He landed at Plymouth, and came to this city, whom the mayor received, and the king, his prisoner, with all the honour he could; and entertained them most bountifully, and after the best manner he might, which the prince

did not only thankfully receive, but he made also his father acquainted with the same, who sendest back his commendations unto the said mayor."

The arms of the family you will find recorded in a very ancient roll in the office of the Heraultes (if it be not lost), of a visitation taken by the Herault in the time of King Edward III., which I have seen. For about twenty-nine or thirty years ago, Mr William Hervey, then claremieux and king-at-arms, made his visitation in this city, and among other things he showed me this roll and the said arms. In the same manner I have likewise seen them in the collections of various gentlemen who have a great delight to collect and to keep a book of all gentlemen's arms.

The family of the Spicers in the times of Edwards I., II., and III., were principal officers and magistrates of this city, and were then considered for their many and gentlemanlike qualities and *vertues*; for in those days such men, for their wisdom, and not for their wealth, were magistrates and governors of this city, and in all places of trust.

Mayors of the City of Exeter of the name of SPICER.

	A.D.
John Spicer, in the 1st of King Edward I.,	1273
John Spicer, in the 26th of King Edward III.,	1352
John Spicer, in the 27th of do.,	1353
John Spicer, in the 30th of do.,	1356
John Spicer, in the 32d of do.,	1358
John Spicer, in the 33d of do.,	1359
Nicholas Spicer, in the 34th of Queen Elizabeth,	1592
Thomas Spicer, in the 35th of do.,	1593
Nicholas Spicer, in the 45th of do.,	1603
Nicholas Spicer, in the 5th of King Charles I.,	1629
Nicholas Spicer, in the 20th of do.,	1644
Edward Spicer, in the 7th of Queen Anne,	1708

Richard Spicer, born in 1617, died in 1670, having married Jane, daughter of Nicholas Darrell, Prebendary of Winchester, who was alive in 1672.

Christopher Spicer, born in 1653, died in 1735, ætat. 81. He married Mary, daughter of William Davie of Dyra, in Sandford, co. Devon. Mary was sister to Sir John; and Sir William Davie of Creedy, in Sandford, co. Devon, died 1728.

William Spicer, born in 1688, will dated 1762, was a Master in Chancery; died unmarried. His sister was his heir-at-law, but he left large fortunes to the two grandsons of his brother Edward, of whom

William Spicer of Wear House, in the county of Devon, some time M.P. for the city of Exeter, and High Sheriff for the county in 1764, was baptised 1733, died 1788. He married Elizabeth, second daughter and co-heir of Francis Parker of Blagden, uncle of the first Lord Boringdon, ancestor of the present Earl of Morley.

Elizabeth Spicer, married to James Bruce of Kinnaird in 1798, was their third daughter, born in 1773, died 1867, ætat. 93.

APPENDIX V.

THE CUMYNS.

In a book lately published on the Antiquities of the Borders I find the following :—

“On the horizon of the immense sheep-farm of Sewing Shields, beyond an outlying shepherd’s hut called Coldknuckles, is a great stone called ‘Cumming’s Cross,’ not far off is Liddesdale.”

We should like to know if there is any legend regarding this stone ; was it the boundary of the wide domain possessed by John Cumyn the Red, No. 1., Justiciary of Galloway in 1258, who nearly caused a war between Alexander II. and Henry of England, by erecting two castles, Dalswynton in Galloway, and “*Hermitage*” in Liddesdale ? or was it the scene of some battle-field where Cumings conquered or fell ?

APPENDIX W.

ALTRE.

CUMINGS OF PRESLEY, DOLLESBRAUCHTIE, TULLIDUVIE, OR RELUGAS.

It has been sometimes imagined by the descendants of these collaterals of the Altire family, that they might possibly come from a branch of the Badenoch family distinct from Altire; and something to that effect was inserted in the last edition of Shaw's 'History of Moray,' which, however, copies of deeds given in the appendix sufficiently disprove. And we are further enabled to show that Dr Patrick Cumin was correct in believing, as he wrote to his chief, that they were all cadets and wadsetters of Altire, holding portions of the estates, to be redeemed for certain sums, at pleasure. Dr Patrick Cumin's letter is still extant. "I have several genealogies of Presley, which derive from Lord Badenoch, but I have begun only with my great-grandfather's father, who purchased the estate of Relugas. *I firmly believe* that we are descended from your family; but as the account of our family will be justly supposed to be from me, I am unwilling to say anything I cannot vouch. The old papers are wanting, and they are not so considerable as to have any mention made of them in the public records." Papers, however, do exist, showing that Dr Patrick was wrong in supposing that he had a "great-grandfather's father" who held Relugas *distinct from Altire*.

- Oct 23,
1543. There is an instrument of sasine in favour of Alexander Cumyn of Alter, in Mekle and Little Bronquhillis, Craigton, Logyurwell, *Presley* et Drummyne—confirmed 12th March 1553, by charter, from George, Earl of Huntley and Moray, to Alexander, Prior of Pluscardine, from whom Thomas Cumyn of Alter has seizen in these lands, 11th April 1567, with all his other lands of Altire, &c. It appears that he had held them in 1526 from James de Dunbar of Cumnock, Sheriff of Moray, who confirms them to Alexander Cumyn of Alter in 1532.
1570. Tullidowie (afterwards Relugas) became the property of Thomas Cumyn of Alter by a charter from Patrick Gordon of Tullidovie, dated 8th May 1570.
- Jan. 19,
1573. There is a commission under the Great Seal to the Sheriffs of Elgin and Forres, 'to administer justice in all actions and cases for Thomas Cuming of Alter, against James Dunbar of Tarbert, &c., relative to the possession of the lands of Tullidovat.
- Feb. 29,
1600. Tulliduvie is settled by charter of Thomas Cumming of Alter on his third but only surviving son, James Cumming, and on Margaret Gordon, daughter of Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny, his spouse—on *James* heritably, and on his spouse in liferent; at the same time, Thomas Cumyn settles upon James, his son, *heritably*—along with all his lands and baronies of Altire and Dollar—Presley, Dollesbrauchtie, Logie Ardovie, &c., reserving the liferent of himself and his spouse Margaret Gordon.
1602. Charter by James Cuming, fiar of Alter, heritable possessor of Tulliduvie, by which (his first wife being dead) he enters into a contract of marriage with "Margaret Fraser,

sister to Symon Fraser, Lord Lovat," and settles upon her the liferent of the said lands.

Instrument of seizen in favour of James Cuming, brother-german of William Cuming Nov. 9, of Presley, of the *fourth part* of the town and lands of Tulliduvie, proceeding on a charter¹⁶⁰⁴ of alienation by James Cuming, fiar of Altyre.

Charter by James Cuming, brother-german to William Cuming of Presley, in imple- July 11, ment of a contract of marriage with Dorathea Dunbar, daughter of Nichol Dunbar of¹⁶⁰⁷ Boigis, of the fourth part of the town and lands of Tulliduvie in *liferent*.

James Cuming, fiar of Altyre, and his wife, had a new infestment in the lands of Tulli- 1608. duvie on the resignation of his father Thomas.

James had seizen of *all* the lands and baronies of his *late* father, Thomas Cumyn of 1609. Altyre.

Charter by James Cuming, Baron of Altyre, and Margaret Fraser, his wife, to James 1615. Cuming *in* Relugas, and Dorothy Dunbar, his wife, of the fourth part of Tulliduvie, called *Relugas*, and also of the fourth part of Dollesbrauchtie, in the regality of Spynie. Dated at Altyre, 3d June 1615.

Charter by James Cuming, Baron of Altyre, to Robert Cumyn, his eldest son, and to Feb. 18, his heirs-male, betwixt him and Isobel Innes, his future spouse, of the lands of Tulli- 1625. duvie, reserving the liferent to himself and his spouse, Margaret Fraser. James Cuming of Altyre dying that year, leaves by his last will and testament, his wife, Margaret Fraser, his sole executrix: Symon, Lord Lovat; Hew, Maister thereof; Robert Innes of Balveny, witnesses, 16th March 1625. Robert, his son, has seizen in 1630, probably on his mother's death, who liferented Tulliduvie. Her fortune had been 37,000 merks, but the expenditure exceeding the income during the lifetime of her husband and his father, many lands were wadset to cadets of the family, but none heritably disposed until circa 1660, when "Jean Cuming," granddaughter of Margaret Fraser (daughter of Robert Cuming of Alter by his second wife Jean Gordon, Lady of Glengarach) marrying *James* Cumming in the miln-town of Relugas, had charters of Tulliduvie either as her dowry or by purchase. In 1672 Jean Cumming had married, secondly, Duncan Grant of Cure, who signs as "spous to Jean Cuming, liferentrix of Tulliduvie."

Let us now see from whom all these branches sprang.

"I, James Cuming of Dolesbrauchtie, *fader-brother* (that is, *uncle* by the father's side) July 18, of ane honorable man, 'Thomas Cuming of Alter, grants me to have resavit fra ane 1565. honorable man, Lachlan Ros of Kilravock,' the sum of 500 merks, usual money of yis realme, promisit be him to me for the dole and tocher, and solemnisation of matrimony with Marion Ros, his dochter, whilk sown the said Lachlan Ros *has laid upon land*, and deliverit to Alexander Urquhart of Burdsyards. I, Elezabet Cuming, his spouse, at the command of the said Thomas Cuming of Alter, &c. &c. At Elgin, 18th July 1565."

The land thus acquired by James Cuming was Dollesbrauchtie, which, in 1561, had been given off as a wadset from Altyre with Elizabeth Cuming, on her marriage with Archibald Urquhart, and which is now transferred, by command of Thomas Cuming of Altyre, to James Cuming, for Marion Ros's tocher of 500 merks.

It thus distinctly appears that all the Cumyns who held wadsets from Altyre were younger branches of that house—most of them the descendants of "James Cumming," who styles himself *fader-brother*, that is, uncle to Thomas Cumming, his chief; that he

was his father's *half*-brother, the youngest son of his grandfather by Joneta Brown, relict of William Urquhart of Burdsyards, may have been the reason for this particular designation. Archibald Urquhart of Burdsyards was probably the son or grandson of Joneta, married to Elizabeth Cuming of Altyre, who resigned Dollesbrauchtie to *James*. *William* Farquharson of Odinvile is also mentioned, descended from Farquhar Cuming. All these names, and many more, are attached to a "*band of relieff*" by the Laird of Altyre's friends and vassals in the year 1672, wherein it is set forth that,—“It being statuate and ordained that landlords and their bailzies, and heads and chieftains of clans, should find caution for their vassals, men, tenants, &c. &c., and the whole persons of their name descended of their families, and seeing Robert Cumming of Altyre, principall of that family, *of whom we are descended, and only lord of the respective lands whilk now we do possess*, has, by his band, and by his caution ingonyed (?) himself to the Counsell of Scotland to the effect forsaied; wherefore, with ye, us, and every one of us respective, for our entries, to be bound and obliged for the better relief of the said Robert Cuming of Altyr, that our whole men, tenants, servants, indwellers upon our lands and possessions, as also the whole persons of our names, descended of our families, wherever they dwell, sall commit no murther, deforcement of messengers, &c. &c. &c., under the penalty of 2000 merks, Scots money, besides redressing and repairing all persons skaithed; and further, that we shall exhibit and produce, before the said Robert Cuming or the Counsell of Justices, any of our men, tenants, &c. &c., whenever we sall be called or lawfully summoned to that effect, &c. &c. &c. These presents, written by William Cuming of Craigmiln, bailzie, and subscribed by our hands at Altyr, the 23d day of December 1672.”

Here follow all the names.

CUMINGS OF RELUGAS.

James Cuming,
in Presley, uncle, on the father's side, to
Thomas Cuming, Baron of Alter, had, with his
wife, a wadset of Dollesbrauchtie.

== Married Marian Ros (Rose), daughter of Lachlan Rose of Kilravock. Two sons—1. William, 2. James.

William Cum-
ming was suc-
ceeded by his
brother *James*
in Presley and
Dollesbrauchtie,
either from his
leaving no des-
cendants, or
their taking to
other profes-
sions.

== Married Jean Rose,
daughter of John
Rose of Bellivat by
Marjorie Dunbar of
Conzie and Kil-
buick. John Rose
was second son of
Hugh Rose, eighth
Baron of Kilravock,
by the Lady Mar-
garet Gordon, daugh-
ter of Alexander, first
Earl of Huntly, by
Jean Cuming, the
fair maid of Moray.

James,
styled "brother to
William Cuming in
Presley," in contract
of marriage with
Dorathy Dunbar, 11th
July 1607—at which
time he had a wadset
of the fourth part of
the town and lands of
Tulliduvie *in liferent*.
This James, styled, in
1643, "of the Miln-
town of Tulliduvie,"
assigned his wadset
of Logie, Ardovie,
&c., to John Cuming,
second son of Robert
Cuming of Alter.

== Married Doratheia Dunbar,
daughter of Nichol Dunbar of
Boigis by Jean Brodie, daugh-
ter of David Brodie of that ilk,
by whom he had—1. *John*, his
heir, and 2. *Robert*, in Dolles-
brauchtie.

2dly, Jean, daughter of
M'Kenzie of Pluscardine, by
whom he had a daughter, who
died unmarried.

3dly, Jean Hay, daughter of
Mr James Hay of Kinnudie,
brother of John Hay of Lochloy
and Park, by whom he had—
3. *William* of Craigmiln, born
circa 1630, who married Ka-
tharine, daughter of John Bro-
die of Windyhill, and left
numerous descendants, some
of whom settled in Holland,
France, and Demerara, and
made fortunes; 4. George, an
officer in the service of Gustavus
Adolphus.

John Cuming,
eldest son of James, left seven sons and four
daughters.

== Married Margaret, daughter of Dunbar of Boath
by his wife, a daughter of Stirling of Keir.

1. James,
his heir.

2. William,
Professor of
Philosophy in
Edinburgh
University,
d. s. p.

3. John,
minister of
Auldearn
and Dean of
Moray, who
left a numer-
ous issue.

4. David,
minister of
Edenkeillie,
who left three
sons, of whom
James be-
came of *Presley*.

5. Alex-
ander.

6. Patrick,
d. s. p.

7. Duncan,
Physician to
King William
at the battle
of the Boyne,
who left two
daughters.

James Cuming,
eldest son, circa 1660, had a charter of Tulliduvie
heritably, Jean being *liferentrix*. It was *then*
first called *Relugas*.

== Married Jean, daughter of Robert Cuming,
Baron of Altyre, by whom he had *Robert*, his
heir—and John, a physician in Ayr.

Jean married, 2dly, Duncan Grant, in Cure,
who signs, in 1672, as "spous to Jean," life-
rentrix of Relugas.

Robert Cuming,
eldest son, Baron Bailzie of Altyre in 1688, has
seizin of the lands of Relugas in 1691.

== Married Magdalen Fraser, of the family of Kin-
kell, by whom he had two sons—*Patrick* and
John.

Dr Patrick Cumin *
left seven sons, only two of whom married.

== Married Jane Lauder, second daughter and co-
heiress of David Lauder, Esq. of Huntly Wood,
co. Berwick.

George,
sixth son of Dr Patrick, bought Relugas from
his father.

== Married Susanna Judith Craigie Halket, and
left an only daughter. *Charles*, or Charlotte
Anne, 1804, succeeded to her father.

Charlotte Anne Cumin
left one son, Sir John Dick Lauder, and several
daughters.

== Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, who sold Relugas in
1836.

* We do not know exactly at what date the final *g* was dropt by this branch; probably by Dr Patrick Cumin.

CRAIGMILN AND LOGIE.

William Cuming, third son of James Cuming in the Milntown of Tulliduvie, born about 1630, had first a wadset of Logie.

The lands of Craigmiln, Branquhillis, &c., a part of the patrimony of Altyre, had been obtained some 450 years ago (MS. dated circa 1800) as a part of the forestry of Drummynd and Tulloch. Altyre is the superior, and Lord Moray his superior, to this day.

March
27, 1628.

Robert Cuming of Altyre wadset the lands of Craigmiln, &c., to William Farquharson of Kellas. 1636, They came to James Sutherland of Duffus, who conveyed them in 1641 to William Brodie of Milntown, who sold the said lands to William Cumin of Craigmiln, designed "lawful son to the deceast James Cumin of Relugas, 1st January 1662. William Cumin, whilst he resided at Logie, married "Katharine, daughter of John Brodie of Windyhillis, and had many descendants; one of whom, William Cumin, his grandson by his eldest son, Alexander Cumin of Craigmiln, and Mrs Elizabeth Tulloch his wife, was an officer in the French service, secretary and aide-de-camp to Prince Xavier of Saxony. He had a genius for a military life; and as early as the 1745—by the persuasion of his friends connected in that cause, which involved so many families in Scotland—along with his father, joined the Duke of Perth. They were both on the field of Culloden, 16th April 1746. The father, in anxiety about his son, waited searching for him, was surrounded and taken prisoner with many others to Inverness, thence to London, where, by hardships and cold, he died in July of that year; but the son escaped and went to France, where he got a commission in Lord John Drummond's regiment, and acquired the rank of colonel in the army of Louis XVIII., having in the course of the late troubles undergone great hardships and the forfeiture of his estate. He married a French lady, by whom he had two sons, Andrew and Thomas, who appear to have married and settled in Demerara—and a daughter, married to a French nobleman.

Thomas Cumin, second son of Alexander and Elizabeth Tulloch, had established himself in Demerara, and received his nephews there. The eldest sister, Ellen, died in Elgin, 14th November 1800, and was interred in the family burial-ground at the kirk of Dallas, when four other sisters were alive.

CUMINGS OF LOGIE.

1643. The town and lands of Logie, called Logie Cumming and Ardoch, and the pendicle called Pittennisk, belonging to Robert Cumming of Altyre, were wadset by him to James Cumming in the Milntown of Tulliduvie for 4000 merks, by contract of wadset dated 30th January 1643.

1663. This wadset was assigned by William Cuming, third son of James Cuming of Tulliduvie, to "*John Cumming, second son of Robert Cumming of Altyre,*" granter of the wadset, by charter dated 25th March 1663, to which charter Robert Cumming, then of Altyre, the elder brother of John, is a party; and he thereby ratified, approved, and confirmed heritably and irredeemably the disposition and assignation to the said John Cuming, his

brother, and renounced his right of reversion. John Cuming thus acquired an absolute right to the lands of Logie in 1663.

The town and lands of Drummyne, now a part of the estate of Logie, belonging to Robert Cuming, *second* of Altyre, above mentioned, were wadset by him to John Cuming, his brother, for 3000 merks. John Cuming assigned this wadset to Robert Cuming, his eldest son, by Robert's contract of marriage, dated 27th August 1684. Nov. 29, 1669.

Alexander Cumming of Altyre renounced his right of reversion in favour of Alexander Cuming of Logie, by discharge dated 30th May 1704, Alexander of Logie thus acquiring the absolute right to the lands of Drummyne. Conf. charter, dated 17th January 1723. 1704.

The whole lands are held of Cumming of Altyre as superior for payment of a feu-duty of 5 merks Scots for Logie Cumming and Pittennisk, and 10 merks Scots for Drummyne.

The lands of Logie Ardovie, Utlawall, Sluie, &c., holding of Lord Moray as *first* superior, appear to have been those got by Sir Alexander Cumyn of Altyre in 1408 with Euffame de Dunbar, sister of Sir Thomas de Dunbar, Earl of Moray.

In 1614 James Cumming of Altyre gives a wadset of Outlawell, Sluie, and Drummyne to John Cumming, Outlawell.

David Cumming of Outlawell enters as heir to *John*, his great-grandfather. Sluie was bought by the Earl of Moray from the last Cuming of Sluie.

CUMINGS OF LOGIE.

I. John Cuming, a major in the British army, was the second son of Robert Cuming, Baron of Altyre, by his wife Isobel Innes of Balveny. He had first, from his father and brother "Robert," the lands of Pittiveach, near the castle of Balveny, and afterwards a wadset of Logie, &c. He is, however, styled "indweller in Easter Alves," in the register of that parish.

Married Barbara Cumming, daughter of Cumming of Birness (of the family of Auchray), by whom he had three sons and three daughters. "Willm. Sutherland of Rosehaugh and Jean Cuming lawll daur to John Cumming of Logie, were married at Alves, 28th August 1680." Their tombstone is to be seen in the kirkyard of Duffus.

II. 27th August 1684. Robert Cuming. His wife, "Margaret Lesley," appears to have brought the Glen of Rothes estate into the Logie family. Of three sons, 1. Alexander was his heir; 2. William, an English clergyman; and 3. David, died unmarried.

Was married at Elgin without proclamation, having received a licence from the bishop, with Margaret Lesley, relict of umquhile Mr John Cuthbert, of the Drakies family, town-clerk of Inverness, and daughter of Andrew Lesley of Rothes Glen.

III. 1704. Alexander Cuming was the first who obtained by charter the absolute right to the lands of Logie and Drummyme from Altyr.

Married, 1st, Lucy, daughter of Dunbar of Burgie, by whom he had no surviving issue. 2d, Grace, daughter of James Grant of Rothiemurchus, by whom he had Robert, his heir, and several daughters. A daughter married John Rose of Holm.

IV. Robert Cuming, only son, left five sons,—1. Alexander, his heir; 2. Robert, in the Horse Artillery, died in India unmarried. He was 6 feet 6 inches, and said to be the handsomest man and the best rider in the Presidency. 3. George Vanbrugh, M.D.;* 4. John Peter (twins). George married the daughter of Captain Smythe, and left five sons. John Peter, Lieutenant-Colonel 1st Bombay European regiment, died unmarried. 5. William Fullarton, M.D. in Bengal.

Married Lesley Baillie, daughter of Robert Baillie, Esq. of Mayville, county Ayr, a lady immortalised by Burns in poetry and prose. Five sons and one daughter, who married, 1st, Captain Fraser; 2dly, Sir James Coxe, M.D.

V. Alexander Cuming, E.I. Co.'s Service.

Married Louisa, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Martin White, Commandant in Bengal, and left three daughters.

VI. Emily, his only surviving daughter, is now in possession of Logie, and has an only daughter.

Married Captain Vaillant, son of Major-General Sir Thomas Vaillant, K.C.B. Captain Vaillant died in 1867.

* The four surviving sons of Dr George Cuming (Alexander, the eldest, having died in India) are, 1. George Peter, in the Indian army; 2. William Gordon, Royal Engineers; 3. Charles Lennox, E.I.C.S., a poet; and 4. John, in the Royal Artillery, India,—the nearest collaterals in the male line to the house of Altyre.

THE ROSES AND THE DUNBARS.

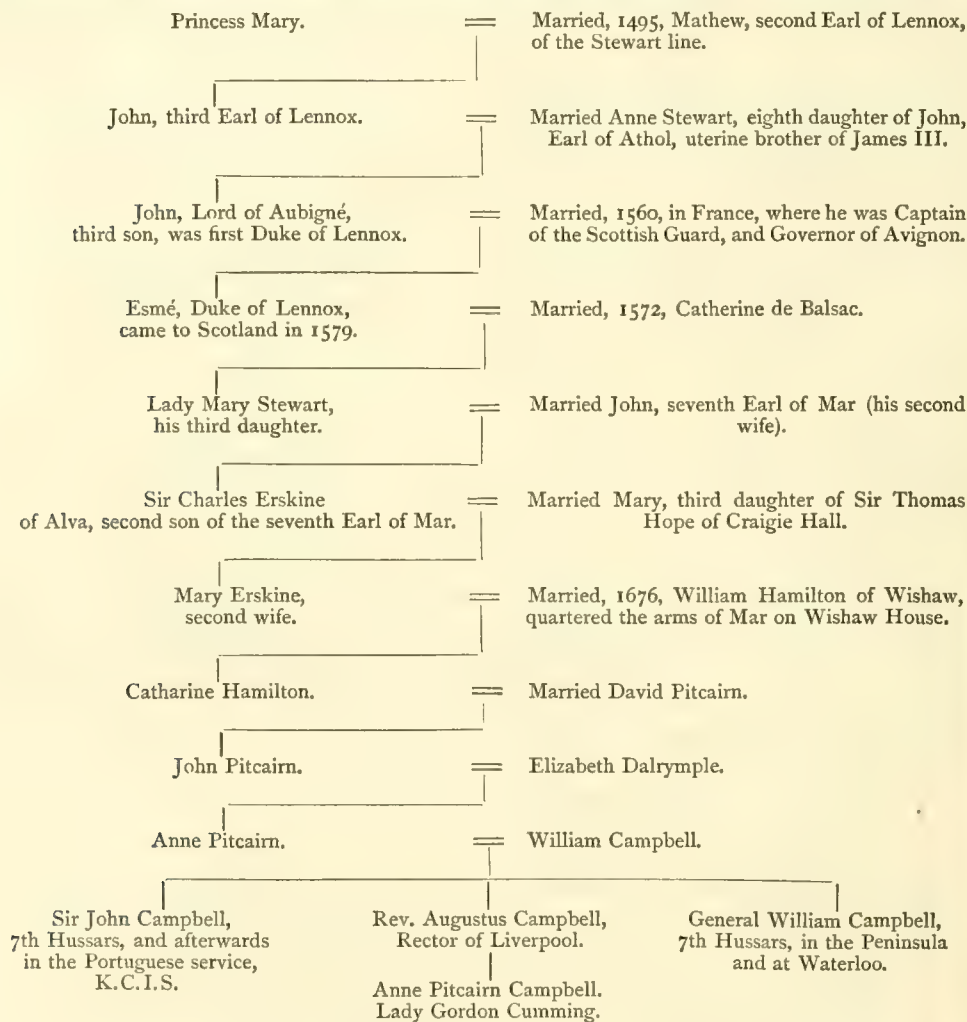
There commenced a great feud betwixt the Roses and the Dunbars, both connected 1598. by marriage with the Cummings ; but it does not appear that they took part in the outrages committed, nor that they suffered from them. One David Rose M'William, who lived in Clune, claimed the tenement by "Duehus," or immemorial possession, looking upon the Dunbars as invaders. John Dunbar of Moyness, son by a second wife of Sir Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, served David Rose with a legal summons of removal, and finally ejected him, and set his possessions to other tenants. David Rose and his friends drove out the new tenants and burnt their houses, and carried off their effects. By a criminal prosecution raised against them, he and his associates were declared outlawed and fugitat. The Roses becoming desperate, and looking upon all Dunbars as their enemies, associated themselves with a lawless gang of M'Williams, M'Donachies, &c., and, acting as outlaws, burnt and spoiled the lands and houses of *Moyness, Dunphail, and Mundole*, and existed upon plunder and rapine. John Dunbar of Moyness, Alexander Dunbar of Tarbert and Dunphail, and Robert Dunbar of Burgie, attacked and burnt the houses and lands of Geddes and Bellivat, and for a time this corner of the country was a scene of disorder and confusion. In 1600, David Rose M'William was betrayed into the hands of the Dunbars by a M'Gregor, and put to death, in hopes that the leader, being cut off, the followers would submit ; but his death had a contrary effect, and in revenge they attacked Alexander Dunbar of Tarbert and killed him. Then the Dunbars called in a party of the Clanronalds from Lochaber, but to these the Roses found a counterbalance in a band of M'Gregors, no less savage than the others. By these ruffians the county was ravaged for a time, until the Privy Council interfered, and required Rose of Kilravock to apprehend and bring to justice all those of his clan that were concerned in these tumults (Act of Parliament, 1599). Not being able to do so, he and his son were imprisoned in Edinburgh, and fined a large sum. They were liberated at last, 24th August 1603, by his Majesty's special command. John Rose of Bellivat sold his lands, and retired beyond Spey in 1605 ; and the laird of Moyness also, burdened and impoverished, sold all his lands to John Grant of Loggie in 1634.

THE ROSES OF KILRAVOCK.

There are assignations and precepts of seisin in favour of Alexander Cumyn of Alter Oct. 31, of the lands of the Milntown and Haldtown of Kilravock, when the laird thereof was also 1536. probably in trouble.

APPENDIX TO CUMMING, p. 477.

Nov. 27, 1845. Sir Alexander Penrose Gordon Cumming married Anne Pitcairn, only daughter of the Rev. Augustus Campbell, Rector of Liverpool, whose mother was a Pitcairn. The Pitcairns of Pitcairn were an old family in Fife, and had, through the Hamiltons of Wishaw and Erskines of Mar, royal descent from King James II., whose daughter the



Robert Pitcairn, son of David Pitcairn of that ilk, succeeded George Durie as Com-mendator of Dunfermline, circa 1564. He was born in 1520, was appointed a Lord of the Articles 29th July 1567, and attended the coronation of the infant king James VI.

On the 15th December, same year, he signed the Bond of Association at the head of fourteen other abbots. A.D. 1570, he became Secretary of State, after Maitland of Lethington, and so continued under the regencies of Lennox, Mar, and Morton, 1580-81. His name is attached to the confession of "The true Christian faythe and religione, subscribed by the king's majestie and his household att Edinburgh," 1582. He was one of those who arrested the king at Ruthven Castle (the Raid of Ruthven), and suffered accordingly. "Coming to court, suspecting no harm, he was carried captive to Lochleven, but afterwards set at liberty, to remain within six or seven miles of Dunfermline under pain of £10,000."—(Calderwood.) According to Spottiswoode, he fled into England; but returned, and died at Dunfermline, 18th February 1584, in his sixty-fourth year. The following is a literal translation of his epitaph, more laudatory, it is believed, than just, and withal somewhat heathenish :—

To

MR ROBERT PITCAIRN,

ABBOT OF DUNFERMLINE, ARCHDEACON OF ST ANDREWS, ROYAL LEGATE
AND SECRETARY OF STATE OF HIS MAJESTY.

Here is interred the hero, Robert Pitcairn, in a plain urn. The hope and pillar of his country,
whom virtue, gravity worthy of a generous heart, and fidelity, with sincere piety adorn.

After various changes of life, he now, with the mass of his body left behind,
proceeds in spirit to the Elysian Grove.

In Maygate Street, Dunfermline, is the house which was occupied by the commendator of the abbey. Over the outer door is the following quaint inscription, meant as a caution to the inhabitants against the sin of the tongue, in which it is alleged they were apt to indulge to his detriment :—

"Sen. Vord. is Thral. and Thought. is free,
Keip. veill. thy. Tongue. I. counsel. thee."

The commendator's house is now private property; it is much modernised, and is still used as a dwelling-house: it faces the churchyard on the south. The commendator might be an *abbot* or an advocate, or an abbot's soldier to defend the rights of the Church, but the *abbot* could only be appointed by the Pope. Before Robert Pitcairn, George Durie had been Abbot of Dunfermline in 1593. Henry Pitcairn of that ilk is styled *commendator*. He resigned his trust to Anne of Denmark, who had obtained the revenues of the abbey for her life from her husband James VI., on their marriage at Upsal in 1589, confirmed by charter in 1593.

A D D E N D A.

THE ORCADES (p. 219).

FOR those who desire to know what became of the Orcadian earldom after the death of Earl Rognvald Brucesson, in 1046, and of his uncle, Earl Torphin, in 1064, the following notes may have some interest.

1064. Paul and Erlend (No. 1), the sons of Earl Torphin by Ingioborge, the daughter of Finn Arneson, became joint-jarls of Orkney. In their day "Harold Sigurtson" came to Shetland, and took the two earls with him, leaving his queen, Ellisoff or Elizabeth, daughter of the Russian king, and her daughters, Maria and Ingegerd, when he went to fight with the English king, Harold Goldwinson. Harold was killed, and his daughter, "Maria," died in Orkney the same day and hour. The two jarls, escaping from the slaughter of Stamford Bridge (in 1066), returned to their jarldom, and reigned over it without division until nearly the end of the century.
1098. Magnus Bärfoð seized the two earls, and carried them off to Norway; whence they never returned. Earl Erlend died at Nidaros, of sickness, in 1099; Earl Paul, at Bergen, soon after. King Magnus had carried off their sons also, as hostages, leaving his own son, "Sigurd," still a child, over the jarldom. He then sailed for the Hebrides, scattering the people, and destroying everything, with the exception of the church of Iona, which he spared. He also took possession of the Isle of Man, &c. Passing the winter amongst the Sudreys, or Southern Isles (Bute, &c.), he claimed all that he could sail round as his own; and having his boat drawn across the isthmus of Cantire whilst he sat at the helm, he pretended to include it also.
1102. Magnus returned with his fleet to Ireland, when Mucketagh O'Brien made peace with him, and gave his daughter in marriage to the young *Jarl Sigurt*, who was still in the Orkneys.
1103. Magnus Bärfoð fell into a morass in Ulster, and was there slain; whereupon his fleet, weighing anchor, immediately sailed for Norway, touching at the Orkneys by the way, and carrying off Sigurd, who relinquished his Irish princess, and returned to his udal rights in Norway.
1103. Magnus Erlendson, the son of Erlend, had escaped to Scotland, and remained quietly at court there until the departure of Sigurd, when he sailed for Orkney to claim his share in the earldom,—his brother, Erlend, having been killed in battle in 1096.

Hacon Paulson, son of Earl Paul, received from "Sigurd, Eistein, and Olaf," joint-kings of Norway, sons of Magnus Bærfod, the title of earl, and all the territory that heritably belonged to him. 1104.

King Eistein gave to Magnus Erlendson, afterwards known as "*Saint Magnus*," the other half of the Orkneys, with the title of earl; but, in the absence of Magnus, Earl Hacon Paulson had subdued all Katenes and Orkney, and had collected an army in Katenes and settled there. He was therefore greatly displeased by the intrusion of Magnus, but could not resist the wishes of his people, and consented to abide by the decision of the Norwegian Court, so that Magnus was soon put in possession of his father's portion of the earldom. The two earls were upon anything but cordial terms; however, they agreed to meet on the little island of Eaglesay, with a few attendants, to arrange their differences. 1108.

Magnus, faithful to his promise, arrived with a very few unarmed friends; Hacon, with eight ships filled with sea-rovers. Magnus foresaw his doom, and met it with fortitude. His head was severed from his body in the church, which was afterwards venerated as his shrine; and by the islanders their favourite earl was canonised as a martyr and a saint. The Patron of Orkney. April 14, 1110.

The church of Eagleshay or Egillsey still exists, built in the eighth century. Its tower is cylindrical, like Brechin and Abernethy, the only other examples in North Britain. Hacon Paulson made a pilgrimage to Rome to expiate his crime. Upon his death, some years later, the earldom was divided between his two sons—Paul Umalgi (the Dumb or Silent), and Harold Slettmal (the Eloquent).

"*Harold Slettmal*," by the permission of the King of Scotland, was Earl of Katenes also, and often dwelt there. He shared his rule, it is said, with his sisters, Ingiobiorge, and Margaret, who had married Madoch, Earl of Athol. Their mother was "Helga," a daughter of Moddan of Dale, a nobleman of Katenes. Helga had a sister, "Frakirk," who was also rich and powerful, and very wicked. "*Paul Umalgi*" was the eldest son of Earl Hacon by a first and higher marriage. The half-brothers had not been on good terms, but friends entreating them to be reconciled, Harold agreed to give a great entertainment to his brother Paul at Christmas. Accordingly, a sumptuous banquet was got up at his palace at Orphir, and the dawn of concord and happiness was hoped to have appeared. Towards the conclusion of the feast, Harold entered his mother's bower, and found her and Frakirk, his aunt, in the act of finishing an embroidered shirt, worked with gold. He asked for whom it was intended; and Helga reluctantly told him it was for Paul.

Naturally jealous and impatient, he wrested it from her; and, despite her entreaties and assurances that to touch it would cost him his life, he put it on. No sooner did it touch his skin than he was seized with a trembling fit, succeeded by excruciating pain, and soon after he died in agony; for the fatal garment, intended for his elder brother, was saturated with deadly poison. Paul, who saw that his own death had been intended, banished both sisters from Orkney. They went to *Kildonan*, in Sutherland, where Frakirk's castle was situated. Frakirk's husband was "Liot Nidinger;" and their daughter, "Steinvor Digra," married "Thorliot, of Rekavik;" and they had a son, "*Aulfer Rosta*." Now, on the death of Harold Slettmal, a descendant of "Erlend Thorfinson" soon appeared to claim half the earldom.

- "Kali" or "Kol," a faithful follower of King Magnus Bärfoð, had obtained large possessions in the Orkneys; and had married Gunhilda, daughter of *Erland* No. 1, the son of Torphin. Gunhilda, on the death of her brothers, became the heiress of her father's rights; and it was *her* son who now demanded his share of the earldom. His real name was "Karl," the son of Kol; but Sigurd, King of Norway, granted him that half of the Orkneys not under the dominion of Earl Paul, on condition that he should take the name of "Rognvald," after Rognvald Bruceon (whom he was thought to resemble), along with the title of earl.
1129. King Magnus, who succeeded Sigurd in Norway, did not acknowledge Rognvald's claim, as it was the first instance of succession through a female; but it was expressly confirmed by King Harold, the rival and successor of King Magnus, in 1135. Paul still, however, refused to listen to Rognvald's claim, although supported by Norway.
1136. Kol asked the aid of Frakirk and her grandson "Aulfer Rosta," who promised to attack Earl Paul from the mainland, whilst Rognvald assailed him by sea. The Shetlanders were steadily in favour of Rognvald, who invaded Orkney with six ships of war, five boats, of a size to cross the sea from Norway, and three ships of burden. Aulfer joined him with an army from Sudrland; but they were defeated, and driven back to the Pentland Firth.

Three days before Christmas, Olaus Rolfi, who was Captain of Dungalsbae, and had commanded one of Earl Paul's ships, was attacked by Aulfer Rosta, who came there with a body of men, set fire to the house, and burnt Olaus, allowing his men to escape. Aslief, the wife of Olaus, and her two sons, Gunn and Swein, were absent from home at the time of the burning. Swein, afterwards known as "Swein Asliefson," became a great viking, and avenged his father's death. At first he fled to the Orkneys, and thence to the Sudreys, and so to Scotland, where he resided for some time with Maddad, Earl of Athol, and Margaret his wife. Then he returned to Orkney, where he captured Earl Paul (see House of Athol), and carried him to Athol, to his half-sister Margaret, who received him with much mock ceremony and courtesy; but afterwards throwing him into prison, it is said, constrained him to resign his earldom to his nephew, her young son, *Harold*, then four years old. Paul was no more heard of; and Rognvald, the son of Kol, remained sole earl in Orkney.

- July 1137. A Scottish bishop, designated by Norse writers "Bishop John, from Atjoklis" (Athol), in Scotland, came into Orkney, and after a conference with "William, Bishop of Orkney," "Swein Asliefson," and "Earl Rognvald," induced that earl to accept as his colleague in the rule of the Orcadian earldom, "*Harold*," the son of Earl Maddad of Athol by Margaret his wife, daughter of Earl Hacon Paulson, then in his fifth year. A meeting appears to have been held in Katenes, where peace was made, and the whole ratified by the oaths of the nobles, both of Orkney and Scotland. *Earl Harold Maddadson* accompanied *Earl Rognvald* into Orkney, and received the title of earl there. He was followed by "Thorbiorn Klerke," son of "*Gudrun*" (another of Frakirk's daughters), who fostered the young earl.

About this time Rognvald founded the Cathedral of Kirkwall, and dedicated it to St Magnus. According to the Orkneyinga Saga, Rognvald had, by the advice of his father Kol, made a vow to St Magnus that he would build a splendid church in his honour, if he succeeded to the jarldom. At first Kol defrayed the expense; afterwards Rognvald

sold back to the people their udal rights, which they had resigned to Earl Eynor, and employed the proceeds on the building.

Swein Asliefson meanwhile pursued his viking propensities. He went to Scotland and saw the young King Malcolm the Maiden, and got an order from him to retain possession of all he had in Katenes. Having received from Earl Rognvald two ships fully equipped, he sailed to Dufeyras (Lossiemouth), an emporium of Scotland, and thence along the coast of Moray to Eckialbacca, and afterwards to Earl Maddad in Atjoklis. Thence he travelled with guides through the hills to Helmsdale, in the middle of Sutherland, where Frakirk and her grandson dwelt, and appeared with an army on a height above their house before they were aware of his approach. Aulfer Rosta engaging Swein with sixty men, was defeated, and fled to the Hebudes. Swein laid waste the country, and, setting fire to the house, burnt the Lady Frakirk along with it. Some accounts say that Helga, grandmother of the young Earl Harold Maddadson, was also there, and burnt with her sister. The place is still called "*Caern-Swein*." Swein was the last of the great vikings, and many wild adventures are recorded of him. He held Dungalsbae from Earl Rognvald, and often disappeared, as if by magic, with his boats freighted with rich plunder, amongst its caved rocks.

When Earl Harold Maddadson was about twenty years of age, Earl Rognvald left him to govern the Orkneys, and sailed for Palestine. That same year Eystein, King of Norway, came suddenly with a great force, and learning that Harold had passed over to Katenes with eighty men in a ship of forty oars, and was then lying in the Thorsa river, he fitted out three galleys, crossed the Pentland Firth, sailed to Thorsa, and seized Earl Harold on board his ship. The Earl had to agree to pay a ransom of three marks of gold, and to engage to hold the Orcaades of Norway. Being by birth a Scot, he had probably wished to transfer his allegiance to the Scottish king, of whom he already held a part of Katenes—Caithness. Some years previous to Earl Rognvald's departure for the Holy Land, King David I. commanded "*Reignwald Jarl*" of Orkney, and the earl and all the good men of Catenais and Orkney, as they loved him, to respect the monks living at Durnach, in Catenais, and their men and goods, and to defend them whithersoever they might go in those parts, not allowing any one to do them an injury or shame.—'*Origines Parochiales*,' vol. ii. part 2, p. 625. 1152.

Between 1153-56, Erlend Junge, the son of Harold Slettmal, to whom King Malcolm the Maiden granted half the earldom of Katenes, which his father had, dwelt mostly at Thurso, Harold holding the other half. Erlend raised troops in Katenes, and went to Orkney and asked the people to receive him.

Earl Harold also raised an army, but by the mediation of friends agreed to a six months' truce; and that Erlend should go to Norway and ask for the half of the jarldom which Earl Rognvald had held, and which Harold agreed that he should have.

In 1152 Maddad, Earl of Athol, died, and Margaret his widow, the mother of Earl Harold, removed to Orkney, the heir of Athol being her stepson.

Harold passed over to Katenes, and thence to his friends in Scotland; and Erlend, profiting by his absence, got possession of the whole of Orkney, and also of Harold's mother, Margaret, whom he wished to marry, although within the prohibited degrees. On Harold's return next year he besieged Erlend and Margaret in the Möseyjarborg, an almost impregnable tower, which still exists, in the little island of Mousa, in Shetland; 1155.

but tiring of the siege, he at last agreed to give his mother in marriage to Erlend, on condition that he would swear fealty to him as earl.

1156.

Harold was in Norway when Earl Rognvald returned to Orkney from the Holy Land and made an agreement with Erlend that each of them should have half of Orkney, and defend themselves against Harold. Earl Erlend went to Shetland lest Harold should land there on his return; and Rognvald went to Thorso, where Earl Harold had many friends and relations. On Harold's return from Norway, three of his vessels were driven by stress of weather on the Shetland Isles, and were taken by Erlend. Harold, on landing in Orkney, heard of the agreement between Rognvald and Erlend, and resolved to go to Thorso and meet Rognvald, whilst, at the same time, Erlend and Swein sailed southwards.

Earl Rognvald was at Bernvik, in Sutherland, celebrating the marriage of his daughter Ingerid with Eric Slagbrell. The two earls were reconciled, and soon after crossed the Pentland Firth together. But Swein, ever stirring up strife, after plundering on every side by sea and land, joined Erlend, and gave out that he was going to sail with him to the Sudreys; but soon changing his course he sailed back to Scapa, where the Earls Rognvald and Harold lay, with fourteen ships. On the 25th October 1157 Swein came suddenly on the earls, and forced them to abandon their ships and flee to Katenes, whilst he and Erlend took possession of the ships and of immense wealth; but Swein sent to Earl Rognvald all the precious things he found in *his* ships, and soon after made peace with the earls. Before 1159 Erlend Junge was slain.

August
1159.

The two earls, according to their usual practice, went from Orkney to Katenes to hunt. At Thorso they learnt that Thorbiorn Klerke, who had been banished by Earl Rognvald and had been living at the court of King Malcolm, was lurking in the neighbourhood with his men, prepared for a raid when opportunity offered. The earls proceeded up the valley with a hundred men, twenty of whom were horsemen, Earl Rognvald being a little in advance with two friends, and Earl Harold following. Soon after, when they came to a place called *Kalfadal* (now *Calder*), they found Thorbiorn and his party there, in the house of his friend Hauskald, and when they heard Hauskald salute Earl Rognvald, they seized their arms and attacked him as he advanced towards the door. Earl Rognvald was wounded severely in the face as he was in the act of dismounting, and one of his friends was killed. Thorbiorn afterwards attacked him with his spear, but was himself also wounded. Earl Harold then came up, and Thorbiorn and his men took refuge in a clayey marsh behind the house. Earl Harold went to consult with Rognvald, and found him dead. Soon after, going in pursuit of Thorbiorn, but unwilling to kill him, as he had been his foster-father, he allowed him to escape with eight men, and they took refuge in some ruined cottages, but were pursued by the men of Magnus, son of Havard Gunnson, who set fire to the cottages and burnt Thorbiorn and his men. It was on the 20th of August 1159—or, according to Torfæus, 1158—five days after the Assumption of St Mary—that Rognvald was slain. He was canonised in 1192.

Harold Maddadson held the earldoms of Orkney and Caithness, conjointly with Rognvald, the son of Kol, for twenty years, and was afterwards *sole earl* for forty-eight years. He was, say the Norse writers, "an illustrious potentate, superior to others in stature and strength," but he was cruel and rapacious, and acquired the unenviable surname of "*Harold the Wicked*."

But the latter part of his reign was not untroubled.

Three grandsons of Earl Rognvald—Harold, Magnus Mangi, and Rognvald, sons of *Eric Shagbrell and Ingerid* (see last page), went to Norway to King Magnus Erlingson, who conferred upon Harold, styled Ungi (or the younger), the title of earl, and half of the Orcades, over which his maternal grandfather had ruled. Harold Ungi then went to the Court of William the Lion in Scotland, who gave him the half of Katenes, which was held by his grandfather. Harold Ungi then went into Katenes, and met his sister's husband, Lifolf, and collected forces, and sent to Earl Harold Maddadson requesting him to yield the half of Katenes. This was indignantly refused; and Maddadson came to Thorso, where they met. Harold Ungi had a much inferior force—all of them men of Katenes—whilst Maddadson's were of Orkney and Norway. A battle was fought on the Hill of Clairdon, about two miles east of Thorso. Harold Ungi, Lifolf, and many others, were slain; so Earl Harold again subdued all Katenes and returned to Orkney. Harold Ungi was buried where he fell, and a small chapel was erected over his grave, which was afterwards resorted to as a shrine. The Book of Flota speaks of the many miracles supposed to have been wrought there.

Circa
1196.

In the course of time this chapel fell into decay, and the late Sir John Sinclair caused a monument to be erected on the spot, which still bears the name of "Harold's Tower." "Sverrer," King of Norway, deprived Harold Maddadson of Zetland.

1196.

The people of Thorso, having sided with the king's party in the recent combat, were much alarmed when they heard of Harold's victory, and begged the bishop, "*John*," to intercede for them. The bishop, who lived near Scrabster, agreed to do so, and having met Harold on his way, strongly pleaded for mercy for the poor people; but the savage earl only laughed at his request, and ordered one of his attendants, named "Lomberd," to seize the prelate, and cut out his tongue, and put out both his eyes! He then proceeded to the town, where he scourged and imprisoned all the inhabitants who could not pay the heavy fines he exacted, and hanged such of the principal men as he knew were not favourable to his rule. On hearing of these events, King William sent ambassadors to Rognvald Gudrodson, King of the Hebudes, son of Ingjorg, daughter of Earl Hacon Paulson, who immediately raised a great army and occupied Katenes, leaving it under the rule of three toparchs. Then Harold sent a man into the Nes to kill one or all of these toparchs, and he succeeded in killing one of them, and the others fled to King William.

Next year, after Christmas, King William raised an army and went into Katenes against the earl, who, by the instigation, it is said, of his second wife, a daughter of M'Heth, Earl of Ross and Moray, had invaded and raised disturbances against the king's government in those earldoms. The king encamped at Eisteinsdal—the boundary between Katenes and Suderland—his camp stretching a long way in a line with the village.

1197.

The earl, at the head of 6000 men, felt himself unable to oppose the king, and having consulted the people, made peace, on condition that they should pay the king yearly a fourth of their produce, and repay those who had fled to him for refuge all they had lost. The rebels, however, soon again appeared in arms, under one Roderick, and Torphin, son of Earl Harold, but were defeated by the king's troops near Inverness, and Roderick was slain.

The Scottish chroniclers assert that King William took Harold prisoner, and carried him to Roxburgh Castle, where he was detained until his son Torphin gave himself up as a hostage—his father having excused himself from bringing him to King William at Lochloy, near Nairn, where peace was agreed upon, saying that he was "*his only heir*."

The Norse writers assert that Harold returned to Orkney, and that Torphin was taken prisoner during the hostilities, and having had his eyes put out on the occasion of his father's raid upon Moray, had there died in prison.

1202. Harold terminated the war by placing himself under the safe-conduct of the Bishop of St Andrews, and tendering his submission to the king at Perth. For a sum of 2000 pounds of silver he was allowed to enjoy his earldom in peace for the brief remainder of his life.

1206. In the second year of the reign of Ingus Bardson, King of Norway, Harold Maddadson died, aged *seventy-three*, after a reign of *sixty-eight* years. He was twice married—first to Affreca, daughter of Duncan, Earl of Fife, by whom he had one son, Torphin, who died a hostage, circa 1202. Earl Harold married, secondly, a daughter of the house of M'Heth, by whom he left three sons—1st, Heinrick or Henry, who claimed his mother's rights over Ross and Moray; 2d, David; 3d, John, who reigned jointly over the diminished earldoms of Orkney and Caithness.

What was the punishment or penance inflicted upon Earl Harold for the cruelties inflicted on Bishop John in 1196 does not clearly appear. By a letter from Pope Innocent III., quoted by Cosmo Innes in his '*Sketches of Scottish History*,' p. 74, it would appear that "*Lomberd*" was made the scapegoat, on whom the penance was imposed—by some writers attributed to the earl himself.

The letter, which is addressed to the Bishop of Orkney, circa 1202, states that his Holiness had received his letters concerning "*Lomberd*," a layman, bearer of these presents, who might be received back into the Church on these conditions:—

"That he shall return home barefooted, having his tongue tied by a string, and drawn out so as to project beyond his lips, and the ends of the string bound round his neck. With rods in his hands, in sight of all men, he shall walk fifteen days successively through his own native district. He shall go to the door of the church, and, prostrate on the earth, be scourged with the rods he is to carry. To spend each day in silence and fasting, and to be fed at night with bread and water only. After these fifteen days he was to prepare to set out for Jerusalem within a month, to labour three years for the service of the cross, fasting every Friday."

1222. Bishop Adam of Caithness was barbarously murdered in his own palace at Halkirk by the people, on account of the increased rigour of his demands for tithes, especially on butter. A span of butter had hitherto been paid for fifteen cows, next for twelve, and at last for every ten cows; and all who did not pay were threatened with excommunication. The earl was applied to, and at first refused to interfere, but, wearied by their importunity, at last exclaimed, "The devil take the bishop and his butter! you may roast him if you please." The people took this as leave to burn the bishop, and immediately proceeded to his palace, and put it in execution.

Alexander II., on hearing of this outrage, came all the way from Jedburgh to Caithness, and punished the murderers in the most cruel manner, laying waste the country and expelling the inhabitants. The Earl John, who ruled in Caithness, fled—probably

to his brother David in Orkney—but soon after made his peace with the king. Sutherland, however, was then taken from him, and formed into a separate lordship under *Hugh Freskin*, whose son, *William*, was created first Earl of Sutherland in 1232.

Earl David died before Earl John, but apparently in the same year. The latter was murdered at Thurso by the quæstor of the King of Norway, for his neglect of udal laws. His house was set fire to, and he was dragged from the cellar in which he had taken refuge, and slain with nine wounds. On the death of these earls without male heirs in 1231, Magnus II., son of Gilbert, Earl of Angus, who had married the daughter of Earl John, was acknowledged "*Jarl of Orkney*" by Hacon IV. of Norway, and Earl of Caithness by Alexander II. of Scotland.* Five generations of this house of Angus ruled Orkney and Caithness during a century of unwonted peace—minorities and civil wars weakening both Norway and Scotland, and treaties of commerce and royal marriages uniting them. This calm was scarcely disturbed by the last viking storm which expired at Largs in the equinoctial gales of 1263, when Hacon, last of the sea-kings, sought refuge in Orkney, and died there.

Earl Magnus III. had little difficulty in making his peace with his royal namesake of Norway, and Earl John, his grandson, married a daughter of King Eric.

Robert the Bruce, Hacon V. of Norway, and the young jarl, Magnus IV. of Orkney and Caithness, by mutual compensation and a new treaty, restored peace—after Scottish pirates had seized and held to ransom Sir Berner Pess, the Norwegian governor of the islands during the nonage of the jarl, whilst the islanders had retaliated by a similar outrage upon Patrick Mowat (Montalto or Urquhart)—perhaps the first introduction of those names, now so common in the islands.

The male line of the Angus Earls of Orkney failed in Magnus V. He had married Sophia, daughter of Ferquhard, Earl of Ross, and left an heiress, "*Matilda*," who married Malyse, Earl of Stratherne, who became in her right Earl of Orkney and Caithness, Gilbert, the only son of Magnus, having predeceased his father. Some suppose that Matilda was *his* daughter, and granddaughter of Magnus. Matilda was the third wife of Malyse, Earl of Strathearn. By her he had four daughters, who succeeded to her rights in Orkney and Caithness, although their father was forfeited by David II. in 1343, for giving his earldom of Stratherne with his eldest daughter (Johanna) by a former marriage, to "*Earl Warenne*," "*the king's enemy*."—See Earldom of Stratherne.

1. Matilda's eldest daughter married William, Earl of Ross, and had a gift of the earldom of Caithness, *not* confirmed by David II. until 1362. Their line ended in two daughters—1st, "*Euphemia*, Countess of Ross," who married Sir Walter Leslie; and Lady Johanna, who married Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth.

2. Isabel married Henry, Lord Sinclair, whose homage was accepted, after an interval of disputed succession, by Hacon VI. of Norway, August 2, 1379, as Earl of Orkney.

* Whilst the earldom of Angus appears to have gone in the female line to "*Matilda*," who married, 1st, John Cumyn, who died in France in 1241—and, 2dly, Gilbert de Umphraville, both Earls of Angus in her right. This lady was probably the daughter of an elder brother.

A writer of this period, supposed to be "*Geraldus Cambrensis*," describes Scotland as divided into seven districts, ruled by seven princes, and says, "*The seventh part is Catenes, on this side the Mound, and beyond the Mound, for the hill, 'Mound,' divides Catenes in the middle.*" This was before the erection of Sutherland into an earldom, and accounts for the *seven* earls often spoken of in early chronicles.

3. Matilda married Hugh de Arth, and had a son, Alexander de Arth, who is called, in 1375, "Representative of the Earls of Strathern," when he inherited and resigned the earldom of Caithness to King Robert II., who granted two charters thereupon to David Stewart, his eldest son by his second marriage.—See Earls of Strathern, and p. 315.

4. Mariot, who married Reginald de Cheyne, whose daughter "*Mariot*" had a fourth part of the earldom of Caithness, and a charter of half the barony of Strabroch, as wife of the deceased John Douglas, on her own resignation, 25th May 1366.

Henry, Lord Sinclair, on becoming Earl of Orkney in 1379, gained little besides the lands of his fathers. Even the title of "jarl," the only hereditary title permitted in Norway to a subject, was declared subject to the royal option of investiture. The earl was to govern the islands, and to enjoy their revenues under the Norse law only, and during the king's pleasure. He was to keep in pay soldiers for the king's service, and to make no war, build no place of strength, nor make any contract with the bishop, nor sell or give away any of his rights without the king's consent. But the civil wars which disturbed the reign of Eric the Pomeranian, freed Earl Henry from royal interference, and he ruled the islands regally in his castle of Kirkwall, which he built without asking the king's consent.

His power and rights were tacitly continued to his son, Earl Henry II., whose little court of Orkney was one of the most elegant and refined in Europe, and was adorned by the official services of many proud Scottish nobles. To his enlightened guardianship was intrusted the early education of the most accomplished prince of his day, "James of Scotland"—the "Zerbino" of Ariosto, whose imprisonment he for some time shared in the Tower of London, when captured by the English on their passage to France in 1405. Henry died in 1418, when Zetland was conferred on his brother "John Sinclair," by Eric, King of Norway.

William Sinclair, third Jarl of Orkney, was the son of Earl Henry by Egidia, daughter and heiress of William Douglas, lord of Niddesdale, by Egidia, daughter of King Robert II. He was under age, and a hostage for James I. in 1421. The government of the Orkney Isles was for a time committed to the bishop, "Thomas Tulloch," and after him to the chief of the Scottish clan *Menzies* for a short period, and again to the bishop, until 10th August 1434, when William Sinclair was formally invested with the title of Jarl of Orkney, and intrusted with the government, subject to the same limitations as his grandfather. William, Lord St Clair, Earl of Orkney, was High Admiral of Scotland in 1436, and conveyed the Princess Margaret to France on her marriage with the Dauphin. In 1446 he founded a collegiate church at Roslin, and erected the beautiful chapel there. He was appointed High Chancellor of Scotland in 1454.

Aug. 28, 1455. He had a grant of the earldom of Caithness to him and his heirs, in compensation of his claims to the lordship of Niddesdale, which had probably passed, with his mother Egidia de Douglas, to the grandson of the king, "Alexander Stewart," her second husband.

1469. King James III., having acquired a right to the Orkney and Shetland Isles, as part payment of the dower of his queen, Margaret, daughter of Christian I. of Denmark and Norway, the last tie was severed which bound these countries to their Scandinavian friends. The Scottish kings, indeed, acknowledged the right of the Danish-Norwegian kings to redeem the islands; but the claims of redemption, repeatedly urged by Denmark in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were held at nought. The islands were too

important, and too conveniently situated with regard to Scotland, for Great Britain to give them up, without being compelled by the last necessity. They were pledged by Christian for 50,000 Rhenish florins, as part of the dowry of 60,000 florins given with his daughter Margaret on her marriage. Torfæus in his *Orcares* vindicates the right of Christian V. to redeem the mortgage, on repayment of the money for which they were pledged.

William, the last "Jarl of Orkney," was the most liberal patron of Scottish literature and arts of his day. His tastes led him to prefer the ample equivalent of lands and pensions offered to him by James III., for all that remained to him of the ancient jarldom of Orkney, as he had already accepted Caithness in compensation for his claims on Nithsdale.

He accepted the position of a Scottish noble, and gave up to the King of Scotland, 1471. with the full consent of the King of Denmark, the lands and all the rights he still possessed in Orkney, receiving from the Kings of *Scotland, Denmark, and Norway*, a full discharge for all claims whatsoever, ratified by Parliament.

William Sinclair, last Jarl of Orkney, had by his first wife, the lady Margaret Douglas, eldest daughter of Archibald, fourth Lord Douglas, an only son, "William," whom he disinherited, giving him only the barony of Newburgh in Aberdeenshire, with the title of Lord Sinclair. Marrying, secondly, Marjorie, daughter of Alexander Sutherland of Dunbeath, he had another son, "William," on whom he settled the earldom of Caithness; and a third son, Sir Oliver, to whom he left all his lands south of the Tay. The elder brother, "William," however, after his father's death, sought to reduce that settlement; and a compromise was entered into, Sir Oliver resigning to his elder brother the barony of Dysart, Castle of Ravensheuch, and other lands in Fife, and in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, and both younger brothers acknowledging "William of Newburgh" as their chief and head—whilst *he*, on the other part, renounced all claim to the barony of Roslin. Sir Oliver's line became extinct in 1778 in Sir William Sinclair of Roslin. The elder William's male line also failed, and merged in the Sinclairs of Herdmanston, Erskines of Alva, &c., represented by the present Lord Rosslyn, whilst the Earls of Caithness still descend from William, the eldest son of William, last Jarl of Orkney, by his second marriage. This William, Earl of Caithness, was killed at Flodden in 1513, and was succeeded by his son John, who was slain in an attempt to recover the jarldom of Orkney in 1529.

The lands of the earldom of Orkney were conferred by King James V. on his natural 1530. brother "James, Earl of Moray," who dying without issue male in 1544, they returned to the Crown.—See p. 545.

The Regent Arran bestowed them during the minority of Queen Mary upon the Earl of Huntly; but they were soon resumed, and granted to Lord Robert Stewart, natural son of King James V., by Euffame, second daughter of the first Lord Elphinstone.—See p. 337.

Two years after the gift was revoked, and James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell, May 12. was created Duke of Orkney and Marquis of Fife, three days before his marriage with 1567. the queen. He was forfeited 29th December same year. Of Bothwell we find a notice in the "*Liber Bergensis, Capituli*," September 2, 1568: "Came the king's ship, David, of which Christian of Aalberg was head man. She had taken a man of Scotland whose

name was 'Jacob Hebron of Botvile' (James Hepburn of Bothwell), who was at first made Duke of Orkney and Shetland, and after, he was suspected of being in the council to blow up the king. They first accused the queen, and then the count, but he made his escape and came to Norway, and was afterwards taken to Denmark by the king's ship David."

1567. On Bothwell's forfeiture the Orcades reverted to the Crown, and remained in it until James VI. restored them to his uncle Robert Stewart, by whom they were several times forfeited and recovered; as well as by his son Earl Patrick, whose tyranny caused the people to petition the king to annex the islands to his Crown for ever; which was promised on Earl Patrick's forfeiture, but scarcely performed—the Crown dues being *let* to the Lord Chancellor Hay, and afterwards mortgaged by Charles I. to William, Earl of Morton, for £30,000.

They were next seized upon by Cromwell, whose soldiers introduced some useful improvements in agriculture, such as the use of marl, the planting cabbages, &c. &c.

At the Restoration, the Earl of Morton took possession, as heir to Earl William, and obtained a new grant as a mortgage in the name of another person, for the benefit of himself and his family; but these grants were reduced by Act of Parliament, and the islands were again annexed to the Crown, and erected into a stewartry. For about thirty years they were let in farm, for five years at a time, to different individuals. In the reign of Queen Anne, about the time of the Union, James, Earl of Morton, succeeded in obtaining a new grant of the Orkneys to himself and his heirs, subject to an annual feu-duty of £500, redeemable by the Crown on paying him £30,000; which grant was afterwards converted into a charter under the Great Seal (irredeemable), by Act of Parliament, of the whole earldom of Orkney and lordship of Zetland. Lord Morton got also a lease of the bishop's lands, and a donation of the rights of admiralty—the revenue amounting altogether to above £3000 sterling. As a compensation for abolishing heritable jurisdiction, he received £7200.

1766. Having got into disputes and difficulties about levying his feu-duties, and finding the property unpleasant to hold, Lord Morton disposed of his rights and property therein of every description to Sir Lawrence Dundas, for £60,000, now vested in his descendant, *the Earl of Zetland*.—See Dundas, p. 631.

In early days, "the bishops" had been the only counterpoise to the tyranny of "the earls." It was Bishop Law who accused Earl Patrick Stewart of high treason, for which the earl was tried, convicted, and beheaded.

1615. Bishop Law was translated to Glasgow; and his successor, being threatened with excommunication by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, which met at Glasgow in 1638, resigned the bishopric, after holding it for twenty-three years.

On the Restoration, the Church lands reverted to the bishops, until Prelacy was finally abolished in 1689, and Presbytery established in its stead. There were eighteen officiating clergy under Episcopacy, and the same number replaced them of the Established Church.

The Cathedral of Kirkwall, dedicated to St Magnus, in 1138, by Earl Rognvald, son of Kol, was afterwards enlarged by the bishops, and is still in good preservation.

The Orcades, or Orkney Islands, are 67 in number, of which 27 are inhabited: the

smaller islets, called Holms, serving for pasturage. The Pentland Firth, 12 miles in breadth, separates them from Caithness. Zetland, Haitland, or the Shetland Isles, are 60 miles further off. Lerwick, their principal town, situated in Mainland, is 300 miles from Leith. These isles are 90 in number, of which 25 are inhabited; the others, some of them only a few yards in extent, afford pasture to a few sheep, and shelter to innumerable wild-fowl.

The greatest extent of each group from north to south is about 70 miles, and the greatest breadth of the Orkneys, 40 miles; and of the Shetlands, 45 miles.

Roeness Hill, the highest in Zetland, is 1476 feet—*Fula*, supposed to be the "*Ultima Thule*" of the Romans, is 1200 feet—above the level of the sea.

Sumburgh Head, the extreme south point of Zetland, lies in lat. $59^{\circ} 51' N.$, and $1^{\circ} 16' W.$ from Greenwich. Mean temperature, $46\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$.—Statistical Account, p. 145.

ERRATA.

Page 54, lines 35, 37, and 39, }
and } for "Gillespoe" read "Gillespoc."

Page 55, line 3,

Page 416, line 16, for "His mother" read "Her mother."

Page 445.—The marginal date, "July 11, 1370," opposite first line of last paragraph, applies to the Papal dispensation mentioned at the conclusion of preceding paragraph.

Page 460.—The marginal date, "Nov. 21, 1541," refers to Alexander Cumyn's second marriage.

Page 504, last line, for "prominent" read "dominant."

Page 505, note, for "Crynan or Crun" read "Crin."

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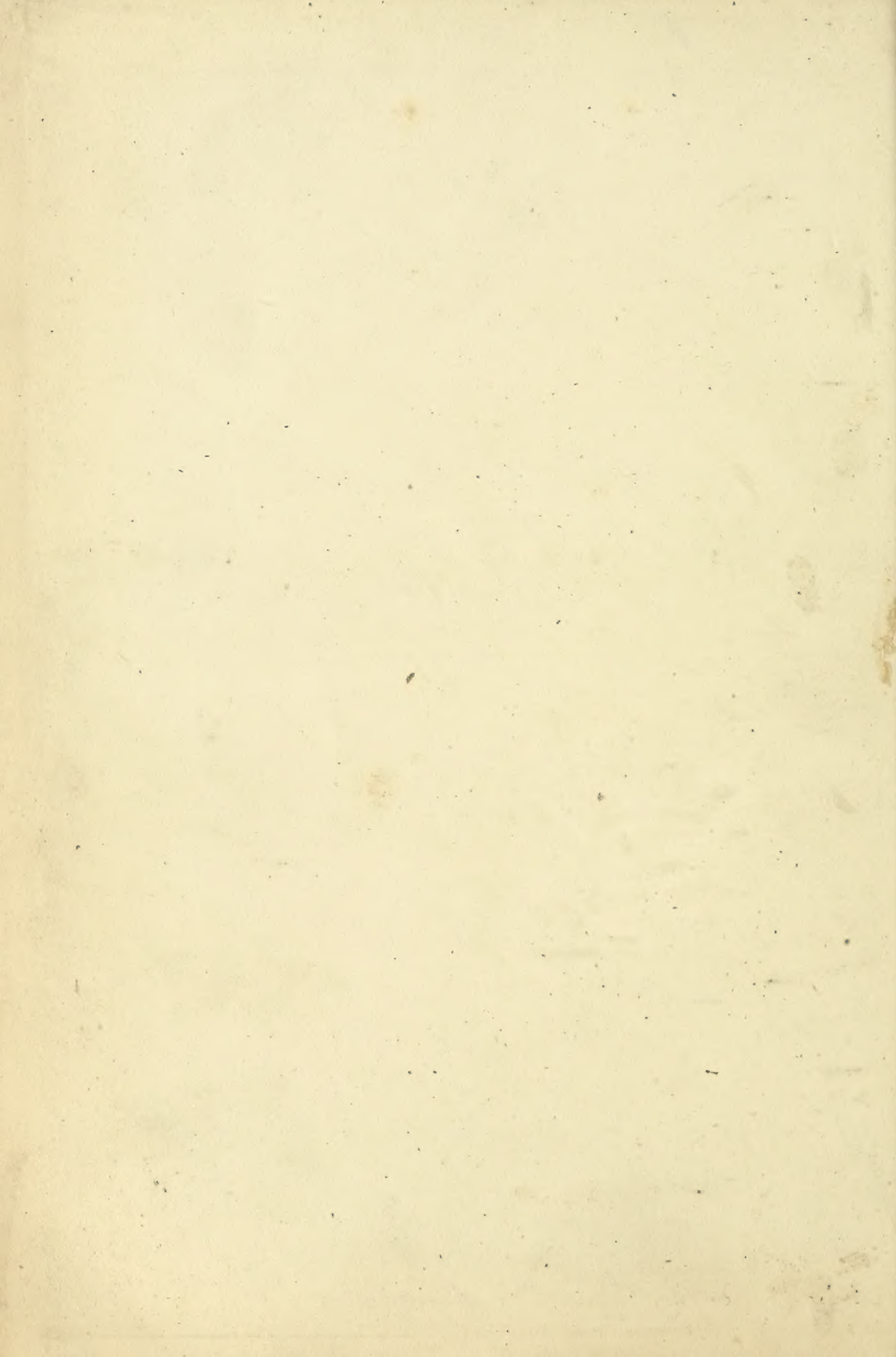
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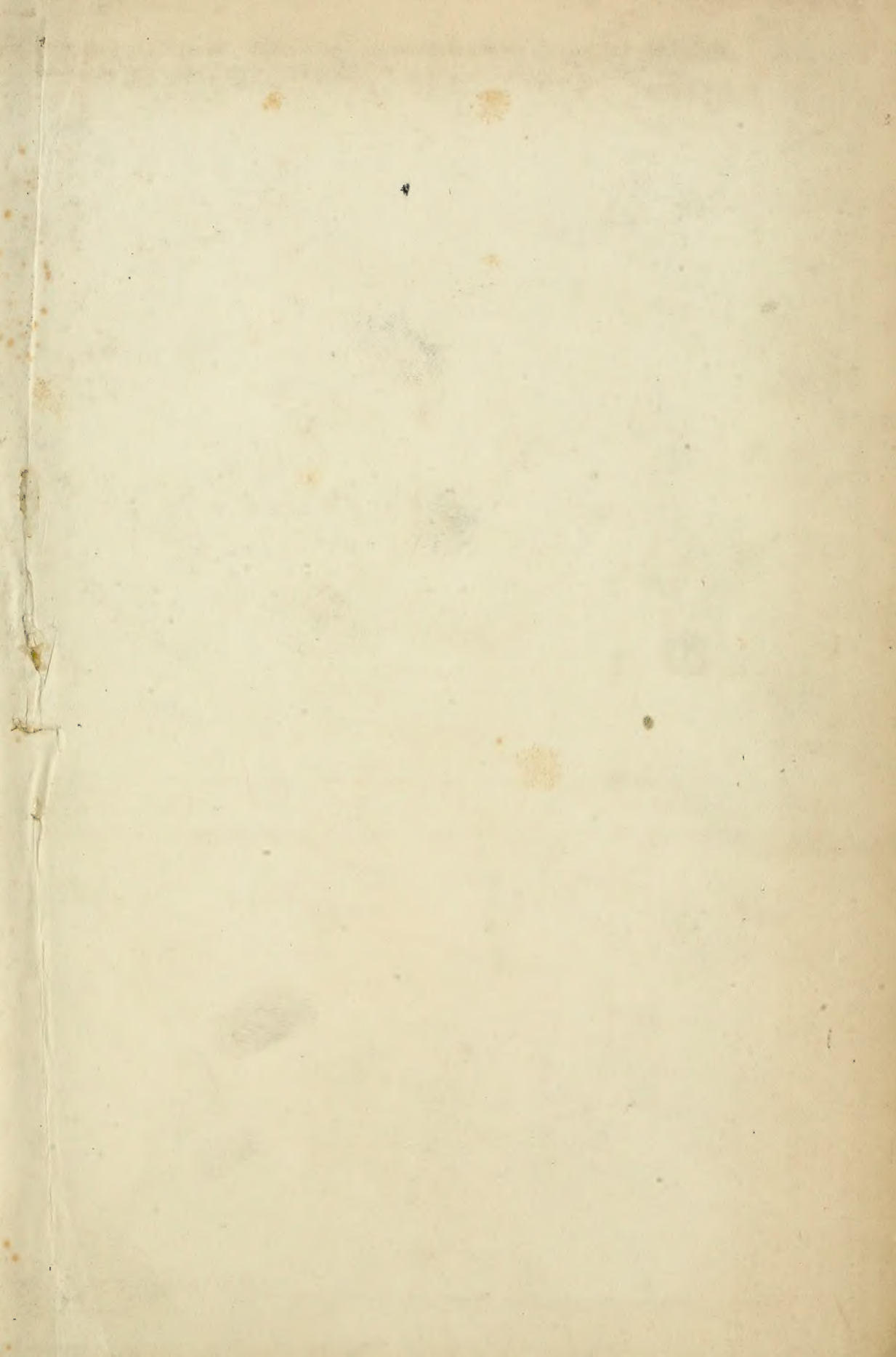
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Cumyng Erle of Ruthven



Lord of

Badenoch